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American Zionist Emergency Council, 1944 January-June.



RICHARD E. REISINGER
President

WILLIAM M. DAVY
Secretary

Cleveland Industrial Union Council

CHerry 8373

C.I.O. BUILDING 1000 Walnut Ave. CLEVELAND, OHIO

28

Jan. 4, 1944

Rabbi A. H. Silver
The Temple
E. 105th St.
Cleveland, Ohio

Handwritten:
"Taking stock of 1943"
also to plan 1944
encl. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100

Dear Rabbi Silver:

It is most refreshing these days, when labor is being so constantly attacked for one reason or another in every newspaper in every city in the country, to pick up a newspaper and read that one man has had the courage to speak out in defense of labor and to place the blame for many of our country's ills where it properly belongs.

Organized labor has always been fought most bitterly by the press. The reason is obvious - our newspapers are, for the most part, owned by the same forces who would seek to destroy every gain that labor has made through more than a century of ceaseless struggle. Those forces are the financiers, the industrialists, the money changers who cannot envision a world where labor has stature and dignity and a voice in the world of which it is so important a part. Our newspapers are the mouthpiece for those who have fought so bitterly to keep labor subservient while they dominate the world.

You are right. We are not trying to make money out of this bloody war. There are too many of our brothers in the jungles and in the fox holes. We feel a major responsibility to our brothers on the battle fields - to see that American democracy is preserved while our boys fight and die for it the world over. Establishing a stable economy (and this can be done only by closing the ever widening gap between frozen wages and runaway prizes), maintaining decent standards of working and living conditions, fighting for post-war security - these are all a part of the preservation of that democracy in which we have so large a stake.

No matter how much the press may villify us we will continue our fight for democracy on every front. We welcome the men of good will who support our fight. We applaud their courage and their vision.

Sincerely,

Wm. M. Davy
Wm. M. Davy, Secretary
Cleveland Industrial Union Council

TELEPHONE CONVERSATION WITH DR. T. DAS

January 4, 1944

Dr. Das said over the telephone that he had two bits of information to communicate which he thought we ought to have, both somewhat confidential.

(1) An attempt is about to be made to organize Jewish refugees resident in America for the purpose of naming representatives who will undertake to speak on behalf of the Jews of Europe and endeavor to supersede existing Jewish representative bodies as the authorized spokesmen. I surmise, though Dr. Das did not divulge it, that this effort is being made by the Bergson group either in connection with the Emergency Committee for the Rescue of European Jewry or else in connection with the New League for Free Palestine. Dr. Das thought we should be forewarned.

(2) An attempt may be made by Arabs and their friends to form an organization to be known as Friends of the Arab People or some similar name for the purpose of carrying on a political campaign. Dr. Das stated that there was some hesitation on the part of persons concerned with this effort to launch it for fear it might be attacked as anti-Semitic or rather anti-Jewish in character. He thought ~~however~~ that possibly the British were encouraging the launching of such an effort.

EN/M

January 5, 1944

Mr. A. K. Isreeli
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Ave.
New York, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Isreeli:

Prior to the issuance of our statement on the League for a Free Palestine, which will probably be issued sometime next week, I would suggest that you personally contact the key men of the three Yiddish newspapers and explain to them the reason for our issuing the statement so that they will not be caught unprepared as was the case in the statement of the American Jewish Conference. The point to stress is that the "non-sectarian front of the League for a Free Palestine is a camouflage. It will be an effort on the part of the Bergson group again to use a large number of Christian names in order to carry on an independent and competing Zionist activity on the American scene. Furthermore, that the Zionists have always had the cooperation of a large Christian following in America and that the American Palestine Committee is now conducting a very successful and vigorous campaign among non-Jews as is the Christian Council for Palestine among the clergymen. There is absolutely no reason for another Zionist organization in the field. Zionist activity in Washington has been aggressively pushed on all fronts and there is nothing that a new organization can do except confuse and disgust the political leaders in Washington.

I think this should be done by personal interviews rather than through press conferences for I am under the impression that the Yiddish writers and journalists are a little fed up with press conferences. Please let me know the results of your interviews -- whom you have seen and what was their reaction.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK

Mr. Isreoli

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January 5, 1944

P.S. In discussing the issuance of the statement you are not to give them the statement. You are just to indicate in a general way what the contents of it will be, and that the statement will probably be issued by the end of this coming week.

A.H.S.

[illegible]

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

RETURN TO FILES**FOR RELEASE:**

MONDAY P. M., JANUARY 10, 1944

TUESDAY A. M., JANUARY 11, 1944

ZIONISTS BLAST "LEAGUE FOR A FREE PALESTINE"

EMERGENCY COUNCIL CHARGES SMALL GROUP CREATES**"ONE PAPER ORGANIZATION AFTER ANOTHER"**

New York --- The American Zionist Emergency Council, representing all major Zionist groups in the United States, today assailed the League for a Free Palestine, declaring that its founders are "a small group of persons who, within recent years, acting in accordance with the opportunistic impulses of the moment and exploiting the miseries which have befallen our people abroad, have established one paper organization after another."

In a formal statement, the Council, whose co-chairmen are Dr. Abba Hillel Silver of Cleveland and Dr. Stephen S. Wise of New York, charged that "far from advancing the cause of a Jewish Palestine, or the interests of the Jewish people, the League will be productive of nothing but public confusion."

The statement listed the "paper organizations" created by the League's founders as follows: the Friends of a Jewish Palestine, the Committee for a Jewish Army and the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe. "None of these organizations or committees have had any official relationship, direct or indirect, with any responsible body in American Jewish life," the Council added.

The statement pointed out that while "the promoters of the new organization acknowledge the great contribution made by the World Zionist movement to Palestine and to the Jewish people, they allege that the Zionist movement is purely sectarian in character and that therefore it is necessary 'to fill the long-felt need for a Palestine Freedom movement' with a non-sectarian organization. The new organization

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differentiates between 'European and Palestinian Jews who have no other desire than to live in Palestine,' who are members of the 'Hebrew' Nation, and Jews living in all other lands, who presumably do not belong to the 'Hebrew' Nation."

This definition was described by the Council as "specious nonsense," and the statement continued:

"Through the Balfour Declaration and the Palestine Mandate, the Zionist movement secured international approval of its aim to reestablish the Jews as a nation in Palestine. It was never intended or suggested that Jews should owe political allegiance to any country other than to the land of which they are citizens. The relation of an American Jew to the Jewish National Home, when it is established, will not differ from that of any other American toward the land of his ancestral homeland.

"The representative status of the World Zionist Organization, subsequently enlarged in the Jewish Agency for Palestine to include members of non-Zionist groups in many lands, was specifically recognized in the Palestine Mandate. The Zionist movement has established organizations in every part of the world, which are everywhere recognized as representing local Jewish interests in the development of the Jewish Homeland. From the very start, non-Jewish sympathy and understanding of the objectives of the movement was regarded as of vital importance. In many countries, non-Jewish pro-Palestine committees were established. In the United States, the Zionist movement has welcomed the organization of the American Palestine Committee and the Christian Council on Palestine. The Jewish Agency for Palestine is today the recognized spokesman of the Jewish people in all matters concerning the future of Palestine, and is so regarded by Jews, non-Jews, and the governments with which it deals. The new organization is bound to mislead those concerned with the Jewish problem, with regard to the ideals and principles underlying the Zionist movement,"

The American Zionist Emergency Council speaks for the Zionist Organization of America, Hadassah, Mizrachi and Poale Zion, whose respective heads are Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, Leon Gellman and David Wertheim.

The text of the Council's statement follows:

(more)

STATEMENT BY AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

ON LEAGUE FOR A FREE PALESTINE

A new organization called the American League for a Free Palestine has been launched. Its objects are stated to be "to save the Jewish people of Europe" and "to establish the Hebrew nation in Palestine." The promoters of the new organization acknowledge the great contribution made by the World Zionist movement to Palestine and to the Jewish people, but allege that the Zionist movement is purely sectarian in character and that therefore it is necessary "to fill the long-felt need for a Palestine Freedom movement" with a non-sectarian organization. The new organization differentiates between "European and Palestinian Jews who have no other desire than to live in Palestine," who are members of the "Hebrew" Nation, and Jews living in all other lands, who presumably do not belong to the "Hebrew" Nation. To anyone with the slightest acquaintance with the facts, this definition can only be described as specious nonsense. It is quite evident that an attempt is being made to give a distorted paraphrase of Zionism and to use it to form a new competitive organization.

Through the Balfour Declaration and the Palestine Mandate, the Zionist movement secured international approval of its aim to re-establish the Jews as a nation in Palestine. It was never intended or suggested that Jews should owe political allegiance to any country other than to the land of which they are citizens. The relation of an American Jew to the Jewish National Home, when it is established, will not differ from that of any other American toward the land of his ancestral homeland.

The representative status of the World Zionist Organization, subsequently enlarged in the Jewish Agency for Palestine to include members of non-Zionist groups in many lands, was specifically recognized in the Palestine Mandate. The Zionist movement has established organizations in every part of the world, which are everywhere recognized as representing local Jewish interests in the development of the Jewish Homeland. From the very start, non-Jewish sympathy and understanding of the objectives of the movement was regarded as of vital importance. In many countries,

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non-Jewish pro-Palestine committees were established. In the United States, the Zionist movement has welcomed the organization of the American Palestine Committee and the Christian Council on Palestine. The Jewish Agency for Palestine is today the recognized spokesman of the Jewish people in all matters concerning the future of Palestine, and is so regarded by Jews, non-Jews, and the governments with which it deals. The new organization is bound to mislead those concerned with the Jewish problem, with regard to the ideals and principles underlying the Zionist movement.

The founders of the so-called League for a Free Palestine are a small group of persons who, within recent years, acting in accordance with the opportunistic impulses of the moment and exploiting the miseries which have befallen our people abroad, have established one paper organization after another. These paper organizations include the Friends of a Jewish Palestine, the Committee for a Jewish Army, the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe, and now, the proposed League for a Free Palestine. None of these organizations or committees have had any official relationship, direct or indirect, with any responsible body in American Jewish life.

Far from advancing the cause of a Jewish Palestine, or the interests of the Jewish people, the League will be productive of nothing but public confusion. It will impair the effectiveness and authority of the internationally recognized Jewish Agency for Palestine. It will make for disunity and uncertainty at a time when Jewish singleness of purpose and coordination of effort are of vital importance.

January 17, 1944

Dear Chief:

From several sources, including England, I have come to hear that a statement may shortly be made with regard to Palestine by the British Government, by Mr. Churchill, and, I presume, together with and by you. I beg to remind you of what you knew at the time, that President Wilson submitted to Justice Brandeis and myself the Balfour Declaration for final revision before its return through Colonel House to the British War Cabinet.

If the declaration is to be good and satisfying, I know you will wish this old friend to have the joy of seeing it. If it is not to be satisfying, would it not be well for some of us to know what the declaration is to contain and to have an opportunity to take counsel with you. I know, as well as anyone can, how burdened you are and I would not suggest this if I did not feel that it is my duty as your long-time friend and as an old leader of the Zionist movement, charged with a certain measure of responsibility, to write to you in these terms.

Dr. Silver and I, who are co-Chairmen of the American Zionist Emergency Council earnestly ask that you give us the opportunity of meeting with you in the nearest future.

I cannot refrain from adding that I was rejoiced beyond words over your message to Congress. It is a glorious challenge to our country, which will not fail you.

Ever yours,

Stephen Wise

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

as revised

Proposed Resolution to be Submitted to the
Executive Board of the Union at its Meeting
on January 18, 1944.

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~~. As to Palestine, however, the Union's position 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.

January 21, 1944

Mr. H. M. Segal, Editor,
American Israelite,
24 East 6th Street,
Cincinnati, Ohio

Dear Sir:

In your issue of January 20th, you carry a report on the action taken by the Executive Board of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, which met in Chicago last Tuesday. You published the resolution in full, but the heading which you give to your report is, I am afraid, somewhat misleading.

The headline reads: "UAHC refuses to act on AJC resolution." The term "refuses" is somewhat misleading. The text of the resolution, as you will see, reads: "'refrains' from taking any action", and there is a difference. The term "refuse" implies a negative attitude as if someone were forcing the hand of the Union to act on the Conference resolution and in a certain way.

Last October, when the Executive of the Union passed a resolution deferring action on the Palestine resolution to the next Biennial Council of the Union, your report of that action was likewise given an unfortunate editorial bias: "The 'drive' toward a unanimous American Jewish declaration in favor of a Jewish State in Palestine was delayed, etc."

A neutrality resolution having been adopted, which should be satisfactory to all concerned and which should remove the Union from the arena of conflict and enable it to carry on its religious and spiritual activities without the embarrassment of internal struggle, should not be presented in the public press in such a way as to keep the troubled waters still further agitated.

Very sincerely yours,

AHS:NEK

Abba Hillel Silver

MINUTES OF INTERVIEW WITH SENATOR ROBERT A. TAFT
of OHIO - by Rabbi Feuer and Mr. Leo Sack, on
Monday, January 24, 1944.

Present: Senator Robert A. Taft, Rabbi A. Taft, Rabbi Feuer and Mr. Leo Sack

We had a pleasant and friendly interview with Senator Taft. Rabbi Feuer stated that Dr. Silver had asked him to call on Mr. Taft to follow-up the conversations which he had previously had with the Senator several weeks ago.

We told Senator Taft that we were about to introduce a Resolution on the subject of Palestine into the Congress and that we would be very happy if he would interest himself in the Resolution and perhaps, if he were so minded, introduce it into the Senate. Senator Taft stated that he had not had much knowledge of the subject but recently had become more interested in it, because he found more and more of his Jewish friends leaning toward the idea of Palestine as a solution for Jewish problems. He also stated that he had some hesitancy about committing himself to legislation in the field of foreign policy, a field in which he has had little experience and, therefore, considers himself not sufficiently expert. He said that he could see the necessity for Palestine as a place for Jews to settle after the war. But he was not sure about how far that would go toward solving the problem, nor could he make up his mind about the question of a national state.

Rabbi Feuer then surveyed the Jewish situation in Europe and pointed out that some three or four million Jews were involved in the problem, that we did not expect and would not want all these Jews to migrate from Europe for resettlement elsewhere. We believed, however, that if a substantial number of them, one and a half or two million, would be given an opportunity

Minutes of Interview with
SENATOR ROBERT A. TAFT

to migrate systematically and to settle elsewhere, this would make the problem very much easier of solution both for the Jews and for the countries of Europe. The Senator said that he saw the logic of that position.

We then pointed out that Palestine afforded the only real opportunity for resettlement. There the economic foundation had been laid. There the Jews would feel at home. By the same token, opportunities for migration to other countries would be virtually non-existent after the war.

We took occasion to refer to the tremendous contribution which Palestine has made to the war effort of the United Nations, how much more difficult the situation would have been if Palestine had not been developed by the Jews, agriculturally and industrially, during the past 25 years. We re-told some of the impressions which Mr. Robert Szold brought back with him from Palestine. We pointed out that the attitude of the Arabs, to the contrary, had not been too friendly and cooperative.

The Senator said that he was well aware of this, that there was none too friendly a feeling toward the Arabs in this country and that military leaders with whom he had spoken had gotten a very bad impression of the Arabs in North Africa.

The Senator then asked to see a copy of the text of the Resolution. He read it and commented favorably upon its simplicity. He questioned the vagueness of the term "Jewish Commonwealth", and suggested that it might be improved by some such phrase as the following: "So that the Jews may ultimately constitute a majority in a free democratic state."

Minutes of Interview with
SENATOR ROBERT A. TAFT

We stated that some such wording might be agreeable to us but that we would like to discuss it further with him.

The Senator then said that he would like to discuss the matter with his brother, Charles Taft, who is a member of the staff of the State Department, and ascertain his views on the subject. He said: "Not that I mind occasionally pushing the State Department and the British, too, for that matter."

The Senator wondered what might be the Republican policy on such a Resolution, in view of the fact that the Republications would probably constitute a majority party after the next election and would, therefore, be responsible for the policy set forth in this Resolution. This played directly into our hands, as it gave us the opportunity to point out quickly that the Lodge-Fish Resolution was a Republican resolution and that a few days ago Mr. Joseph Martin, Minority Leader of the House, had claimed American-Palestine policy as Republican policy.

Senator Taft concluded the interview by promising very sympathetically and earnestly to consider the possibility of his introducing the Resolution, and stated that he would give us his decision within the next few days.

[Jan. 28, 1944]

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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

LEADERS OF AMERICAN JEWRY HAIL

PALESTINE RESOLUTION INTRODUCED IN HOUSE

DR. SILVER AND DR. WISE APPLAUD WRIGHT-COMPTON MEASURE

New York — Dr. Abba Hillel Silver of Cleveland and Dr. Stephen S. Wise of New York, co-chairmen of the American Zionist Emergency Council, today hailed the bi-partisan Palestine resolution introduced in the U. S. House of Representatives yesterday by Representatives James A. Wright (Democrat, Pennsylvania) and Ramulf Compton (Republican, Connecticut).

The resolution calls on the United States to "use its good offices and take appropriate measures to the end that the doors of Palestine shall be opened for free entry of Jews into that country, and that there shall be full opportunity for colonization, so that the Jewish people may ultimately reconstitute Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth."

Dr. Silver described the measure as "a great act in behalf of a great cause in a great and historic hour," and added that "all men of good-will everywhere — Jews and non-Jews alike — will applaud and endorse the spirit of statesmanship and noble humanity which motivated the introduction of this resolution."

Urging that the resolution be adopted without delay and that its adoption be "as impressive and significant as was the unanimous adoption of the Lodge-Fish resolution of 22 years ago," Dr. Wise declared: "The introduction of the Wright-Compton resolution is yet another step on the way to the end of the White Paper

(more)

and the beginning of a new policy in relation to Palestine. The Congressional resolution would reinstate the Balfour Declaration in the place of the White Paper, which should never have been written."

Dr. Silver warned that the work of the newly-formed War Refugee Board "will be doomed to failure, as were all previous efforts on the part of intergovernmental agencies, if Palestine is again excluded from consideration as the major place for large-scale Jewish immigration."

The statements by Dr. Silver and Dr. Wise follow:

DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

"We are, of course, highly gratified that Congressman Compton of Connecticut and Congressman Wright of Pennsylvania have introduced the Palestine Resolution in Congress. We note with pleasure the enthusiastic endorsement which both Majority Leader McCormack and Minority Leader Martin have given to this Resolution. These men, we believe, voice the true sentiment of the American people which once before -- through a resolution unanimously adopted by the House and the Senate of the United States in 1922 -- expressed its hearty approval of the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people.

"Since that time the Jews have been at work rebuilding Palestine on a scale and in a manner which has evoked the admiration of the whole world. This remarkable development which has brought more than a half million Jews into the country since the last World War, saved hundreds of thousands of refugees who might otherwise have perished at the hands of the Nazis, and enabled Palestine to make a most significant contribution to the war effort of the United Nations, is now threatened by the illegal and morally unjustifiable policy of the White Paper, which would close the doors of Palestine to future Jewish immigration.

"This policy is not only a repudiation of an international obligation to which the United States subscribed, but it will interfere in a most disastrous manner with the rescue program of the War Refugee Board, which the President of the United States

has recently established. Palestine is the most likely and readily-available haven and shelter for these millions whom it is hoped to save from extermination. The work of the War Refugee Board will be doomed to failure, as were all previous efforts on the part of intergovernmental agencies, if Palestine is again excluded from consideration as the major place for large-scale Jewish immigration.

"The Palestine Resolution now introduced in Congress is a great act in behalf of a great cause in a great and historic hour. All men of good will everywhere --- Jews and non-Jews alike --- will applaud and endorse the spirit of statesmanship and noble humanity which motivated the introduction of this Resolution."

DR. STEPHEN S. WISE

"The introduction of the Wright-Compton resolution is yet another step on the way to the end of the White Paper and the beginning of a new policy in relation to Palestine. The Congressional resolution would reinstate the Balfour Declaration in the place of the White Paper, which should never have been written.

"I do not doubt that the members of both Houses in Congress will see fit to give their almost unanimous endorsement to a resolution which is in accord with the spirit of the whole American people, not only with that of millions of American Jews. The resolution should be adopted without delay and its adoption should be as impressive and significant as was the unanimous adoption of the Lodge-Fish resolution of 22 years ago."

AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE-PALESTINE COMMISSION

Minutes Meeting January 31, 1944

I. PRESENT: Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, presiding; Mrs. Albert Schoolman, Miss Jane Evans, Meyer Weisgal, David Wertheim, Isidore Sack, Carl Sherman, Max Schneider, Harry Shapiro, J. S. Pearlstien, Dr. A. Kohanski, Ann Jarcho.

II. MINUTES PREVIOUS MEETING. Approved as presented.

III. REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON COOPTIONS. Miss Evans, reporting for the Committee, stated that its recommendations included that the maximum number of members on the Palestine Commission be thirty, and submitted the following names for co-option: Mrs. Albert Schoolman, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Herman Shulman, William I. Siegel, Lester Gutterman, Dr. Simon Federbusch, Gedaliah Bublick, Max Kopstein, Judge Samuel Mellitz, Dr. Robert Gordis, Isaac Hamlin, Dr. Benjamin Schwadran, Rabbi James Heller, Rabbi Solomon Freehof, Robert Szold, David Watchmaker, Sidney Hollander and Mrs. Simon Sobeloff.

On motion duly made, seconded and carried, the report was accepted and with the exception of William I. Siegel and Lester Gutterman, all were declared coopted to the Commission. Mr. Schneider was authorized to communicate with Mr. Bisgwyer relative to the cooption of B'nai B'rith members. It was agreed that following Mr. Schneider's report of his discussion with B'nai B'rith, that the names then presented should be declared elected.

IV. PUBLICATION OF PAMPHLETS: Mr. Shapiro reported that:

- a) The American Zionist Emergency Council accepted the recommendations of this Commission that the following pamphlets be published ~~under the~~ under the imprimatur of the American Jewish Conference: The Legality of the White Paper and the Absorptive Capacity of Palestine. He further reported that these pamphlets are now in preparation but it is not possible at this time to indicate the date of publication.
- b) Dr. Kohanski reported that the Proceedings of the Conference will be completed as scheduled - by the end of February.

V. CONGRESSIONAL RESOLUTION ON PALESTINE. Dr. Silver reported that the Resolution was introduced in the House of Congress and that it is expected that a similar Resolution will be introduced in the Senate very shortly. In this connection Mr. Kenen submitted some concrete proposals for the mobilization of public opinion in support of the Palestine Resolution introduced in Congress. After discussion of the proposals submitted, the following were adopted:

1. That a letter should go to all delegates in the name of the Commission informing them of the introduction of the resolution; urging them to write immediately, in their capacity as Conference delegates, to their local Congressmen bespeaking support for the Resolution; suggesting that they write letters of appreciation to the authors of the Resolution and to the two floor leaders for their statements of support; recommending that they convene their electors for the purpose of mobilizing support for the Resolution by the adoption of Resolutions by their local organizations and the transmission of these and individualized letters to their local Congressmen.
2. That the Co-Chairmen of the Conference address a communication to the Chairman and members of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, (and later, after Resolution has been introduced in the Senate, a similar letter to be addressed to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee) and similar communications to the Majority and Minority leaders of the House and Senate.
3. That the Conference make a formal appearance at the hearings on the Resolution before the House and Senate Committees. This delegation should be composed of leading Zionists and non-Zionists in the Conference. In this way, we can make it clear that the Resolution is widely supported by all segments of American Jewry.
4. Mr. Weisgal urged that the Conference draft a petition relative to Palestine, and that the Conference, in cooperation with other organizations within the Conference, organize the effort to obtain a million or more signatures of Jews to such petition - the form, content and to whom such petition is to be addressed, as well as the detailed procedure, to be considered by a special committee to be appointed by the Chairman; further, that the Interim Committee be polled by telegraph with a view to obtaining their approval of such petition. After discussion, the above was adopted.
5. That a letter should go to all national organizations affiliated with the Conference pointing out that the Resolution is the first step in the implementation of the Conference Palestine Resolution, and urging their national Boards or Executive Committees to adopt statements appealing to Congress to support the Congressional Resolution. These statements or Resolutions should be sent to the House Foreign Affairs and Senate Foreign Relations Committees.
6. That the Public Relations be authorized to release to the press the letters addressed to the Chairmen and members of the House Foreign Affairs Committee and to the Majority and Minority leaders of the House and Senate.

VI. NEXT MEETING. The next meeting of the Palestine Commission was scheduled for luncheon on Tuesday, February 15, 1944, 12:30, Biltmore Hotel.

[Jan. 1944]

78th Congress
Committee on Foreign Affairs
House of Representatives

....., 194.....

Subject:

Name and State	Aye	Nay	Remarks
Mr. Sol Bloom, N. Y.			
Chairman.			
" Luther A. Johnson, Tex.			
" John Kee, W. Va.			
" James P. Richards, S. C.			
" Joseph L. Pfeifer, N. Y.			
" Pete Jarman, Ala.			
" W. O. Burgin, N. C.			
" Wirt Courtney, Tenn.			
" Thomas S. Gordon, Ill.			
" Howard J. McMurray, Wis.			
" Will Rogers, Jr., Calif.			
" J. W. Fulbright, Ark.			
" Mike Mansfield, Mont.			
" James A. Wright, Pa.			
" Charles A. Eaton, N. J.			
Mrs. Edith N. Rogers, Mass.			
Mr. Robert B. Chipfield, Ill.			
" John M. Vorys, Ohio.			
" Foster Stearns, N. H.			
" Karl E. Mundt, S. Dak.			
" Bartel J. Jonkman, Mich.			
Mrs. Frances P. Bolton, Ohio.			
Mr. Jas. W. Wadsworth, N. Y.			
" Charles L. Gerlach, Pa.			
" Andrew C. Schiffler, W. Va.			

SPONSORS
REPRESENTATIVES

Republicans

Bates, George J.	Mass.
Bender, Geo. H.	Ohio
Crawford, Fred L.	Michigan
Day, Stephen A.	Illinois
Dirksen, Everett M.	Illinois
Herter, Christian A.	Mass.
Judd, Walter H.	Minnesota
Martin, Jcs. W., Jr.	Mass.
* Mundt, Karl E.	S. Dakota
* Rogers, Edith Nourse	Mass.
* Wadsworth, James W.	New York

Democrats

* Bloom, Sol	New York
Brooks, Overton	La.
Celler, Emanuel	New York
* Eberharter, Herman P.	Pa.
* Fulbright, J. Wm.	Arkansas
Furlong, Grant	Pa.
McCormack, John W.	Mass.
O'Toole, Donald L.	New York
Priest, J. Percy	Tenn.
Sabath, Adolph J.	Illinois
Voorhis, Jerry	Calif.
* Johnson, Luther A.	Texas

* Member Foreign Affairs Committee

FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE
DEC. 6, 1943

TO BE SEEN BY

- | | | |
|------------------------------|--------------|-------------|
| 1. Tom Connally | Texas | Y |
| ✓ 2. Walter F. George | Georgia | |
| ○ 3. Robert F. Wagner | New York | |
| ○ 4. Elbert D. Thomas | Utah | |
| ○ 5. Fred'k Van Nuys | Indiana | |
| ○ 6. James E. Murray | Montana | |
| 7. Claude Pepper | Florida | |
| 8. Theo. F. Green | Rhode Island | |
| 9. Alben W. Barkley | Kentucky | |
| 10. Robt. R. Reynolds | No. Carolina | |
| ○ 11. Jos. F. Guffey | Pennsylvania | |
| 12. Guy M. Gillette | Iowa | |
| 13. Bennett Champ Clark | Missouri | |
| 14. Carter Glass | Virginia | |
| 15. Tunnell, Jas. M. | Delaware | |
| 16. Hiram W. Johnson | California | |
| ○ 17. Arthur Capper | Kansas | |
| 18. Robt. M. LaFollette Jr. | Wisconsin | |
| ○ ✓ 19. Arthur H. Vandenburg | Michigan | <i>Sack</i> |
| ○ ✓ 20. Wallace H. White Jr. | Maine | |
| 21. Henrik Shipstead | Minnesota | |
| 22. Gerald P. Nye | No. Dakota | |
| 23. James J. Davis | Pennsylvania | |

Sack & Feuer. See by *Rauhlatt*
Ready to go about
See ATC

~~Feuer~~ *See O.K.*
Should be seen, Friendly. *(call Wed)*

~~Stone~~ *Will be seen by Shaw & Feuer*

~~Sack & Stone~~

Sack

~~Sack~~ *favorable. Adv. war. very*
favorable

~~Sack~~ *should call*

Has been seen by Mr. Fugle

~~Stone~~ *Sack. Lodge has favor*

~~Sack~~ *ATC, Sack*

~~Stone & Sack~~ *Silver*

Feuer will see him

~~Sack~~

Sack. Has been seen favorable
Tob

20/ 6/23 N3

RESOLUTION

WHEREAS the Sixty-seventh Congress of the United States on June 30, 1922, unanimously resolved "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 which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of Christian and all other non-Jewish communities in Palestine, and that the holy places and religious buildings and sites in Palestine shall be adequately protected"; and

WHEREAS the ruthless persecution of the Jewish people in Europe has clearly demonstrated the need for a Jewish homeland as a haven for the large numbers who have become homeless as a result of this persecution: Therefore be it

RESOLVED, that the United States shall use its good offices and take appropriate measures to the end that the doors of Palestine shall be opened for free entry of Jews into that country, and that there shall be full opportunity for colonization so that Palestine may in due course be reconstituted as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth with complete equalities of rights for all its inhabitants without distinction of race or creed.

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RESOLUTION

WHEREAS the Sixty-seventh Congress of the United States, on June 30, 1922, unanimously resolved "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 which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of Christian and all other non-Jewish communities in Palestine, and that the holy places and religious buildings and sites in Palestine shall be adequately protected"; and

WHEREAS President Wilson, in 1918, made the following public declaration: "I am persuaded that the Allied nations with the full concurrence of our government and our people are agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the foundations of a Jewish Commonwealth"; and

WHEREAS the ruthless persecution of the Jewish people in Europe had clearly demonstrated the need for a Jewish homeland as a haven for the larger numbers who have become homeless as a result of this persecution: Therefore be it

RESOLVED, that the United States shall use its good offices and take appropriate measures to the end that the doors of Palestine shall be opened for free entry of Jews into that country, and that there shall be full opportunity for colonization and economic development so that they may continue the upbuilding of Palestine as the national home of the Jewish people in accordance with the clear intent and purpose of the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate.

706 693 23
RESOLUTION RELATIVE TO PALESTINE

RESOLVED by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that Congress hereby reaffirm 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 Sixty-seventh Congress on the thirtieth day of June, 1922. (Public number 73, Sixty-seventh 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.

THAT, the doors of Palestine be kept open and free for Jewish immigration - the victims of Nazi tyranny - 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.

6 C 23 nls
JLH

DRAFT RESOLUTION

January, 1944

WHEREAS, the 67th Congress of the United States on June 30, 1922, unanimously resolved, "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 which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of Christian and all other non-Jewish communities in Palestine, and that the Holy places and religious buildings and sites in Palestine shall be adequately protected," and

WHEREAS, the ruthless persecution of the Jewish people in Europe has clearly demonstrated the need for a Jewish homeland as a haven for the large numbers who have become homeless as a result of this persecution,

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED

By the Senate of the United States that the government of the United States shall use its good offices and take appropriate measures to the end that the doors of Palestine shall be opened for free entry of Jews into that country, and there shall be full opportunity for colonization so that the Jewish people may reconstitute the Jewish Commonwealth in its ancestral home.

1/10/44

78TH CONGRESS
2D SESSION

S. RES. 247

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

FEBRUARY 1 (legislative day, JANUARY 24), 1944

MR. WAGNER (for himself and Mr. TAFT) submitted the following resolution;
which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations

RESOLUTION

Whereas the Sixty-seventh Congress of the United States on June 30, 1922, unanimously resolved "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 which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of Christian and all other non-Jewish communities in Palestine, and that the holy places and religious buildings and sites in Palestine shall be adequately protected"; and

Whereas the ruthless persecution of the Jewish people in Europe has clearly demonstrated the need for a Jewish homeland as a haven for the large numbers who have become homeless as a result of this persecution: Therefore be it

- 1 *Resolved*, That the United States shall use its good
- 2 offices and take appropriate measures to the end that the

- 1 doors of Palestine shall be opened for free entry of Jews
- 2 into that country, and that there shall be full opportunity
- 3 for colonization so that the Jewish people may ultimately
- 4 reconstitute Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish
- 5 commonwealth.

78TH CONGRESS
2D SESSION

S. RES. 247

RESOLUTION

Favoring action by the United States looking
to the restoration of Palestine as a home-
land for the Jewish people.

By Mr. WAGNER and Mr. TAFT

FEBRUARY 1 (legislative day, JANUARY 24), 1944
Referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations

C O P Y

Dr. Silver

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN, Inc.
1819 BROADWAY
NEW YORK

631 Boston Boulevard
Detroit 2, Michigan

Mr. Henry Monsky
American Jewish Conference
521 Fifth Avenue
New York 17, New York

February 2nd, 1944

Dear Mr. Monsky:

At its meeting on November 23rd, the Interim Committee of the American Jewish Conference adopted a Resolution that directed its Palestine Commission "to undertake immediately a program for the mobilization of American public opinion against the British White Paper of 1939." In a letter received by me on January 3rd from Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, Chairman of the Palestine Commission, it was made evident that the work for the abrogation of the White Paper was being joined to that of defending the interests of the Jewish National Home. Furthermore, in "The Conference Record" of January 15th, it was stated that "the Palestine Commission requested all delegates to offer their services to local Emergency Committees for Palestine, which have been formed throughout the country by the American Zionist Emergency Council, to defend Jewish rights to Palestine, and the interests of the Jewish National Home."

We, the National Council of Jewish Women, regret that, as a member organization of the American Jewish Conference, we are not permitted to join our efforts with those of the other groups within the Conference in working for the abrogation of the White Paper because this work is being conducted for the American Jewish Conference by the Zionist organizations. According to the Resolution which was adopted by the delegate body of the Seventeenth Triennial Convention of the National Council of Jewish Women, in November, 1943, we recorded ourselves as a cross-section of Jewish women, of all shades and phases of Jewish thinking, in favor of a definite program that concerned Palestine, on which all our members could unite; but, because we are a cross-section of Jewish Women, we cannot permit our Sections to register under the banner of any National organization whose platform would not be acceptable to all members of the National Council of Jewish Women. We feel obliged to register this statement with you at this time because there is no doubt of our desire to add our strength to that of other organizations working for the abrogation of the British White Paper on Palestine, but we must do so only in keeping with our own policies.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed)

Mrs. Joseph M. Welt
NATIONAL PRESIDENT

MGW:ML



1003 K STREET, N. W. • WASHINGTON, D. C.

February 3, 1944

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Omaha

✽

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Greensboro

BENJAMIN SAMUELS
Chicago
and

PRESIDENTS OF ALL
AMERICAN DISTRICTS

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
Chairman, Palestine Commission
American Jewish Conference
c/o The Temple
Ansel Road & E. 105th Street
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Rabbi Silver:

I am pleased to inform you of the action taken by the Executive Committee of B'nai B'rith, at its meeting held in Washington, D. C. on January 30 and 31:

"A motion was made, seconded and carried that the following resolution be adopted:

"BE IT RESOLVED, by the Executive Committee of B'nai B'rith at its first meeting since the sessions of the American Jewish Conference, that our President Henry Monsky be commended for his vision and statesmanship in initiating the call of the Pittsburgh Conference, leading to the historic meeting of the American Jewish Conference, which was called to serve our people and to formulate a common program of action in this critical period.

"BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the B'nai B'rith shall continue its full participation in the American Jewish Conference and its Interim Committee; and

"BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that we fervently express the hope that through the instrumentality of the American Jewish Conference complete unity of action may be attained."

With cordial regards,

Sincerely yours,

Maurice Bisgyer
Secretary

MB:REG

Copy to Mr. Jay Pearlstien, Administrative Secretary

11/31/44 J.P.
Lester J. Pearlstien
11/31/44 J.P.
1944 J.P.

RAYMOND SWING

NINE ROCKEFELLER PLAZA
NEW YORK, N. Y.

AHS

February 4, 1944

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York City

My dear Dr. Silver:

It is with the deepest of gratification and appreciation that I acknowledge the receipt of your letter of February 1st and the contribution to the Kirchwey fund in the sum of \$1000 made by the American Zionist Emergency Council.

I am greatly encouraged by this gift, both because it will enable Freda Kirchwey to do a number of things of fundamental importance and because it is the token of and understanding of the relationship of the Nation to the problems of our day, which in the past has not been on the part of many.

I am hopeful that I shall have the pleasure of seeing you at the dinner and of thanking you in person.

Cordially

RS:LS/es

6-22/7 11/20/44
Swing ev
1st Raymond Swing

THE EXECUTIVE OF THE ZIONIST ORGANIZATION

Jerusalem, February 6, 1944

Mr. Arthur Lourie
American Zionist Emergency Council
41 East 42nd Street
NEW YORK

No. 409

Dear Lourie,

Herewith a batch of news that may be of some interest to you.

- 1) Zionist conferences: Over the last weekend two conferences of Zionist federations took place, one in London and the other in Montreal. According to telegraphic news from London, the conference of the E.Z.F. was attended by over 700 delegates and heard important addresses and decided on a united Palestine campaign (of the KH, KKL, etc.) with the aim of reaching £ 1,000,000. The old leadership was re-elected with the addition to it of Leon Simon who, as you might have heard, received his knighthood among the last New Year's honours. We are still waiting to hear from Canada.
 - 2) Zionist Federations: Reports from the various countries continue to be satisfactory. I hope to give you shortly some facts and figures on achievements recorded as far as Zionist and fund-raising activities, youth movement, education, membership and shekel campaigns, issue of literature, etc. are concerned.
 - 3) North Africa: A new feature in our work is the revival of the Zionist activities in the liberated countries of North Africa. An enormous amount of work can be done here, especially in the educational sphere, if the considerable external difficulties can be overcome, as we hope they will be in the course of time. The local communities which have not been slow in establishing Hebrew educational institutions and resuming Zionist activities, naturally depend on guidance and help from Palestine, and we are most anxious to assist them, especially in the way of personal contacts.
 - 4) European Jewry: All reports received from some recent arrivals here have made the most stirring impression on everybody who has heard these accounts, which in their horror surpass the wildest imagination. The Yishuv through its established agencies is trying to be helpful, and it is hoped that the help of other agencies abroad will also be forthcoming.
- Dr. Eliash has been sent on a mission to Turkey, where he is expected to work in close contact with Barlas. His journey co-incided with that of Chief Rabbi Herzog, who might also be helpful through his connections.
- 5) Immigration: Some comfort in that catastrophic situation has been derived from the fact that after a long interval Palestine has been able to receive again a trickle of immigrants from such countries as Yemen, Algiers, Bulgaria and lately Portugal. One wishes to see in this a good beginning.
 - 6) Budget: There has been some delay in the formal adoption of the budget for 5704. The Agency budget, exceeding the mark of 2 millions has just passed the committee stage and will probably be submitted shortly for approval by the Inner A.C. It is significant that the Zionist Executive, for its restricted sphere of work, finds great difficulty in balancing its annual budget amounting to £ 30,000 only. This is only natural when one remembers that the Zionist Organisation has one source of revenue only, the Shekalim, the number of which, even if growing, has its natural limitations. As it is, the cutting down of some items of expenditure will be unavoidable. The problem of finding adequate means for the expected revival and expansion of organisation activities in the near future is still unsolved. The obvious alternatives are subsidies from the existing funds or the inauguration of a new fund. Suggestions under this head are invited.

Yours sincerely,
(Sgd) Leo Lauterbach
ORGANISATION DEPARTMENT

ld 3/8/44

[Feb. 8, 1944]

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 IMMEDIATE RELEASE

DR. SILVER BLASTS WHITE PAPER

AT HOUSE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE HEARING

- - - - -

SAYS FRAMERS OF BALFOUR DECLARATION AND PALESTINE MANDATE

WANTED A JEWISH COMMONWEALTH ESTABLISHED

- - - - -

Washington -- Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, chairman of the executive committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council, today told the House Foreign Affairs Committee that the British White Paper of 1939 is "utterly unsupportable and insufferable," and that the framers of the Balfour Declaration and the Palestine Mandate "meant a Jewish Commonwealth" when they spoke of the establishment of a National Home for the Jewish people in Palestine.

Dr. Silver appeared in support of the pending Wright-Compton resolutions (HR 418-419) which call on the United States to "use its good offices and take appropriate measures to the end that the doors of Palestine shall be opened for free entry of Jews into that country, and that there shall be full opportunity for colonization, so that the Jewish people may ultimately reconstitute Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth."

Pointing out that, under the terms of the White Paper, Jews will be permitted to enter Palestine only "on Arab sufferance and consent," Dr. Silver told the Committee that this "confronts the Jewish people and the whole civilized world with an appalling prospect." He declared that Jewish homelessness will be widespread after the war, with hundreds of thousands of Jews seeking new homes in a world which

(more)

will be inhospitable to immigration. "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," he added.

Asserting that the White Paper is "by no stretch of the imagination the fulfillment of the national aspirations of the Jewish people recognized in the Mandate," Dr. Silver declared: "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."

Highlights of Dr. Silver's testimony before the House Foreign Affairs Committee follow:

"Politically, the Jewish people as a people must become like every other people, possessed of an independent life in a national home. Not that all Jews should return to Palestine any more than that all Englishmen living 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. 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.

"There are no other opportunities for mass immigration 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; and it is with waves, and not with trickles that we must concern ourselves.

"We must not forget the experiences of Jewish refugees in the last ten 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

(more)

transition period when their national economies will be passing from a war-time to a peace-time footing.

"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.

"The record of pioneering achievement of the Jewish people in Palestine in the twenty years before the Second World War, 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 people increased from 55,000 to 600,000. Close to 300 colonies have been established. Some 2,000 factories and 4,000 small workshops were opened.

"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. Today Jewish Palestine is again vindicating its claim to full life and national freedom by the extraordinary contribution which it is making to the war effort of the United Nations. Some 23,000 young Palestinian Jews, out of that small population, have volunteered for service in the armies of the United Nations. Some 50,000 Palestinian Jews are engaged in defense work.

"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.

"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

(more)

earth today more prosperous than the Arabs of Palestine.

"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. 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.

"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 is it today!

"In March of this year, the pitifully restricted immigration schedule permitted under the White Paper will come to an end. Thereafter no more Jews will be permitted to enter 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 who will have to seek new homes in a world which will be inhospitable to immigration.

"No doubt the Jews of Europe, following the 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, so vicious, as after the last war."

1943-4 file
Feb 8, 1944

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 National 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 rebuilt 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 sympathetically 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 "reconstitution" of a Jewish homeland in Palestine was thus accepted as a world policy. It was 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 offered 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 are 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. In 1941 he declared 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,) assumed 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 Senate 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 (art.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 lebensraum 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 Hassein, 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 Hassein, 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 Hassein."

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 consummation. 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. The waters of the Jordan were harnessed for electric power. Some 2,000 factories and 4,000 small workshops were opened. The Dead Sea was made to yield 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 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 friendship 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 where they had no 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 -- unused, principally because of the administrative difficulties put in the way by Palestine officials -- remain. Thereafter, no more Jews will be permitted into 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 face 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 should 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 of immigration 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 experiences 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 harassed 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.

[Feb. 11, 1944]

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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

DR. SILVER SAYS FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE HEARINGS SHOW STRONG SUPPORT

FOR PALESTINE RESOLUTION, BUT WARNS "BATTLE IS NOT YET WON"

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REPORTS POLITICAL OUTLOOK BETTER IN LONDON AND WASHINGTON; ASSAILS

FORCES WORKING AGAINST ZIONIST CAUSE

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Washington -- Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, chairman of the executive committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council, today declared that the initial hearings on the Palestine Resolution (HR 418-419) before the House Foreign Affairs Committee "have shown unmistakably that the pending resolution commands very strong support both in the Committee and the House."

Dr. Silver warned, however, that "our own battle is not yet won, and it may be prolonged." In a formal statement, he pointed out that "apart from the handful of Jewish die-hards there are other forces working against our cause. As we gather strength, the opposition of all categories grows more desperate. They are justly apprehensive of the tremendous wave of pro-Zionist sentiment that is sweeping the country."

Opponents of the resolution, which calls for free entry of Jews into Palestine and the reconstitution of that country as "a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth," may have recourse to "delaying tactics designed to hold up the passage of the resolution in the hope that something may happen which will help to defeat it," Dr. Silver warned. He added that "it is possible that an effort will be made to delay Congressional action by bringing about intervention by one Department of the Government or

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another. Arguments on the ground of 'military necessity' may be used against the resolution as they were used a year ago to prevent or delay the restoration of the rights of the Jews of Algeria under the Cremieux Decree."

Asserting that "those charged with responsibility are vigilant and will continue to do all that is necessary," Dr. Silver declared that the intensive campaigns which have been conducted for the abrogation of the White Paper and for a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine, "combined with the quiet political work which has been carried on, have produced a cumulative effect. It is no exaggeration to say that the political outlook regarding Palestine has recently undergone a change for the better both in Washington and London. I have reason to hope that we shall see evidence of this gradual improvement in the near future."

The text of Dr. Silver's statement follows:

"The initial hearings on the Palestine Resolution before the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives constitute yet another milestone in our struggle for a Jewish Palestine. The hearings have shown unmistakably that the pending resolution commands very strong support both in the Committee and the House. This was indicated by the attitude of the Chairman, Mr. Sol Bloom, by the emphatic expression of support made in Committee by the majority and minority leaders of the House and by the long line of Congressmen who appeared and asked to be heard in favor of the resolution. There is little room for doubt that a large majority favors affirmative action. It was also brought out that there has been a most impressive registration of opinion on the part of Jews and non-Jews in every section of the country.

"As might have been expected, the inveterate foes of Zionism put in an appearance as they did in 1917 and in 1922. They used the old and hackneyed arguments which were used a quarter of a century ago and which were ignored by the Congress and Government of the United States and by other governments. The anti-Zionists, however, find themselves this time in a more difficult position. Then they openly

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attacked the Balfour Declaration and the Jewish National Home. Today they are forced to swallow both and to give their reluctant assent to most parts of the resolution now pending. But they continue to express their essential opposition to Zionism by concentrating their main attack on the Jewish Commonwealth on the ground that it goes 'beyond' the Balfour Declaration which they or their predecessors had opposed so bitterly and unsuccessfully in the past. Historically, they are fighting a losing battle.

"Our own battle is not yet won, and it may be prolonged. Apart from the handful of Jewish die-hards there are other forces working against our cause. As we gather strength, the opposition of all categories grows more desperate. They are justly apprehensive of the tremendous wave of pro-Zionist sentiment that is sweeping the country. Fearful of our success, they may have recourse to delaying tactics designed to hold up the passage of the resolution in the hope that something may happen which will help to defeat it. It is possible that an effort will be made to delay Congressional action by bringing about intervention by one Department of the Government or another. Arguments on the ground of 'military necessity' may be used against the resolution as they were used a year ago to prevent or delay the restoration of the rights of the Jews of Algeria under the Cremieux Decree. We must be prepared for all tactics and eventualities. Those charged with responsibility are vigilant and will continue to do all that is necessary. Our friends throughout the country must likewise continue on the alert and make their voices heard. In the final analysis, public opinion is the decisive factor in political affairs in a democratic country.

"The Zionist and Jewish public is entitled to know that the long and uphill fight we have been waging has not been in vain. Our protests against the White Paper, our insistent demand for a Jewish Commonwealth, the magnificent demonstration of solidarity at the American Jewish Conference, the intensive campaign which has been going on here and in other countries -- all of these things combined with the

(more)

quiet political work which has been carried on have produced a cumulative effect. It is no exaggeration to say that the political outlook regarding Palestine has recently undergone a change for the better both in Washington and London. I have reason to hope that we shall see evidence of this gradual improvement in the near future.

"Whatever progress may be achieved, it will be accomplished not by timidity, but by courage and steadfastness. I, therefore, call upon all friends of Zion to persevere and redouble their efforts in these critical days."

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#41-2/11/44



February 18, 1944

Mr. John J. McCloy,
Assistant Secretary of War,
Pentagon Bldg.,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. McCloy:

I want to tell you how deeply I appreciated the courtesy of time and interest which you extended to me and to my dear friend, Robert Szold, yesterday afternoon. I felt very diffident about intruding upon you at the close of what must have been a long and crowded day. But the matter was, as you realized, one of great urgency, and the interest which you manifested in our problem heartened me greatly.

I am taking the liberty of enclosing, herewith, a small pamphlet which gives some of the facts which will help to explain why the resolutions on Palestine were introduced in the House and in the Senate. I hope that you will take the time to read this booklet for it will serve to clarify some of the subjects which we discussed yesterday.

I wonder whether I made the following points as clear as I should have wished to:

- (1) The reason why the resolutions were introduced at this particular time is because the White Paper goes into effect at the end of next month. The time was not of our choosing.
- (2) The resolutions are aimed at this White Paper which prohibits new Jewish immigration into Palestine after next month and practically prohibits the acquisition of land for future colonization. Hence, the provision in the resolutions "that the doors of Palestine shall be open for free entry of Jews into that country and that there shall be full opportunity for colonization."

(3) As I pointed out to you yesterday, the concept "of the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish People", - to use the words of the Balfour Declaration, or of "reconstituting their National Home in that country", - to use the words of the preamble of the Mandate for Palestine, was clearly understood by the statesmen who were responsible for both documents as meaning the reconstitution of a Jewish Commonwealth or a Jewish State. You need no better testimony than that of Lloyd George, who was Prime Minister at the time, Winston Churchill, General Smuts and President Wilson. There is nothing new in the term, "a Jewish Commonwealth."

(4) The purpose of the resolutions is to serve as an expression of the sentiment of the American People in behalf of the abrogation of the White Paper and for the fulfillment of the letter and spirit of the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate, both of which documents were accepted by our Government and embodied in a convention with Great Britain, signed on December 3, 1924. That the American people is overwhelmingly in favor of the abrogation of the White Paper is attested by the innumerable resolutions adopted by national organizations, religious bodies, State Legislatures, national labor organizations and by the press of the nation. In acting affirmatively on these resolutions, the Congress of the United States would do no more than make vocal in a very helpful manner the overwhelming desire of the American people. If you believe that the phrase "take appropriate measures" is too provocative or might lead to misunderstanding, it can be omitted from the text. Furthermore, if you believe that the second half of the resolution adopted in 1922 "that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of Christians and all other non-Jewish communities in Palestine, etc." should be repeated again in the present resolution, that can certainly be done.

(5) Any canvass of the House and the Senate at this moment will convince you that the resolutions would be adopted overwhelmingly, if not unanimously, by both Houses. If now the intervention of the War Department

brings about their defeat, it will be criticized, I am afraid, as the sole agency which seemingly insists upon the retention of this illegal and universally condemned White Paper.

(6) It has long been the technique of those opposed to the Jewish National Home and who have sought time and again to curb or liquidate it, to raise the scare of Civil War and the threat of Arab violence. A similar technique, you will recall, was used in favor of the continued disfranchisement of Algerian Jews, which the abrogation of the Cremieux decree brought about. I was very happy to learn of the significant role which you played in the restoration of the rights of these disfranchised Jews of Algeria. Your own impressions of your recent visit to Palestine and those of Mr. Robert Szold seemed to coincide. Palestine and the Near East are not in any danger of serious disturbances. The Arabs who had been flirting with the Axis powers now fully understand who is going to win this war and they will certainly do nothing to antagonize those nations to whom they will have to turn in order to make secure their rights in their respective countries.

(7) A copy of the resolutions was seen by Secretary Cordell Hull before it was introduced. At that time he registered no opposition to it whatsoever. Had he given any indication of its untimeliness or any criticism of its wording, his wishes, I am sure, would have been followed. Senator Taft, likewise, addressed a communication of inquiry to the Secretary of State before he consented to introduce his resolution. The Senator, likewise, received no negative reaction. The opinion of many leaders in the Administration and of both political parties was canvassed before the resolution was introduced. There was no indication that the resolution was even untimely or would embarrass our Government or the prosecution of the war. On the

February 18, 1944

strength of it all, the responsible leaders of American Jewry, in behalf not only of the Zionists but of the great American Jewish Conference which represented all sections of American Jewry, urged the introduction of this resolution. If this resolution is now defeated or action upon it indefinitely postponed, it will be a serious political defeat for a great movement, a defeat for which, I am sure, the War Department does not wish to be responsible. Our movement will receive a bad blow, which it did not merit, and from the hands of friends.

(8) I am wondering, as are many of my friends, whether some people who have been consistently hostile or indifferent to the Jewish National Home, and who are unwilling to take the responsibility themselves, are not manoeuvring the War Department into this unenviable position.

Please think through this matter again, my dear Mr. McCloy. You may wish to show this communication to Secretary Stimson, who has been a good friend of the movement for many years. You may wish to discuss it with me and my colleagues again. Please be assured that any effort which you will expend in this matter will be profoundly appreciated by the Jews of America and of the world and by men of good will everywhere. For the hundreds of thousands of martyred Jews of Europe, the opening of the doors of Palestine is their one last hope and salvation.

Permit me to remain

Most cordially yours,

AHS:NEK

Abba Hillel Silver

February 12, 1944

Dr. Stephen S. Wise,
340 West 57th Street,
New York City

Confidential

My dear Dr. Wise:

I hope that you have returned well from your visit to the Pacific Coast.

Much has happened since you left. I am sorry that you asked for a postponement of our interview with the President, but then that is water under the bridge.

Monsky, who was in Pittsburgh attending the Annual Meeting of the Council of Welfare Federations, met up with Blaustein and Proskauer, who did not seem to know any more than we did about the constitution of the delegation and what the President intended to say. They indicated, however, that if we were to bring up the subject of the Commonwealth before the President, they would be compelled to express their opposition. This would have converted the meeting into an unpleasant fight between Jews in the presence of the President.

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

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

Now that the joint delegation has been indefinitely postponed, the President may find it necessary, in view of the many petitions addressed to him from all sides, to make some sort of statement to the public. Judge R. and I discussed the nature of such a statement. I also discussed it with the members of the Emergency Council at its last meeting in Washington last Tuesday. Judge R. said that he would let us know before any statement is issued. I urged upon him to have that statement include a reference to a Jewish Commonwealth. He doubted that that could be done.

You have probably learned by now about the hearings before the Foreign Affairs Committee. They went off well but the opposition, I am afraid, did succeed in confusing a few of the members on the subject of Church and State, and are the Jews a race, a religion or a people. The second day's discussion went far afield, but in looking over the debate before the Foreign Affairs Committee in 1922, the very same thing happened then. There will be another hearing next Tuesday - I believe the final hearing - I hope that you will appear before the Committee next Tuesday as your presence was greatly missed. Mr. Bloom, who has been behaving very decently, is particularly anxious to have you come. At this hearing the Arabs will appear and it is important to close the hearings on a friendly note, favorable to our side.

The members of the Foreign Affairs Committee have been flooded with messages from their home constituencies, as have all the members of Congress. The country has responded beautifully.

The point of attack, of course, has been and will continue to be the phrase in the Resolution calling "for the reconstitution of a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth." Some members of the Committee, when they get into Executive Session, may attempt to amend the Resolution. In that case, it would be better to have action on the Resolution delayed.

The War Department has already indicated to both the Foreign Affairs and Foreign Relations Committees that it regards the Resolution undesirable from a military point of view. I am inclined to believe that Mr. Bloom is not greatly impressed by this fact. However, that is a factor that we shall have to evaluate as we go along. It may be an attempt on the part of the State Department to shift the responsibility onto the military as they did in the case of the Cremieux laws.

I hope to see you at the hearing in Washington next Tuesday. Perhaps you can come on Monday, at which time we can, personally, canvass the entire situation in detail.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:NEK

Abba Hillel Silver

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

February 18, 1944.

To the Members of the Emergency Council:

I enclose herewith, for your information, the following:

- 1) Copy of cable dated February 6th from Dr. Grunbaum.
- 2) Copies of two articles which appeared in the London Times.

I should also like to draw your attention to the following note which appeared in the J.T.A. of February 3rd under a London dateline.

"More than forty thousand Jews are now serving with British armed forces in the Middle East, it was disclosed in the House of Commons today by War Minister Sir James Grigg. Sir James said that this total included all units on active service as well as local forces."

Yours sincerely,

Arthur Lourie
Arthur Lourie

AL:LD

Reminder: Meeting of Executive Committee, Monday, February 21, at 4:00 P. M. at 342 Madison Avenue, Room 1421.

Meeting of Emergency Council, Monday, February 21, at 8:15, same place.

C
O
P.
Y. O R C A B L E

JERUSALEM FEBRUARY 6, 1944 (RECEIVED FEBRUARY 13, 1944)

NLT DR. STEPHEN WISE

342 MADISON AVENUE

NEW YORK CITY

MOST GRATIFIED APPOINTMENT GOVERNMENT COMMITTEE EUROPEAN REFUGEES CONFIDENT YOUR
DOING UTMOST ENSURE COMMITTEE ACHIEVE REAL RESULTS BY CONTRAST FORMER COMMITTEES
STOP AMONG POLISH JEWS ARRIVED HERE RECENTLY ONE LEFT POLAND LAST MAY STOP THEY
REPORT UNINTERRUPTED EXTERMINATION ONLY HUNDREDS THOUSANDS REMAINING OF MILLIONS
POLISH JEWS AND OTHERS EXILED TO POLAND STOP SURVIVORS IN LABOUR CAMPS OR HIDING
BOTH CATEGORIES UNDER CONSTANT THREAT EXTERMINATION STOP IN CAMPS WEAK OR SICK
BEING KILLED SAME FATE AWAITS HIDERS CAUGHT GESTAPO OFFERING REWARDS STOP AS FRONT
APPROACHES BALKANS DANGER GERMAN DOMINATION HUNGARY RUMANIA BULGARIA WHERE OVER
MILLION JEWS STOP GOVERNMENTS THESE COUNTRIES OFFICIALLY FORBID JEWISH EMIGRATION
BUT IN PRACTICE DONT INTERFERE STOP DIFFICULTIES ARE FIRST TRANSPORT SECOND INVOLVED
PROCEDURE SECURING IMMIGRATION PERMITS THIRD FEAR TURKISH GOVERNMENT GRANT JEWS
TRANSMIT VISAS LEST THEY UNABLE CONTINUE JOURNEY STOP ESSENTIAL SIMPLIFY PROCEDURE
ALSO CONVINCE TURKEY NO JEWS IN TRANSIT REMAIN STOP NECESSARY OFFICIALS DEALING
JEWISH REFUGEES BE INSTRUCTED EXPEDITE FACILITIES NOT CREATE FORMAL DIFFICULTIES
STOP ABOVE ALL URGENT EXTRAORDINARY STEPS BE TAKEN INCLUDING THREAT RETALIATION
VIEW FORCING GERMANS CEASE SLAUGHTER STOP AT LEAST FOR SOME CATEGORIES SUCH AS
CHILDREN VETERANS PUBLIC WORKERS ESSENTIAL ARRANGE EXCHANGE AGAINST INTERNED GERMANS
ALLIED COUNTRIES STOP IF ROOSEVELT COMMITTEE TACKLING WORK SERIOUSLY MUST FIRST
PROVIDE PLACES REFUGE AMERICA ONLY THEN PROSPECT OTHER ALLIED NEUTRAL COUNTRIES
ACTING LIKEWISE STOP UNDER WHITE PAPER ONLY 21000 STILL ADMISSIBLE PALESTINE STOP
PLEASE DO UTMOST IMPRESS AMERICAN JEWRY AND ROOSEVELT COMMITTEE DAYS NUMBERED STOP
ABSOLUTELY VITAL THIS HOUR SUPREME TRAGEDY ALL INTERNAL DIFFERENCES BE OVERCOME AS
WAS DONE HERE ALL AMERICAN JEWS UNITING VIEW SAVING LAST REMNANTS EUROPEAN JEWRY
STOP CABLE

ISAAC GRUENBAUM UNITED RESCUE COMMITTEE

SYRIA AND THE LEBANON

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I -- THE BID FOR INDEPENDENT STATUS

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STRENGTH OF NATIONAL SENTIMENTS

From Our Special Correspondent in Syria

In a short ceremony on January 3 the Lebanese and Syrian States jointly took over the Customs and the tobacco monopoly, administered since 1928 by France as the mandatory on their behalf. The change is small; but it consecrates the independence of these two States, and marks the end, except in law, of the mandate which France had exercised since 1919.

Although these two States are weak in population and resources, their accession to independent status focused for 10 days the interest of a world at war. The events of the first fortnight of November have had repercussions some of which were certainly unexpected by those responsible. The Moslem world, as Marshal Lyautey once said, is a sounding box. The clarion call of Beirut reverberated well beyond that world; and its last echoes may not die down for a long time.

To small nations the affair of the Lebanon was a test of the Atlantic Charter and of the sincerity of allied war-time promises. To the Arab world it was the first and a triumphant success against European domination and in favour of Arab unity, whatever be the ultimate limits of that ideal. To Jews it has appeared as a danger signal. To France it was bitter humiliation, and seemed proof that even their best friends could be induced to take an unfair advantage of their present weakness. Lastly, to the British it has been a source of argument and heart-searching. Whatever each man's standpoint, all but the irresponsible see that serious and unpleasant issues have been inopportunely raised. Now that passions are cooling all are trying to assess how much has been gained and how much lost, and which way the balance finally tilts.

A WORLD OF BARGAINING

The Levant, it is true, is a world of bargaining. Spontaneous reactions are bargaining. Spontaneous reactions are regularly modified in the sense most likely to impress an observer, whether he be friend, foe, or a disinterested third party. This reservation should be borne in mind in estimating the importance of repercussions from the Lebanese incident. One might ask, for instance, whether the economic and social clauses of the Atlantic Charter appeal as strongly as its political clauses to the groups now installed in sovereign power both in Syria and the Lebanon. The family, in its wider sense, is still the main focus of loyalties. Friends and supporters come next; employees, labourers, and other compatriots well below. Religion, according to the individual and the circumstances, takes either the highest or lowest place in this hierarchy of values.

There is therefore something to be said for the contention that the Atlantic Charter was invoked in the Lebanon to transfer power from a moderately efficient foreign administration to one no more efficient and almost as foreign; for the

politically minded town-dweller of Syria and the Lebanon, besides engaging in some profession or trade, is often a semi-feudal landlord given to harsh exploitation and thus little qualified to be regarded as of the people. French officials were freely accused of being corrupt and prone to political favouritism. Here, again, the change for the people may prove to be slight. The Levant was corrupt long before the French came on the scene.

But whatever its shortcomings by western standards, there has arisen in the Lebanon, in spite of its long history of close ties with France, a strong national sentiment which overrode Christian and Moslem differences as well as disagreements with Syria. The French, who paradoxically, are largely responsible for its growth, freely acknowledge this, with reservations about its durability. Popular enthusiasm over the change from a flag based on the Tricolor to one which carried no association with France was the most obvious manifestation of the new sentiment.

FRENCH INTENTIONS

In invoking allied promises the Lebanese were on strong ground. Careful reading of the relevant documents -- namely, the declarations by General Catroux of June 8 and November 26, 1941, and President Naccach's reply to the latter -- may indeed leave some doubt whether the Free French Committee (as it then was) intended to commit itself to a relaxation of French control as completely or as unconditionally as the Lebanese or the British made out. But there is sufficient ambiguity to justify the Lebanese Government's contention that, especially in the circumstances in which the proclamations were made, the Lebanese people -- and the Syrians too -- were meant to interpret them in the most liberal sense. The British as guarantors of the first Catroux proclamation, and the Americans as signatories of the Atlantic Charter, when the matter came to the test, backed up the Lebano-Syrian point of view. They certainly were in part prompted by the fear of jeopardizing allied credit elsewhere. They were also encouraged by the indignation which the first Press messages about the crises had provoked. By their decision in this case they set a precedent to which appeal will certainly be made.

Syria, which was only indirectly involved in the Lebanese dispute with the French, was the first beneficiary of the settlement. Juridically the positions of the two States are very different, as are their problems and outlook. In spite of the agreement to divide the revenues from interests communs in the ratio of 40 per cent to each State with the balance of 20 per cent to be held and divided later; and in spite of their decision to administer by a joint commission those interests which do not, like internal security services, have to be administered separately, the two States remain distinct. It might almost be said that they stand back to back.

CHRISTIAN AND MOSLEM

The core of the Lebanon is composed of a high mountainous area, the hinterland of Beirut, of which the population is 90 per cent Christian. This country, about 600,000 strong, was the autonomous Lebanon established under the Turks in the 1860's under the guarantee of the five major Powers at that time. To it in 1919 the French added the districts of Tripolis, Bekaa Valley, and Sidon, all predominantly Moslem. They had already made up their minds that Syria would soon be altogether lost to them. But they hoped to establish a permanent relation with the Lebanon and in order to strengthen it gave it a good port, a granary, and a common frontier with British Palestine. But in so doing they raised the Moslem population of the Lebanon, both Sunnite and Druze, to something near equality with the Christian population. This destroyed its natural cohesion, for the Christian looks to the west and the Moslem to the neighbouring Arab States. Under the impulse of emergent nationalism and

other causes these two groups united against the French for the securing of independence.

I arrived in Beirut just before Christmas. The Egyptian delegation was here and the streets were thick with Lebanese and Egyptian flags. At receptions in the Egyptians honour Christians who had long abandoned the tarbush were seen wearing it again as a symbol of Arab solidarity. It was the subject of almost affectionate jesting as Lebanese and Egyptians plunged their forks deeper into the thick cream of their meringues and hailed the visiting Briton as one of "our allies" to whom they owed their new-found unity and independence. But by the New Year, when I visited Damascus, a more thoughtful mood had set in and Christians of different sects would draw one into a corner to confide their anxieties and mutter that the Ministry was going too far and was already shaky.

ELECTORAL REFORM

The Lebanese Constitution provides for elections on a communal or confessional basis. The system lends itself to various abuses by which a foreign Power can easily profit. But it has ensured the Christians a majority in the Chamber. As a corollary it became the practice to choose a Christian, usually a Maronite, for President and a Moslem for Prime Minister. Such is the case today.

In the past 20 years politics in the Lebanon have been dominated by personalities and cliques rather than by programmes. But one man, ever since before the last war, has unswervingly fought for Arab independence and Arab unity, at any rate in the area stretching from the Taurus to Sinai. He is Riad Bey es-Solh, now Prime Minister, who throughout his life has sought alliance with whatever Power seemed at the time most likely to advance his cause. One of the first aims of his Ministerial declaration is the abolition of the confessional system of elections.

This change would not jeopardize Christian rights were the Lebanon to remain a completely detached and sovereign State. But if it became merely an autonomous area within Greater Syria the Christians might well wonder whether the Lebanon would not soon cease to have its present Christian physiognomy. Thus the attitude of the Christians in face of the proposed change depends largely on the attitude of the Lebanon's greater neighbour Syria.

II --- ARAB POLITICAL AIMS IN DAMASCUS

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THE CHALLENGE TO THE FRENCH

Unlike the Lebanese, the 3,000,000 Syrians, despite some powerful Christian, Druze, and Alawite minorities, form a compact Moslem nation. Under the bright sky and in the crisp air of Damascus you see the berobed Arabs of romance and legend -- handsome, tall, healthy, and proud. They are keenly religious, hardy, and prepared to fight for their independence and what they regard as their rights. They are inclined to look down on the Lebanese as hommes d'affaires, who live too well and have grown soft. Unlike them, the Syrians never accepted the mandate and rose several times against the French, who soon realized that they must be given what they demanded.

The National bloc at present in power is that which established the Constitution and negotiated the abortive Treaty of 1936 with the luckless Blum Government. The leaders, men of character and intelligence, have therefore had previous experience

of office. The President, Shukri Kowatly, and the Prime Minister, Saadullah Jabry, are both strict Moslems, admirers of King Ibn Saud and the Wahhabite tariq ("way of life" or "sect"). They neither smoke nor drink, and they break off their work when the muezzin calls the faithful to prayer.

The political aims of this National bloc are far-reaching. Greater Syria -- that is, Syria, the Lebanon, Palestine and Transjordan -- is, they say, a natural geographical and historical unit which should never have been split up. It must be reunited as soon as circumstances allow. Syria cannot recognize the sovereign independence of the Lebanon, though it is willing to recognize its autonomy. They have the same policy towards the Jewish colonies in Palestine to whom also they would be prepared to allow a certain autonomy. For the immediate future of Palestine, they say, the White Paper could be taken as a basis of understanding with the Arab world, and with Syria in particular. But they find it impossible to conceive any permanent settlement which leaves Palestine or any part of it outside the Arab world to which it belongs. As for the wider aspect of Pan-Arabism, the Syrians are prepared to take their place in any scheme eventually agreed upon by the rest of the Arab nations.

STRENGTH OF ISLAM

Though ready to take its place also among the United Nations and to do, within the limits of its means, whatever the Allied Command may ask, Syria is unwilling to discuss the question of a treaty with any nation, at least until the war is over. It will then be prepared to fit into whatever system of mutual defence the nations of the world may evolve. But Syria is opposed in principle to bilateral treaties, whether with France, Britain, or any other country; for Syrians consider such treaties contrary to the implied terms of the Atlantic Charter. This same objection is, incidentally, shared by the Lebanese. Syria is also opposed to a guarantee by any group of preponderant nations, or any division of Arab territory into zones of influence. She is confident that Arab Islam, if it can once be free of foreign mixture in its affairs, has strength enough within itself to provide for its own defence.

Though the more nationalist Lebanese, both Christian and Moslem, would endorse this policy, the majority of Christians are less sure of the innate strength of Islam except within its borders or of the wisdom of entrusting themselves too irrevocably to its protection. Many Lebanese would favour the sort of five-power guarantee which served them well under the Turks. But the Syrians have no use for this. They are as much opposed to the "Tangierization" of any part of Greater Syria as to its "Balkanization," and pointedly ask the Lebanese: "A guarantee against whom?" For if, as they suspect, it is against a Moslem Greater Syria, then they are uncompromisingly hostile. If ever such a guarantee should be forced on the Arab world, they say, Syria would reserve the right to claim the return of the provinces ceded to make up a Greater Lebanon after the last war. This cession, they add, was never accepted by Syria, but she kept silent because she saw therein the means of constituting an Arab Lebanon. Syria has no conflict with the Lebanon, I was told, but she might have if any foreigners were to try to extend their imperialism into that territory.

DENTZ'S TREACHERY

It is believed in Jerusalem that certain Jews or Jewish groups have been buying land in Syria or the Lebanon through non-Jewish agents. The Lebanese Prime Minister may well have had such a development in mind when he declared to the Chamber, "We will not make the Lebanon a focus for colonization; neither would our neighbours wish to see it become a gateway (pays de transit) for colonization elsewhere."

The French have committed many errors in their dealings with Syria and the Lebanon, though the planting of colonists was not one. The worst blunder, which, by the way, was largely the responsibility of Laval, was the failure to ratify the treaties of 1936. These were intended to give the two States independence, replacing the mandate with a 25 years' treaty with Syria and one in perpetuity with the Lebanon. The wise administration of M. Puaux, the High Commissioner, before the armistice nevertheless raised French prestige to its highest peak. But all this was lost when France was defeated and M. Puaux failed to win over the army of the Levant to resistance. Fifth column propaganda, Italian and German tourists, and all the other disruptive influences which were allowed in by General Dentz, made a deep impression, as the dossiers of several prominent Levantines could show.

THE FRENCH DILEMMA

The Free French, short of good personnel, burdened with too many officials who were contaminated by Vichy, and in certain matters ill-guided at the higher levels, failed to win back anything. Besides, they themselves became diverted from the hopes and good intentions which marked their entry. For from the moment the Free French installed themselves in the country they realized that the Lebanese regarded their presence as due not to their own efforts, but to those of the British, who had force and wealth on their side. Almost the entire Vichy force chose repatriation after the Acre armistice.

So when the Free French began to talk of a treaty with the Lebanese or the Syrians they were asked what validity they had to negotiate in the name of France. Disputes among the Free French, and the attitude of various Powers and personalities towards General De Gaulle, only served to strengthen the Lebanese in their claim. French reaction, which was perhaps shortsighted but understandable, became consciously or unconsciously to temporize, insisting that in any case the intention of General Catroux's proclamations was that independence should be conditional on the signing of treaties.

It may be recalled that while the Ottoman Empire lasted France was the protector of Christians and Britain of Arabs. Colonel Lawrence was carrying out the traditional British policy which, when the Ottoman Empire, their common enemy, was destroyed, left the British and French face to face as adversaries in the Levant. At the peace conference European interests dictated British acquiescence in the Sykes-Picot agreement and its execution. Imperial interests, reinforced by romantic sentiment, continued to back Lawrence's dream of Arab unity. Thus arose a certain duality in British policy, misconstrued by the French as duplicity, which still seems to survive. It was natural that the numerous and efficient corps of British specialists in the Near East, whose success was due in large measure to the admiration for the Arab way of life and sympathy with his aspirations, should take his side in any dispute with the French. In fact the whole inter-war period in the Levant was one of mutual pinpricks across the North Palestine border. Among officials of both sides this developed into a sort of routine and there was little love lost.

STRAINED RELATIONS

This caused little grave harm and only a minor diversion of effort while the forces were roughly balanced. Deplorable though it was, both sides were able to "take it." After the armistice, however, the British armies brought in their train a number of these officials as political officers. Patronizing impatience with inefficiency and sometimes corruption among the French revived the routine of pinpricks, and things took an ugly turn. The French officials turned more and more away from the urgent task of winning the war to the narrower patriotism of preserving French rights and prestige against what they regarded as encroachment. Thus, while

good relations were being successfully built up between the men of the fighting forces, the relations between the British and French administrative services steadily worsened.

Local politicians, chiefly in the Lebanon, were quick to spot the growing estrangement. Those who had long been opponents of the French, and even pro-Axis, turned bodily over to the British, whose friendship they tried to cultivate by various means. They succeeded so well that the French soon came to look upon the clamour for independence as a disguise for the transfer from French to British protection and began to believe that that was what the British wanted. The statesmanship of a Catroux could have straightened things out and prevented any rash action by either side; but, unfortunately for Anglo-French relations, he was called away to higher duties in Algiers. Such is the background against which the events of last November must be viewed.



CONFIDENTIAL

Memorandum to: Dr. Silver

Dated: February 22, 1944

From: Elihu D. Stone

Yesterday afternoon Dr. Feuer and I visited Congressman Bloom at his office. We spent about two hours with him in a discussion of the situation.

We conveyed to him the point of view of our Committee in clear and unmistakable language. We asserted that unless the Resolution is reported out of the Committee in its entirety, it will not be acceptable to us. Moreover that the basic element of the Resolution is its last clause which refers to "the reconstitution of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth". It is the heart and soul of the measure. This was in response to Mr. Bloom's suggestion that if this clause be eliminated or modified it was his conviction that the balance of the Resolution will be acted upon favorably.

Dr. Feuer and myself have taken great pains to convey to him that with reference to the question of eliminating or modifying the "Commonwealth" provision, there can be no compromise.

I am persuaded that the reasons advanced by us for this attitude were understood by Mr. Bloom.

It was his judgment, however, that this uncompromising attitude may serve to jeopardize the entire Resolution. He read to us a copy of a letter to Senator Connally by the Secretary of War Simpson. He also read to us a copy of a letter from the Secretary of State relative to the attitude of the Department towards the resolution. The substance of the letter is that in view of the attitude of the War Department, the Secretary of State, without passing on the merits of the resolution, must identify himself with the War Department.

Mr. Bloom did not solicit any of these communications. It

was Congressman Luther A. Johnson of Texas -- the ranking Democratic member of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs who solicited the communication without Mr. Bloom's knowledge.

It was the considered judgment of Mr. Bloom that unless some kind of a modification is permitted with reference to the last clause of the Resolution, the views of the War Department will be upheld by the majority of the Committee.

With reference to the Executive Session of the Committee at which two military men representing the War Department will appear, Mr. Bloom stated that it is his understanding that it was Congressman James W. Wadsworth of New York who approached Mr. ^{STIMSON} ~~Simpson~~ and requested him to send representatives of his Department in order to present the views of the military leaders to the Committee.

Mr. Bloom said that at the coming Executive Session of the Committee this Thursday anything could happen. In reply to a suggestion that no final action be taken at the Thursday Session with reference to the Resolution; that the Session be devoted exclusively to the testimony of the representatives of the War Department, Mr. Bloom said that once the Session of the Committee is in progress he would not be able to control the situation; that the Committee then has full freedom of action.

Mr. Bloom said it was possible that someone might suggest an amendment which would mutilate the resolution and be adopted. The Committee may even decide to take negative action on the entire Resolution.

He took pains to point out that even the friendly members of the Committee which could be expected to vote favorably on the merits of the measure, throughout the public hearing -- solicited the obtaining of the views of both the War Department and State Department.

As a result of his observations of the conduct of the individual

members of the Committee and by reasons of contacts with ^{then} ~~him~~ he felt that the uncompromising position taken by us will endanger the resolution in its entirety. Moreover even the postponement of final action by the Committee may be frustrated, in spite of himself.

It must be stated that Mr. Bloom took great pains to make his own position clear to us that he is ready and willing to go along with us; that he will comply with our wishes. However, Mr. Bloom stated emphatically that he could not assume any responsibility personally for the developments; that in view of the stubborn determination of the Zionist Emergency Committee to have the Resolution pass in its entirety as it is, and without any modification, the Zionist leadership would have to assume complete responsibility for the consequences.

Mr. Bloom pleaded by saying: "Give me something which would serve to accomplish the entire purpose of the Resolution including the last provision and yet would constitute such a modification of ~~the~~ ^{the} form of the last clause that would make it palatable to the Committee."

In response to a question that in view of the objections of the War Department to the entire resolution by what process of reasoning does Mr. Bloom propose to overcome the objections of the War Department merely by an amendment to the last clause, Mr. Bloom stated that this problem should be left to himself; that he would assume the responsibility for it and with confidence of success.

A discussion with reference to the kind of change he had in mind took place. The discussion was entirely academic as neither Dr. Feuer nor myself could speak with authority with reference to the modifications. On the contrary we made it very clear that in the line of Dr. Silver's view which he conveyed to Congressman Bloom, the provision with reference to the Commonwealth is the basic substance of the Resolution that no tampering with it will be countenanced, and that without the "common-

wealth" provision as it is now, the resolution is valueless.

However, it was the judgment of Mr. Bloom that if the Zionist Emergency Committee could see its way clear to agree to a change of FORM in the last clause he would undertake to carry it through successfully. The amendment should read (in substance) as follows:

"* * * * * SO THAT WHEN THE JEWISH PEOPLE SHALL
ATTAIN A MAJORITY IN PALESTINE THEY SHALL RECONSTITUTE
PALESTINE AS A FREE AND DEMOCRATIC COMMONWEALTH," or
words to that effect.

Mr. Bloom believed that this change in the wording or a similar wording satisfactory to the Zionists would be acceptable to the House Committee; that the resolution then in its entirety would be reported out favorably, the objections of the War Department notwithstanding.

Pressed for an explanation as to how one could reconcile such an action with the negative attitude of the Secretary of War as expressed in his communication wherein he objects to any favorable action on the Resolution as a whole, Mr. Bloom repeatedly insisted to please leave that matter to him; that he is convinced that with this change in the wording he could persuade the judgment of the members of the Committee of Foreign Affairs in our favor.

It seems to the writer that the aforesaid change (or amendment) does not in any way destroy the original intent. It eliminates the term, "ULTIMATE". It clearly asserts that ^{the} establishment of a free and democratic Commonwealth in Palestine is predicated on the attainment of a JEWISH majority of the population in Palestine as a condition precedent and that the words, "MAY RECONSTITUTE," is substituted by the words, "SHALL RECONSTITUTE." "SHALL" is more positive and leaves no room for more than one interpretation.

The writer is skeptical however as to the ability of Mr. Bloom to cause the other members of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs to coincide with his views.

It must be assumed that the other members of the Committee who now entertain unfavorable views with reference to the "Commonwealth" clause are not guided in their attitude merely by a whim or caprice. Hence the mere changing of the form without affecting the substance of the last provision may not be sufficient to bring about a reversal of views in harmony with Mr. Bloom's judgment; and yet Mr. Bloom may be correct.

All this requires great consideration and cautious judgment.

There will be no other opportunity for us to present our case before the U. S. Congress; the destiny of the Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine is being decided N O W.

E. J. S.

American Jewish Conference

521 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
Murray Hill 2-7197

PALESTINE COMMISSION

DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER
Chairman

I. L. KENEN
Public Relations Director

J. S. PEARLSTIEN
Administrative Secretary

February 24, 1944

To the Delegates to the
American Jewish Conference:

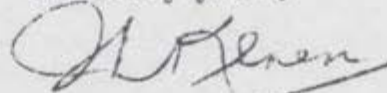
During the last few weeks there has been a remarkable outpouring of sentiment in support of the Wright-Compton and Wagner-Taft resolutions calling for the reconstitution of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth.

From all parts of the country Jewish organizations and their leaders have made a notable effort to inform members of Congress of their views on these resolutions. The unprecedented flood of telegrams, telephone calls and letters has profoundly impressed the Capitol, evoking many assurances of support from Congressmen.

Analysis of the situation now indicates the necessity for a similar and immediate approach to President Roosevelt and Secretary of State Cordell Hull, since it is evident that Congress will seek the advice of the executive branch.

We are therefore requesting all Conference delegates and organizations affiliated with the Conference to send letters appealing to the President and Secretary Hull to lend sympathy and support to the two resolutions. We are hopeful that the response to this new request will be as eloquent and as vigorous as the last one. Forceful action at this time may well determine the final outcome.

Sincerely yours,



I. L. Kenen
Public Relations Director

ILK:s

not sent

February 25, 1944

Mr. Robert Szold
30 Broad Street
New York, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Szold:

At the last meeting of the Emergency Council I was authorized to appoint a committee to consider the present status of the Political Bureau of the Jewish Agency which was established a few months ago, and the question of its continuation in view of the new developments which have taken place in relation to our own re-organization and the expansion of our work. I regard this as a very important assignment and I would greatly appreciate it if you would serve on this committee along with Mrs. Judith Epstein, Mr. Leon Geilman, Mr. David Wertheim and Judge Morris Rothenberg.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK

1

AHS File

February 25, 1944

Ex: Pol. Res.

Mr. Henry Monsky
Omaha National Bank Building
Omaha, Nebraska

My dear Friend:

I have just returned from Washington and I hasten to reply to your letter. The hearings on the Palestine Resolution before the Foreign Affairs Committee are over. I believe that we made out an impressive and convincing case for the resolution. The reports in the English press were unfortunately inaccurate, and to a degree, misleading. They did not at all reflect what actually took place at the hearings. The Yiddish papers had a full and excellent coverage of all the hearings. I am sorry that you could not attend and participate in the hearings. You should have been there.

Were the members of the Foreign Affairs Committee to decide on the Resolution, as of today, they would overwhelmingly approve of it, and were it to get to the floor of the House, the Resolution would be overwhelmingly if not unanimously adopted. That is the general consensus of opinion. This holds true also of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and of the Senate. There is a warm and friendly attitude towards the Resolution reinforced, I am sure, by the perfectly remarkable manner in which the country, from coast to coast, has made its true desires felt in Washington by the countless letters, telegrams and telephone calls which have poured into Washington.

But the War Department has projected itself into the situation. Everyone is persuaded that the State Department, unwilling to go on record as opposed to the Resolution, is using the War Department to carry the burden for it just as it did, you will recall, in the case of the Cremieux Decree. The Secretary of War has written to the Foreign Relations Committee expressing the thought that the passage of the Resolution would be, from a military point of view, harmful. General Marshall has expressed himself in a similar vein before the Committee. It is a shabby device to use against us, but one very difficult to attack in the open -- and they

February 25, 1944

know it. That is why they used it. Action of the Resolution is for the time being marking time.

We are making an effort now to explore the situation further both with the War Department and with the State Department. More especially, an effort is now being made to elicit some expression from the President who, of course, is the key to the whole situation. At the moment, as you probably know, he is having considerable trouble of his own. We hope that the situation will clarify itself a bit more by the end of next week.

The opposition to the Resolution on the part of the War Department was not directed to any part of the Resolution, but to the whole of it. The Jewish Commonwealth angle did not enter into it at all. The Zionist leadership is considering no amendments or modifications.

With reference to the postponement of the meeting scheduled for February 14 -- I believe you know the facts as well as I do. On January 18, at the instruction of the Zionist Emergency Council, Dr. Wise sent a letter to the President asking for an appointment for himself and me. I am enclosing a copy of his letter. From General Watson, the President's secretary, he received word that such an appointment had been set for February 2nd or 3rd (I have not the General's letter before me). Whereupon Dr. Wise, who had scheduled engagements on the Pacific Coast that week, took it upon himself to ask for a postponement of the date, an utterly unwise and astounding procedure. The postponement was granted for February 14th. In the meantime, some fine Italian hand got busy and converted this meeting of the President with the two official spokesmen of the Zionist Movement, who had specific Zionist problems to discuss with him, into a delegation of seven including those who were bitterly hostile to our Movement. This, of course, changed the whole character of the appointment. It was conveyed to me by you and others that should we raise the question of the Jewish Commonwealth with the President at the meeting on the 14th, Judge Proskauer et. al. would have to express their opposition. Judge Rosenman indicated that he had heard from Judge Proskauer to the same effect.

This would have converted the interview with the President into an unseemly squabble between Jews concerning Palestine. I discussed the matter fully with Judge Rosenman when I was in Washington, and we both agreed that it was desirable to postpone the meeting indefinitely. This was also the feeling of the entire membership of the Emergency Council where the subject was fully discussed.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

Henry Monsky

-3-

February 25, 1944

P.S. I believe that the Chairman of the American Jewish
Conference should telegraph the President on the subject
of the Palestine Resolution.

A.H.S.



February 25, 1944

Rabbi Leon Feuer
Zionist Organization of America
1720-16th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Leon:

If, as it now seems, action on the Resolutions has to be postponed, we must think of measures which may mitigate the effects of such postponement both on the Jewish public and in Governmental circles. Certain ideas have occurred to me which I am passing on to you and to Dr. Silver. I discussed some, though not all of them with Elihu Stone last night.

(1) Senators Wagner and Taft might issue statements, preferably a joint statement, to the effect that formal action on the bill they have sponsored is being postponed for reasons which are entirely unrelated to the merits of the question; but that a careful canvass of the situation indicates that the measure commands strong support and that they are confident it will be favorably acted upon in due course.

(2) A similar statement, or statements, may be made by Messrs. Wright and Compton. If such statements are made at the appropriate moment, it will have a tonic effect on the Jewish and Zionist public.

(3) What would be perhaps more important still is a statement or round-robin to be signed by as many members of the Committee as possible, to be submitted to the Secretary of State as an expression of the views of the signatories. In such a statement they may say that whereas they have agreed to the suggestion that no action be taken for the moment by the Committee as such, they wish to record and express their individual views in favor of the substance of the Resolutions and would like the Executive branch of the Government to be apprised of these views and to take them into account in dealing with the Palestine question.

(4) Such statements or round-robins by members of the two Committees would, of course, be most helpful if they were issued publicly, but even if they were made privately and as confidential documents they would have a salutary political effect; and privately our followers would get to know that such action was taken.

I discussed these ideas with Elihu and Lipsky last night and both thought there was merit in them. Certainly something along these lines ought to be done some time next week to improve the situation. Otherwise

Rabbi Leon Feuer

February 25, 1944

news of the postponement of action will come as a blow to our friends everywhere.

I would strongly urge you to give these suggestions your earnest consideration and if they are approved by Dr. Silver, to take prompt action.

I am enclosing copy of a letter I am sending to Dr. Silver today.

Sincerely yours,

Emanuel Neumann

EN/M
(Enc.)



MEMORANDUM

Submitted to Mr. Edward V. Loughlin, March 2, 1944

We come to you as citizens residing in this, our great metropolis, and we are addressing ourselves to you as the leader in New York of a great Party which has commanded the loyalty and devotion of great masses of the common people. It is the Party of Thomas Jefferson, author of the Declaration of Independence, of Woodrow Wilson, author of the Covenant of the League of Nations, and of Franklin D. Roosevelt, author of the Atlantic Charter.

We are citizens of Jewish faith and descent and represent the views of large masses of our fellow Jews, both as Americans devoted to the great American tradition, as Democrats with a deep faith in the basic tenets and spirit of the Democratic Party, and as Jews profoundly concerned with the fate of our brethren across the seas. We desire to call your attention, and through you the attention of the National Leaders of our Party and of the Administration itself, to a situation which is causing great concern to us and our fellow Jews here and throughout the country.

Some weeks ago Resolutions were introduced in both Houses of Congress, reaffirming the traditional American policy of favoring the Jewish National Home in Palestine, and calling for the free entry of Jews into Palestine so that it may be reconstituted as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth. Apart from the mass slaughter of Jews now going on in Europe, the immediate occasion for the introduction of these Resolutions is the White Paper issued by the British Government in 1939, which would prohibit further Jewish immigration into Palestine and set up in effect an Arab state in which the Jews would be frozen into a permanent minority under Arab rule. The Resolutions had bi-partisan sponsorship and were supported in both Houses by the Majority Leaders as well as by the Minority Leaders. Hearings have taken place before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, and there is every indication that the Resolutions command strong support both in the Committee and in the House. We have been advised, however, that the attitude of the Executive branch of the Government may be of decisive importance. There has been no indication of support forthcoming from any Department of the Executive, but on the contrary, it is reported that opinions are being expressed against passage of the Resolutions because of military considerations.

We do not presume to judge the validity of any objections that have been or may be raised, but we do wish to state that to the best of our knowledge, the proponents of the Bills acted with circumspection and had made the necessary soundings in various quarters, particularly in the State Department, before the introduction of the Bills. They received no intimation that the proposed action was untimely, and on the contrary, were led to believe that there was no objection on the part of the Executive branch of the Government. Only then did they proceed with their effort.

Through the introduction of the Resolutions under most auspicious sponsorship, the feelings of millions of Jewish citizens and of millions of non-Jewish sympathizers with the cause have been raised to a high pitch of enthusiasm and optimistic expectation. They were led to believe that at long last the great American democracy was about to speak out, to raise its powerful voice on behalf of the persecuted Jewish people and its right to national restoration in its ancestral Home. These hopes are about to be dashed and will in that event be followed by a feeling of frustration and bitter disappointment. This feeling will be particularly keen in this city where some two millions of our people reside.

While the Jewish leaders did not ask or expect the Administration to take the initiative by making an official declaration at this time in regard to the Zionist cause, they had counted upon the Administration to assume such an attitude of good will towards the contemplated Congressional action as would ensure a successful outcome. They were fortified in this expectation by the tradition of friendship and support manifested by successive United States administrations to our cause. It seems, however, that the Administration has not seen its way to giving even this minimum of support to the efforts of our Jewish leaders and their friends in Congress. The Administration has failed to facilitate the passage of these Resolutions and in a measure will be responsible for their rejection or the deferment of any action by Congress.

In these circumstances, we deem it our duty to communicate our view that the lack of cooperation thus far displayed towards a cause so great, so just and so vital - a matter of life and death for great numbers of human beings - that this lack of cooperation is most unfortunate and difficult to accept as final. For five years, since the White Paper was promulgated in the spring of 1939, millions of American citizens have been waiting for the moment when our Government would take appropriate public and diplomatic action with a view to the abrogation of the White Paper, which is admittedly in contravention of international law and of the declared policy of the United States. They have waited for action by our Government in favor of the rights and age-old aspirations of the Jewish people.

There has been no effective action on the part of our Government. The Jewish public is still in the dark as to the attitude of the Chief Executive himself, while they have been reluctantly driven to the conclusion that in the State Department influential elements are actually hostile. We feel therefore that the time has come for our beloved President, in whom we have had and continue to have the greatest confidence, to act on this vital matter after he has had an opportunity of discussing the issues involved with the accredited and democratically chosen representatives of the Zionist movement in this country. We know how burdened he is with affairs of state and military problems but we are persuaded that once he turns his attention to this subject now under discussion he will find the appropriate means to promote the cause so dear to our hearts and to multitudes of our fellow Americans. We are convinced that through the leadership and moral authority which the President commands, he can assure the speedy passage of the Resolutions now pending. It is our hope that he will also raise his own voice which is heard and respected throughout the world.

It is most desirable that our great Party and our great President should dispel at once any doubts as to their attitude by taking forthright action and speaking in unambiguous terms which will be understood and profoundly appreciated. We are apprehensive that failure or delay to do so will be misunderstood and will leave our people anxious and puzzled with results which we cannot fully envisage.

We beg you to receive this expression of our views in the spirit of utter sincerity and friendliness, in which they are tendered and to convey them without delay to the leaders of the Party and to the Administration.

March 5, 1944.
389 Bleecker St.,
New York.

Dear Silver:

I hope you have appointed or are appointing that small committee to work out our future line.

Enclosed is a memo. I have drawn up, in order that you or the committee may have something in writing of an orderly nature to go on. I believe that this memo. will furnish raw material from which you can hammer out a definite policy.

Sincerely yours

Marvin Lowenthal



March 3, 1944

Memorandum on Zionist Strategy

by Marvin Lowenthal

I. General Statements

1. Jews are not like French or Poles. Although the French in North Africa were given much the same double-squeeze by the State Dept. and War Dept as we are now experiencing, our tactics in America cannot be modelled on those adopted by the French. So far as America is concerned, the differences between the French and Jewish positions are great. It was not American citizens of French descent who had to bear the brunt of the fight carried on against the State Dept; the battle was largely conducted by democratic-minded Americans in general who entered the fight mainly on their own initiative, together with the aid of French refugees in America who acted throughout as patriotic Frenchmen merely sojourning here. We, of course, have few such Jews - i.e. Palestinians - living here and it would be precarious for them to take up such a fight. In the African affair, moreover, a portion of the State Dept. was pro De Gaulle. Finally, the ~~French~~ Free French represented a certain amount of military power. Only in one respect can we model our plans on the North African precedent; we must do all we can to win the support of liberal Americans. But in this regard we must ~~recognize~~ recognize that liberal opinion is divided on the merits of the Jewish case for Palestine. Many liberals are concerned for the Arabs; many wish no ruction now with Great Britain; many others follow the Lessing Rosenwald line (i.e. ^{certain} ~~some~~ Civil Liberty boys for example). As some ^{one} has wittily said: "Our enemies want to kill us; our friends want us to commit suicide."

If we turn for guidance to the example of the American Poles I think we will make a mistake. As an American and an "outsider" to Poland's quarrel with Russia, I felt that the American Poles were not acting primarily as Americans when they sought to put pressure on our government to support the Polish claims; they seemed to be injecting a purely European problem into American politics and policies with no fundamental regard for America's own state-interests. I resented this and my tendency was to reject their arguments ~~in toto~~ forthwith. I believe the American Poles would have acted wiser if they had rallied non-Polish Americans to their cause and let the non-Poles carry on the main battle.

However, one basic difference between our position and that of the French or Poles can be turned to our advantage. That is, we should emphasize the fact that our demand for free entry of Jews into ~~Palestine~~, right of colonization, etc. are not just the demands of one more nationalist group or movement; but they spring from a human problem that has plagued all of Europe and wrought untold disaster there. We represent not only a Jewish need but a humanitarian need and in the deepest sense a democratic and political need for healing one of the world's most grievous and dangerous wounds. But more on this theme later.

2. ^{must} Tone. We ~~must~~ decide on the tone of our propaganda. Shall we demand or ~~plead~~ plead? Shall we act militant - or aggrieved and outraged? This will be determined in part by the character of the line we adopt.

II. Our Major Opponents.

As things stand now, our major opponents are:-

1. The British Colonial Office - and perhaps the British Cabinet.
2. The U.S. State Department - and perhaps the President
3. The U.S. War Department - which we suspect in acting at the behest of the State Department.
4. Probably the three companies involved in exploiting Arabian oil: Texaco, Gulf, and Standard.

Against which of these opponents shall we address our main efforts? And by what methods and in what manner shall we carry on the attack?

1. Great Britain. I believe it would be a mistake to address any of our public propaganda against Great Britain. We should, for the time being, remain mum on this subject. It is my opinion that not only in Washington and New York but all around the country there is a mounting tide of anti-British sentiment. Quite apart from America's traditional criticism of England, there exists now many points of conflict of interests between the U.S. and Great Britain, and as the war draws to an end the number of these areas of friction will increase. Moreover, as the war nears a victory, the critics of England among those who have up till now been loyal to the whole cause of the United Nations and world freedom will feel less military and political need to curb their criticisms. The Jews need do nothing and should do nothing to add fuel to the flames. There is more than enough fuel as it is. Our policy should be to remain silent and bide our time. Then, when the clamor against England really breaks into the open, it is possible that England will turn to the American Jews for support. We should hold ourselves ready and glad to give this support provided that when such occasion arrives England shall first do something in our behalf for Palestine.

In other words, the mounting friction between America and Britain will give us one of our few and rare opportunities to render a service to England which we do not have to render and which therefore must be paid for in advance. Our lack of such opportunities is of course the main weakness of the Jewish position throughout the world and in every field today - compared, for example, to the opportunities we had in the last war and which we cashed in on, at that time, through the issuance of the Balfour Declaration and the grant of minority rights in Central and Eastern Europe. To be able to give England something which England wants and which we can be free to withhold will mean that we can trade. The Arabs have been able to trade throughout the war and that is why they have received so many benefits.

But in order to be able to trade we must not give away in advance what we later wish to sell. Hence we must do nothing now to counter anti-British propaganda. Nor must we do anything to aid it - for the British must be made to feel that we are not committed to either side and that we are therefore in a position to trade. In sum we should keep mum - and wait.

The only references we should make ~~to~~ the subject of Britain is to reiterate in every conceivable manner the services rendered to the British Empire by the soldiers, war-workers, etc. of Palestine. We should proclaim over and over again how much the Jews of Palestine have already done to aid England - and thereby imply how much Jews can do when they want to.

2. Our attitude toward the executive branch of our government should be two-fold. Towards the State Department we should be militant and toward the president aggrieved, disappointed, shocked, and injured.

With respect to the State Department we should harp on their record in North Africa (both towards the French and the Algerian Jews), in Italy, in Spain, etc. Now we are appeasing the Arabs and again sacrificing the Jews. All this should be expressed with indignation. Then, more militantly, we should attack the State Department for engaging America in a new imperialist venture based on Arabian oil. It seems to me we should let loose against the State Dept. with everything we've got - publicly, privately, by means of meetings, telegrams, letters - and with the aid of every ally we can find. Blame the State Dept. for the intervention of the War Dept. of course. Try to use whatever connections we have or can make to find out more details on the oil deal and turn such details over to the writers for the general press.

With respect to the president we should adopt the exactly opposite tone. We must act as though we had always counted on his support and still do, but we feel that he has let us down - we are hurt, smitten, troubled. Surely he cannot abandon the poor hapless and helpless Jewish people. Etc.

Meanwhile, of course, we should continue our present course of informing the Democratic Party that they do not have millions of Jewish votes in the bag.

This procedure with respect to the President is based on two premises. One, that he is favorably disposed to our cause; and, two, that he will eventually act in our favor. The first premise, we are told, may be assumed as certain. But, with regard to the second premise, we know he has not acted favorably and positively in our behalf in the past five years (since the White Paper) and he may never so act. It should therefore be worth our while to make a thorough canvass of his previous record with respect to other minorities and similar issues: negro, labor, liberal; and we should estimate what the chances are of his acting in a positive way on his own favorable impulses. We should try to learn whether his pattern is to say: "I am with you. Just wait. I will act on day. Just wait. But don't get annoyed or be impatient or ~~show~~ show a lack of confidence, for if you do I will never act. Just wait." ...We must also take into consideration the fact that while knowing, as he now does, that he may lose many Jewish votes and yet he takes no action, it is less likely he will take such action after his next - and what he knows to be his last - election.

Consideration should therefore be given to an opposite course with respect to the chief executive; i.e. that is, to switching our support from the Democratic to the Republican Party now or in the near future. Among the most likely Republican candidates Dewey is liable to be as dependable as Roosevelt. Our only probable staunch supporter would be Willkie. He will stand in most need of help between now and the nominating convention in June. Hence, if we should decide that he is the horse to back, we must give him that backing soon - when it will count most and be most gratefully received. If we wait for the bandwagon and climb on among the last we will have done little to earn his favor. It is within the next few weeks that he will be willing to pay the most for our support.

Naturally the dangers and risks of the two alternate courses outlined above must be carefully weighed. However we must reach a decision on the matter soon if we are to reap any substantial advantage from the latter course.

3. The War Department. Our attitude towards the War Department is simple to define. We have full confidence in their military abilities and purely military decisions. We have every reason to believe that Gen. Marshall is an honest upright man. But going back over the record - with regard to not only Palestine but North Africa, Italy, Etc. - we are troubled at finding evidence that the State Department often uses the War Department to further the former's own policies which are based on no military considerations at all. We should recite the stories of the Hoskins Report, the Cremieux law, and the Joint Declaration: in all these cases the War Dept. was apparently misinformed and its warnings of an Arab uprising were merely the cry of Wolf! Wolf! We deprecate the use of the War Dept. to further fascist, imperialist, and other aims that have nothing to do with the conduct of the war.

4. The Oil Companies. In public we should play up the imperialism resulting from the designs. In private we should watch the development of the opposition among the 53 oil companies excluded from the Arabian deal and do what we can to stir up and aid that opposition.

Meanwhile we should consider carefully the fact that the end of the Saudi Arabia pipeline is neither Haifa nor Alexandria. The end, the vulnerable end, is every Texaco, Standard, and Gulf gas station right here in the United States. I am not suggesting an organized boycott against the products of these companies now or in the future after the war. At best it would be ineffective; at worst, a boomerang. But I know that even our biggest American industries are concerned when they received scattered complaints from just ordinary humble individuals. It gives them the dithers. What I suggest is that we consult the best and most successful public-relations men and get their advice on how to conduct a very small-scale, discreet, and widely scattered mail campaign directed against the three oil companies united in the Arabian deal. They should be given the impression that an untold and unknown number of Americans - Jews and Gentiles - do not relish either their share in a new imperialism or their share in keeping Palestine barred to Jews.

III. The Humanitarian Aspect

It is both distasteful and tragic that we must count the horrors wrecked upon the Jews of Europe as among our assets. But such is the case. Hence we must emphasize, in all our arguments and publicity, that not only a nationalist but a great humanitarian problem can be solved by opening Palestine to immigration and colonization. This whole line is familiar and need no further comment. However, let us look one possible and unhappy fact full in the face. There is a great possibility that after the war there will be no large numbers of Jews who will have to go to Palestine. There is likewise a great possibility that even if a large number of homeless Jews are left alive, the world will care little what happens to them - in view of the possible chaos, moral let-down, that may exist, as well as in view of the fact that even two million survivors in need of a haven will be a drop in the bucket of the tens of millions of similar non-Jewish survivors. ... I bring up these possibilities in order that we understand that we must use the humanitarian argument now for all it is worth - before the facts can refute us.

IV. Our Trading Assets.

We must take advantage of our three major trading assets:

1. Our position in the presidential nominations and elections
2. The nuisance value we can muster against the oil companies
3. The eventual service we can render England if a strong anti-British feeling develops in the U.S.

And finally, though these are not trading points, we must (a) appeal to the public's sense of compassion for the refugees of Europe and dwell upon the injury done to humanity, justice, and decency, by keeping closed the doors of Palestine; and we must (b) bring out again and again the achievements wrought by the Jews in ~~Palestine during the past 25 years and~~ Palestine during the past 25 years and the services rendered by the same Jews during the war.

END



Stephen S. Wise

3-8-44

I join the host of Dr. Wise's friends throughout the world in sending him my warmest felicitations on the occasion of his 70th anniversary. Would that this significant occasion could have been celebrated in a quieter and happier hour for our people and for the world. All those ideals and objectives for which Dr. Wise has worked with such rare gifts and such boundless energies throughout his great career are now passing through the crisis of battle — democracy, human freedom, social justice, world organization, justice to the Jews, and the rebuilding of Israel's national life in Eretz Yisrael. We pray that a speedy Allied victory may hasten the fulfillment of some of these great ideals for which Dr. Wise has so valiantly striven, and will crown an extraordinary career of loyalty and service. Dr. Wise has written a significant chapter in American Jewish history, a chapter, fortunately, far from closed. Od Yenuvun Be'sevah.

March 14, 1944

Mrs. Moses Epstein
Hadassah
1819 Broadway
New York, N.Y.

My dear Mrs. Epstein:

The Zionist Emergency Council authorized me to appoint a committee to consider the present status of the Political Bureau of the Jewish Agency which was established a few months ago, and the question of its continuation in view of the new developments which have taken place in relation to our own re-organization and the expansion of our work. I regard this as a very important assignment and I would greatly appreciate it if you would serve on this committee along with Mr. Leon Gellman, Mr. David Wertheim and Dr. Israel Goldstein. I am requesting Judge Morris Rothenberg to act as chairman. As soon as Nahum Goldmann and Goldstein return, the meeting of the Committee will be called.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

ANS:BX

1944 Mar 12 N 1211
1944 Mar 12 N 1211

March 14, 1944

Mrs. Elkan Voorsanger
2302 E. Wyming Place
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

My dear Henrietta:

I have just returned from ten days in the East and find your gracious note as well as the splendid letter which appeared in the Milwaukee Journal. You are deserving of hearty congratulations. It is the sort of intelligent and persistent defense of our position that will see our cause through to victory.

You will forgive me, I am sure, for not writing to you sooner about your earlier letter commenting on my correspondence with Sulzberger. I had a real "Hanuah" putting on record the story of the New York Times and the anti-Zionist intrigues of the Paper and its publisher. Had I written my answer to Sulzberger this week, I would have added the shameful story of how our hearings before the Foreign Affairs Committee in Washington were reported in the Times. What was featured was the Arab case. My own testimony which lasted over an hour was given exactly one-half of one sentence in the last paragraph of the report of the first day's hearing.

You must have heard by now of the great statement of President Roosevelt. The whole story of it reads like another Purim Megillah. How we snatched victory from the jaws of defeat after a cabal in the State Department played its trump card against us by bringing in the Military is a story which will delight the hearts of our people when it is finally told fully. For the present, suffice it to say that the premature jubilation of the Arabs in the Near East, and the Jewish Arabs in Philadelphia and elsewhere, has been turned into black mourning.

With all our love to you, Elkan and the children, I remain

Most cordially yours,

AHS:BK

CIRCUIT COURT OF COOK COUNTY
JUDGE HARRY M. FISHER
IN CHAMBERS

CHICAGO
March 15, 1944

My Dear Rabbi Silver:

You are right. Last week in Washington was an historic moment. I enjoyed it fully even though my own part in it was of little significance.

Immediately after the adjournment of our conference I called Judge Rosenman and, luckily, he was not in. I made clear that I was complying with his request that I call him immediately and promised to call later. Deliberately, I called at 5:30 because I felt that at that time he would not ask me to come over. I reported to him in a general way that your conference with the Chief was satisfying and gave him the substance of the statement which Judge Rosenman had not yet seen. Nothing was said about what was expected in the near future.

He asked me particularly whether you were satisfied and, in conformity with your suggestion, I replied that you were satisfied to such an extent that if the understanding arrived at at the conference will be carried through, you confided in me that you would be with him in the ensuing campaign. He then commented upon the charming personality of the Chief, that confidence which he engenders and his genuine interest in our cause.

At the conclusion of our conversation he asked me to be sure to keep in touch with him and this has given rise to a thought upon which I would like to get your reaction. Since he invited correspondence, why should I not suggest to him to take the initiative in bringing the American Jewish Committee back to the Conference? The way seems to be clear now for doing it without either side yielding on what they regard as principle.

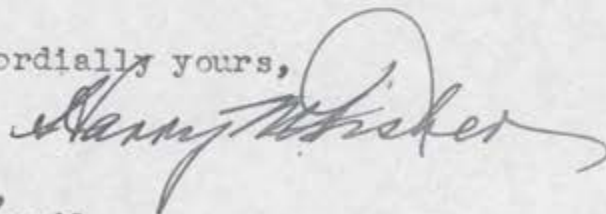
The program which you presented to the Chief involved the basic requirement of establishing conditions ultimately leading to the reconstruction of a Jewish Commonwealth. The President's statement speaks of doing justice to those who desire a Jewish homeland. That neither confirms nor negates the possibility of a Commonwealth. We are, therefore, left free to continue our insistence upon a Commonwealth whereas the Jewish Committee can easily reconcile their presence in the Jewish Conference on the basis of the President's statement, giving to it whatever interpretation they desire.

With this suggestion as the excuse for my writing to him I intend, in legal phraseology, to point out to him that the Commonwealth idea is necessarily instinct in the terms of the Mandate. You see, I hadn't read the Mandate for a long time but did so while in Washington and I am convinced the point which I have in mind is not legally refutable and that a lawyer of Rosenman's stature will see it that way. If he does, his answer will probably be what his statement was during our discussion, namely, that the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate ought not to be discussed but, on the contrary, that the matter be dealt with de novo in the light of our present and post-war needs. However, even if that were granted he will be compelled to recognize the fact that whatever demands we shall be making will be very materially strengthened by a legally established right. The interpretation of the provisions of the Mandate which leads to the conclusion that a Jewish Commonwealth was intended was probably never pointed out before on the basis of my theory. At any rate, I have never heard of it before and yet I believe that it is convincing beyond a doubt.

I shall wait until I hear from you before writing to him.

Best personal regards.

Cordially yours,



Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver,
Chairman, Executive Committee,
American Zionist Emergency Council,
Cleveland, Ohio.

P. S. I told him about your unanswered calls and he insisted that only one call came through and that he did return that call but found that you were already out of the city. He earnestly insisted that he could not have intended to slight you.



March 16, 1944

Judge Harry H. Fisher,
Circuit Court of Cook County,
Chicago, Illinois.

My dear Judge Fisher:

Thank you for your letter of March 15th. I was interested in getting Judge Rosenman's reaction.

Things at the moment are moving quite satisfactorily. As we have anticipated, there has been spontaneous demands made on the floor of Congress in the last two days, demanding that our resolutions be presented to the members of the House so that they might vote upon it. The President's statement has taken off the lid which the State Department sought to put on the whole situation.

It did much else besides. We have had a very gratifying cable from London as to its repercussions there.

With reference to your suggestion that you ask Rosenman to initiate action to bring the American Jewish Committee back to the Conference, I would suggest that you go very slow about it. Certainly, you ought to consult Wise, Monsky and Goldstein, the co-Chairmen of the Conference before you take any action. Considerable effort has been made in recent weeks to bring about a rapprochement with no success.

The President's statement, in my judgment, should not be made to serve as an excuse for the Committee to return to the Conference. As you probably know, we are hoping for a supplementary statement, which we trust will be much more specific. But we shall see what eventuates.

3/16/44

Please be not taken in by Rosenman's suggestion that the Palestine problem should be discussed without reference to the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate. That is the attitude of Proskauer and his group who object to both documents on the ground that they recognize an entity called The Jewish People, a country which will be the Jewish National Home and the historic connection of this people with that national home. All that the Proskauer group is interested in is to allow Jews the right of immigration into a country called Palestine, where they will have no national status whatever, except as citizens of a state called Palestine, in the same way as Jews are citizens in a state called New Zealand or Poland. This, of course, is also the attitude of Lessing Rosenwald and the American Council for Judaism.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

AHS:NEK

Abba Hillel Silver

ISRAEL MEREMINSKI

American Representative of the
HISTADRUT
General Federation of Jewish Labor
in Palestine.

ישראל מרמינסקי

נציג אמריקאי
להסתדרות הכללית של העובדים
העברים בארץ ישראל

510 WEST 112th STREET

NEW YORK, N. Y.

MONUMENT 2-5809

March 16, 1944

Urgent Very Confidential

To Mr. Arthur Lourie, Secretary
American Zionist Emergency Council

Please submit the following memorandum to

Rabbi Stephen S. Wise and Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, joint-chairmen.

Subject: Palestine and the Saudi-Arabian Pipe-Line

- I. Jews and Zionists in the U.S. have no specifically Jewish attitude to the Oil Problem and pipe-lines now being discussed publicly in the American press. But because Jewish Palestine may be of very great importance for the realization of the U.S. plan, I take it as an established fact that the US government has an oil-agreement with Saudi-Arabia and that this is in its own interests and the interest of post-war stable peace in the Middle-East.
- II. I cannot see any justification for the US to build the pipe-line from Saudi-Arabia to Alexandria, Egypt. This will make the US very dependent at both ends of the pipe-line on Arabian governments which have not demonstrated until now any interest in world peace and democracy.
- III. Nahas Pasha allowed himself recently to intervene in Palestine problems and protest to the US government only because he feels that this government needs Egypt for the execution of the pipe-line scheme to Alexandria.
- IV. I do not see why the USA government should not find a way to lay the pipe-line from Saudi-Arabia, thru Akaba, to the east side of the Mediterranean (Haifa, Acre, Tel-aviv).

ISRAEL MEREMINSKI

American Representative of the
HISTADRUT
General Federation of Jewish Labor
in Palestine.

ישראל מרמינסקי

נציג אמריקאי
להסתדרות הכללית של העובדים
העברים בארץ ישראל

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MONUMENT 2-5809

V. Not being a geologist, I cannot tell if IV is technically possible. But the map published by the New York Times (March 5) leads me to think that the path of the pipe-line planned to Alexandria goes from the Persian gulf near to Akaba, and it is quite possible that instead of going from Akaba to Alexandria, it could go from Akaba to one of the Palestinian ports.

VI. Furthermore, the distance from Akaba to the Palestinian ports is shorter than from Akaba to Alexandria, A Palestinian terminal would therefore represent a great saving.

VII. If this plan of laying the pipe-line through Palestine should be accepted, Jewish colonization in the Negev will be of tremendous importance for peaceful protection of the pipe-line. The pipe-line in an area of Jewish intensive colonization will not need special efforts of the US government to guard the lines through the army, etc.

VIII. Because the US Government is responsible for this pipe-line, and not private enterprise, it is the best guarantee that the pipe-lines will be used not for a colonial policy but for the fulfillment of the best progressive ideas of the post-war world-order.

IX. Jewish colonization is now much interested in the uncultivated desert Negev, and the construction of this pipe-line is not in contradiction to our own interests.

ISRAEL MEREMINSKI

American Representative of the
HISTADRUT
General Federation of Jewish Labor
in Palestine.

ישראל מרמינסקי

נציג אמריקאי
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X. When the British government tried to obtain the mandate over Palestine, they used Jewish suffering and Jewish need for a homeland as arguments. After obtaining their end, the colonial policy of the British was to adapt themselves to the backward, regressive Arabs in the Middle East even at our expense.

There is no reason why-- now that the US has concluded the agreement with Saudi-Arabia for the exploitation of oil-resources-- the US government should not utilize the ready cooperation of the Jewish Commonwealth which is the one real democratic vanguard and fortress in the Middle East.

XI. The question will be asked: "Why go to Palestine, where there are both Jews and Arabs?" The realistic reply is the fact that even during this war Britain and the Allies have been unable to use the Mosul-Syria-Tripoli pipe-line (which passes through exclusively Arab territory), and have only used the Mosul-Haifa line. The reason: in Palestine there is a democratic, loyal, and dependable population which has actively supported the Allies.

There is no cause to think that this loyalty will be less strong toward the US whose generous attitude to the Jews has been one of its finest traditions.

XII. Immediate clarification of this proposal of a Palestine-terminus with Mr. Ickes appears to me as imperative. The idea should be of particular interest to him at this moment when his plan is being so sharply criticized, and opponents raise the issue of the need of an American army to guard the pipe-lines. This can be one of the best examples of Jewish-American common interests.

XIII. The distance from Aqaba to Alexandria is 360 miles. The distance from Aqaba to Jaffa is 150 miles. The possible reduction in the cost of the pipe line is obvious and may amount to as much as \$20,000,000.00.

ISRAEL MEREMINSKI

American Representative of the
HISTADRUT
General Federation of Jewish Labor
in Palestine.

ישראל מרמינסקי

נציג אמריקאי
להסתדרות הכללית של העובדים
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XIV.. The above suggestions were made by me orally to Mr. Arthur
Lourie on March 15. On March 16, the Jewish Journal quoted
the Daily Sketch of London that the Arab countries are ready to
exploit the Saudi-Arabian-American agreement against the interests
of Jewish Palestine, which is identical with sabotage ^{against} ~~the~~ US interests.

XIV. This problem is urgent. The coming days will be decisive.
Perhaps the whole conception of the Palestine Problem in the minds
of the Stettinius delegation to London may be influenced in our
favor if Ickes can be impressed with our position.

IM/lkp



MEMORANDUM

FROM: Elihu D. Stone
TO: Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
SUBJECT:

DATE: March 17, 1944

As soon as we learned of the action taken this morning by the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, Dr. Feuer and I called the office of Mr. Bloom and immediately proceeded to see him.

Mr. Bloom enquired as to what he could do for us--a novel procedure. We received from Mr. Crawford the copies of both the letter from the Secretary of War and of the statement issued by Mr. Bloom on behalf of his committee. Without any provocation, he immediately took the offensive by saying that he took enough abuse from us already; he knows that he will be attacked at the Madison Square Garden Meeting; and he is assuming complete responsibility for what took place this morning while the Committee was in executive session.

He claimed that notices for the special meeting this morning were sent out yesterday and delivered to every member by messenger. It was his contention that he was forced to this action by reason of Mr. Dickstein's threat that a petition to take away the measure from the Committee would be circulated among the members of the House, and that during the conference of last Wednesday at his office, which was participated by Dr. Feuer, Mr. Sack, and myself, we were anxious that action be taken. He was reminded by us that our conference was in the nature of seeking advice and guidance with a view of obtaining a favorable report from his committee; that at no time did we suggest the type of action that he has taken. There, also, Mr. Bloom added that he was forced to this morning's action by reason of a vote taken by the Committee more than a week ago to the effect that he, as Chairman, should invite the Secretary of State and the Secretary of War and General Marshall to meet with the Committee and to listen to their evidence with reference to the Palestine Resolution; that he disregarded this vote and did not extend invitations to the aforesaid leaders of the Government; that he was charged by members of the Committee that he is deliberately violating a decision; that this came both from enemies as well as friends of the measure; that those who were committed to the Resolution felt that it was imperative for them to give to their constituents an explanation of the dormancy of the Resolution in the Committee. Mr. Bloom further claimed that he rendered us service in that he prevented adverse action on the Resolution and that he prevented talking of the Resolution; that the status of the Resolution has not been altered. It simply means that no action has been taken for the time being and that at any appropriate moment, it can be brought forth for action.

The conversation was rather a heated one. He asserted that the introduction of the Palestine Resolution at this time has done more harm to the Jewish people throughout the world than anything else. As calmness was restored, he spoke in a fatherly fashion advising that we should not be so stubborn, that an amended Resolution, which would exclude reference to a Jewish Commonwealth, would have a chance in his opinion. As to an enquiry of Dr. Feuer and joined by me

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

March 17, 1944

that, since the opposition to action at this time is entirely military, how could that opposition be overcome by amendments, since the Department of War objects to any action on the Resolution in its entirety. Mr. Bloom was reluctant to reply; however, he reiterated his belief that a substitute Resolution would be favorably considered.

With reference to the President's statement as to whether or not it had any effect, his reply was that the action of the Committee and the letter from the Secretary of War speak for themselves. He stated that he has something to say with reference to the President's statement; however, he would say it only to Dr. Wise and yourself.

At the conclusion, he reiterated that this Resolution can be brought up for action at any appropriate time. It was a painful experience and it is clear that Mr. Bloom is not a friend of the Resolution, as is that he is particularly hostile to the inclusion of a reference to a Jewish Commonwealth. He deplored the austere statements that are being made on the floor as they constitute an irritation.

This is in substance what was said at the conference. It is, by necessity, a fragmentary and hastily drawn report. Mr. Bloom is not a friend of the Jewish National Home. His mentality is that of a rescue Jew. It is quite possible that he has certain commitments with reference to this Resolution and the commitments, judging by his conduct, are not in our favor.

Elimu D. Stone

EDS:np

COPY

Temple Israel

Detroit, Mich, March 22, 1945

Rabbi Leon I. Feuer,
Congregation Shomer Emunim,
Toledo, Ohio.

Dear Leon:

I want to thank you for coming to us last Monday night for the debate on the issues of the rift within the Zionist Organization.

You made out a powerful case for the recall of Silver to the leadership, and I am fairly certain that our Board will pass a resolution demanding the re-appointment of Silver as head of the Emergency Zionist Council.

With kindest greetings, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Rabbi Leon Fram

MEMORANDUM

AL

FROM Elihu D. Stone

TO: Abba Hillel Silver

SUBJECT: Conference with Senator Brewster of Maine

DATE: Mar. 24, 1944

CONFIDENTIAL

Pursuant to an appointment I called on Senator Brewster of Maine at his office on Friday, March 24, 1944. As he seemed to be prominent in the oil discussions, it was important to ascertain from him the relationship of the oil concessions in the Near East to the future of the Jewish National Home, as well as to make the Senator acquainted with our anxieties.

The Senator described the situation as a competitive one between the United States government and Great Britain - that both sides were wooing King Ibn Saud and are ready to pay the price. The Senator pointed out that it was indeed strange that in his correspondence with the Department of State with reference to Palestine because of his interest in the Jewish National Home, the Department somehow always diverted the subject matter of oil. The correspondence is of a confidential nature, but it seemed to the Senator that the paramount interest of our Secretary of State in the Near East is concentrated on oil.

I described to the Senator our fears lest the Jewish National Home be bartered as a sort of "burning offering" to King Ibn Saud. I pointed out to him that we were disturbed by rumors that General Hurley has made commitments adverse to the Jewish hopes in Palestine. I expressed the hope that those rumors were unfounded. Thereupon the Senator offered the information that he spent three hours in conference with General Hurley ~~that~~ in a discussion of all the manifold problems involved in the oil concessions; the subject matter of the conversation was strictly confidential.

Cautiously and tactfully I tried to convey to Senator Brewster the value of any information he could give us on the subject - that the entire future of the Jewish National Home is involved, and that it is of tremendous importance for us to know the facts.

The Senator was good enough to say that "your fears" with reference to Gen. Hurley's attitude towards the Jewish National Home as related to the old question "are not unfounded." Of course, there are no written agreements and there are no written records of the conversation between Gen. Hurley and Ibn Saud, asserted the Senator. However, continued Senator Brewster, Mr. Hurley definitely associates himself with the British policy with reference to the Jewish National Home, as represented by the White Paper of May, 1939. It is clear, stated the Senator, that in the conversations with Ibn Saud, the General conveyed his hostile views towards the Jewish National Home to the King, whom he was courting in his capacity as an American agent to work out the deal concerning the oil. To my inquiry as to in what capacity Gen. Hurley did act in his dealings with the Arab ruler, the Senator was unable to clearly define the status of Gen. Hurley in connection with the negotiations he was carrying on with Ibn Saud. He described the General's mission to Arabia as being both of a private and a quasi-official

MEMORANDUM

FROM Elihu D. Stone

DATE:

TO: Abba Hillel Silver

SUBJECT:

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character.

On the basis of the three-hour conference that the Senator had with the General, he asserted that the opinions expressed by Mr. Hurley to Ibn Saud and other Arab dignitaries were in their very nature the General's private views, and that he did not in any way make commitments for our government. The Senator emphasized, however, that those private views were the views of an important personality close to the government of the United States, and particularly to the President - that his views no doubt carried great weight in the mind of Ibn Saud.

Senator Brewster was good enough to say that during the conversation with Mr. Hurley he endeavored to set the General right on the Jewish National Home by pointing out to him that the honor of the United States is involved and that it is an "incongruity" for the United States to fight a war for justice for the common man and for the freedom of oppressed and persecuted peoples, and at the same time have spokesmen of the United States, in whatever capacity, do away with our policy in favor of the Jewish National Home as established by the United States Congress in 1922 as part consideration for the acquisition of oil concessions. General Hurley argued, however, that apart from the oil business Palestine has already done its share for the Jewish people and that the English government has fulfilled its obligation to the Jewish National Home by making it possible for so many Jews to come to Palestine and settle there.

Senator Brewster seemed to be familiar with the arguments pro and con relative to the White Paper and tried to meet the contention of the General, apparently without success.

Moreover, Senator Brewster stated that General Hurley conferred with President Roosevelt to whom he has definitely conveyed his views with reference to the Jewish National Home, and that those views of course were adverse to our position.

I regarded it as tactless to press the Senator with more detailed information with reference to the General's talk with the President, as he appeared to be somewhat reluctant to discuss it in greater detail, except to say that the report given to the President by Gen. Hurley with reference to Palestine was an unfriendly one. *Mr. Hurley also reported to the Secretary of State.*

The Senator from Maine was good enough to volunteer that he would do his best to uncover during the hearings before the Senate Committee now engaged in an inquiry with reference to oil in the Near East any and every angle that has relation to Palestine, and whether or not any commitments were made, official or otherwise, by any agent of our government, to Ibn Saud. He said, however, that this would be most difficult for the reason that those commitments, if made, were not matters of record, and those who have knowledge of them would be reluctant to make revelations.

MEMORANDUM

FROM

DATE:

TO:

SUBJECT:

- 3 -

The Senator volunteered the information that England is strenuously engaged in an effort to divert the affection of Ibn Saud in their favor. Thus, he pointed out, the efforts to promote a conference for the purpose of establishing an Arab federation of states was no doubt initiated by Great Britain, and hopes must have been held out to Ibn Saud that the leading role in this federation would be assigned to him. Of course, he stated, these are speculations, but they are not unreasonable ones. Mr. Hurley reported to him that there are a large number of Britishers in Saudia-Arabia and they even have someone who is a new edition of the late Lawrence of Arabia, who seems to be active in the proximity of Ibn Saud.

It was the judgment of Senator Brewster that both the Secretary of the Navy and the Secretary of the Interior, who seem to be strongly in favor of the oil concessions in Saudia-Arabia, have not been made aware of the involvement of the Jewish National Home in connection with any hopes that might have been held out to Ibn Saud by any American spokesman in connection therewith.

Mr. Brewster suggested that we give him a memorandum on the entire subject dealing with the interest of Palestine and the Jewish hopes, as he is ready to use his good offices for the purpose of trying to uncover during the progress of the hearing the nature of the consideration offered to King Ibn Saud at the expense of the Jewish position in Palestine.

The Senator described the attitude of the President as being vague, and therefore unsatisfactory. Moreover, he stated that the situation calls for action and that "deeds" and not vague words count. He quoted Emerson in substance: Your deeds I see; your words I do not hear.

Senator Brewster developed during our conversation a novel approach, that is to say, a novel approach for an American. He maintained that the Jewish National Home could well become, and should become, an American outpost in the Near East, that if we are contemplating making great investments in Arabia, then it is in the interest of the United States to encourage the establishment of a Jewish commonwealth in Palestine, which would constitute a friendly spot in the Near East, and which in a crisis would be of great value to the United States. Moreover, the friendship of the Jews in Palestine could be acquired by America by cooperating with the Jewish National aspirations in Palestine, and by helping the Jewish people to make Palestine a Jewish commonwealth.

The Senator pointed out that the Jewish National Home has been developed by virtue of the financial support given by American Jews. Hence, this fact should be utilized by our government in order to cement a stronger friendship between the Jewish National Home and the United States, instead of alienating it by associating ourselves even passively with the British White Paper. In this connection he exhibited an advance print of an article "The Soviet Wooing of Palestine - Russian-British Competition in the Middle East", by Eliahu Ben-Horin, which will appear in Harper's magazine of April 24, 1944 and which advance proof is, of course, confidential.

MEMORANDUM

FROM

DATE:

TO:

SUBJECT:

- 4 -

The Senator was visibly disturbed by what Ben-Horin has to say with reference to the influence of Russia in the Jewish National Home. The Russians, he said, are "realists" and they do not hesitate to reverse policies when that reversal serves their purposes, as evidenced by the change of attitude of Russia towards the Jewish National Home. The senator continued: If the policy of Great Britain is that of the White Paper, and if America acquiesces in the White Paper, then as a natural consequence the Jewish National Home would be driven to solicit favor from Russia, which, no doubt, will be a great factor in arranging the next peace.

Senator Brewster stated that the views expressed by Ben-Horin were substantiated by his own experience in Palestine and the Near East. He was tremendously impressed on his last visit to Palestine with the amount of Russian influence in Palestine to the exclusion of other interests. I endeavored to set him right, that is, not to confuse the Jewish cooperatives in Palestine with Communism; and the fact that the majority of the Jews of Palestine come originally from Russia does not in any way intimately associate them with the policies of Stalin; that it is conceivable that if the Jewish National Home is forsaken by its British and American friends, it would be compelled to engage in a search for other friends as a last resort.

However, it may well be stated categorically as a fact that there is a natural spiritual affinity between the Jewish National Home and America, and that Palestine has a genuine affection for the United States, as the Jews of Palestine are natural exponents of our democratic principles and the American way of life. Therefore, America could make Jewish Palestine a fortress of friendship and an outpost of true Americanism by the pursuit of a positive policy of friendship and encouragement.

The Senator requested me to give him a memorandum on the questions raised by Ben-Horin, as he regarded it as a new angle which could be utilized in favor of the Jewish National Home by causing America to realize the great value of such an outpost in the Near East for American interests.

I call your attention to the reply of Senator Brewster to Harper's magazine.

The conference was rather a lengthy one and I have endeavored to give you the substance of the conversation. I might add that Senator Brewster authorized me to convey to you personally the facts stated by him relative to the opinions of Gen. Hurley, and he was good enough to refer to you in most kindly terms.

E. J. S.

EDS:ERG

AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE

MEMORANDUM

March 27, 1944

To All Delegates to the American Jewish Conference

From I. L. Kenen, Public Relations Director

SUBJECT: - Interim Committee Meeting, March 21

This brief summary of the highlights of the Interim Committee meeting of March 21st in New York is for your information and is not intended for publication.

Present were 45 delegates and alternates of a membership of 54. Mr. Henry Monsky and Dr. Stephen S. Wise were in the chair. The meeting opened with a rising tribute to Dr. Wise marking his 70th birthday.

NZO - The administrative committee, reporting on conversations with organizations not in the Conference was authorized to proceed on a proposal that the New Zionist Organization be given one place on the Interim Committee and the right to appoint members on the commissions with the condition that all references to the NZO include the notation (Revisionist.)

WAR EMERGENCY CONFERENCE - The committee discussed the relationship of the Conference to the War Emergency Conference which will convene in New York in May under the sponsorship of the World Jewish Congress and which will consider the views on post-war reconstruction held by Jewish delegations from other countries. The co-chairmen were authorized to make an announcement shortly.

COOPTIONS - Youth organizations were granted one place on the Interim Committee. The secretary was instructed to convene their delegates for the purpose of designating one delegate and one alternate; both may attend meetings but only one vote may be cast.

FINANCES - Mr. Sidney G. Kusworm, co-chairman of the Finance Committee, reported that local welfare funds and communities have, up to the present, accepted quotas amounting to \$43,900 to meet the Conference budget of \$148,500. A campaign to raise \$50,000 in New York is under way.

SECOND SESSION - The Committee authorized the chair to appoint a committee of five to make recommendations on the next session of the Conference.

RESCUE - Dr. Nahum Goldmann of the World Jewish Congress, who has just returned from England, was invited to give an off-the-record report of his impressions.

Highlights - "The worst apprehensions we had are more than confirmed. . . Of more than three million Jews who were in Poland, less than 200,000 were alive at the end of November. . . The number is less today. . . Optimistic estimates place the number of Jews in France at 300,000 and 20,000 to 25,000 in Holland, the same number in Belgium. . . The worst catastrophe is now befalling European Jewry with the occupation of Hungary, where there are 800,000 Jews. . .

"Possibilities of rescue exist, have existed all the time, but the trouble has been that an emergency situation could not be dealt with by routine and red tape methods. Our situation is a Dunkirk situation. When it takes three months to confirm the sending of a boat to Istanbul, the opportunity for rescue no longer exists because the Gestapo has learned about it. . . If the governments will adopt emergency methods, Jews can still be saved today. Outlets are still open. . . The governments in exile are awakened to their obligations. . . The American government today is far ahead of the British government. . . The establishment of the War Refugee Board made a deep impression on all the governments and other governments will establish similar boards. . .

"When the Conference was called together we all acted on the notion that there will be a war and then a peace conference and American Jewry will elect a delegation. Now there won't be such a peace conference. There will be a piecemeal peace. It will last at least from five to ten years. Those who want to deal with these problems must be prepared to deal with them in a period of five to ten years, dealing with twenty governments. . . You will have to look forward for a future of years and tremendous machinery."

Rabbi Irving Miller, executive vice-chairman of the Commission on Rescue and Mr. Herman Shulman reported on activities since the January 25th meeting of the Interim Committee:

The National Orthodox Conference on Palestine and Rescue, attended by delegates all over the country, pledged cooperation with the Conference on all phases of rescue work.

A Conference aide-memoire rebutting some of Assistant Secretary of State Breckinridge Long's statements on immigration was printed in the Congressional Record and widely distributed.

The National Committee Against Nazi Extermination and Persecution of the Jews had announced its formation and the Rescue Commission has been in close contact with it.

At its last meeting, the Interim Committee gave the Rescue Commission autonomy in the conduct of its affairs and authority to secure the cooperation of non-affiliated organizations in the formulation of common plans for rescue. The negotiations have thus far failed to produce the desired result.

The Rescue Commission has been in frequent communication with the War Refugee Board, submitting a formal memorandum and transmitting specific proposals originating abroad. The Conference strongly urged that unless public funds were available, much of the purpose of the Board would be vitiated and that in general "the principle must not be established that the saving of Jews must depend on whether Jews have the money with which to save them." Among other proposals, the memorandum urged renewal of warnings to the people of Germany and the satellite countries.

Rabbi Miller proposed an appeal to the President in connection with the Nazi occupation of Hungary, and it was agreed that representations be made at once (without publicity) to the government.

The President's statement of warning to the Nazis and his appeal for assistance to Jewish refugees was issued on March 24. A statement of appreciation and a plea for united action by all Jewish organizations was issued by the co-chairmen of the Interim Committee.

The Conference statement follows:

"The occupation of the Balkan countries by the Nazis constitutes a turning point in the epochal task of rescuing Jews threatened with extermination at Nazi hands and the American Jewish Conference welcomes with a deep sense of gratitude President Roosevelt's recognition of the great danger and his prompt action.

"The President's warning that all persons who share the guilt for crimes against the refugees shall share the punishment will be effective to deter the Nazi hangmen. His appeal to the population within Germany itself to hide Jews from their executioners and to assist them in escaping and his appeal to countries to open their doors to Jewish refugees are heartening assurance of a determination to carry out heroic measures which must be taken if the rescue work of the War Refugee Board is to be effective.

"The situation imposes a responsibility on all Jewish agencies to unite and we appeal to all Jewish organizations, including those not affiliated with the Conference, to meet the challenge created by the Nazi invasion of the Balkans and to unite on a common program of action to assist and cooperate with the War Refugee Board."

POST-WAR - Miss Jane Evans reported that two sub-committees had been formed by the Post-War Commission: one headed by Rabbi Joshua Trachtenberg which is preparing drafts and a program of action in connection with the legal and political status of the Jews in post-war Europe, and the other, headed by herself, which is preparing a memorandum for submission to UNRRA.

PALESTINE COMMISSION - Dr. Abba Hillel Silver reported that the Conference had cooperated actively in backing up the Congressional resolutions. It had called on all delegates and constituent bodies to communicate to Congressmen and the Executive. The Conference addressed appeals to all Congressmen and all major daily newspapers enclosing the text of the Palestine resolution adopted by the Conference and urging support. The position of the Conference was presented at the Congressional hearings by Dr. Silver, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Dr. James G. Heller and Mr. Louis Lipsky.

Reporting on the status of the resolutions, Dr. Silver said that the resolutions would have been voted overwhelmingly but for the intervention of the military (which raised objections not to the merits of the resolutions but to action at this time,) "but my own feeling is that even though deferred, the resolutions will be acted on sooner or later."

Analyzing the President's statement, Dr. Silver pointed out that it was the first time in five years, since the White Paper was announced, that any official of our government had stated that the American government has never been in favor of the White Paper. "It is definitely a gratifying step forward toward our ultimate objective," he said.

The Interim Committee adopted a statement on the Congressional resolutions, submitted by the Palestine Commission. It was read that evening at a Madison Square Garden mass meeting and over the radio. A copy of the statement is enclosed.

* * * *

1943 1944

National
Community Relations
Advisory Council

GENERAL BULLETIN
For Member Agencies

No. G-3

March 27, 1944

The National Community Relations Advisory Council, established as a result of the resolution unanimously adopted at the Pittsburgh General Assembly, held its first meeting in New York City, March 18, 19, and 20. The new body formally organized, adopted By-Laws, elected its officers and executive committee, and considered major problems of anti-Semitism of concern to the local communities and national agencies.

All of the four national organizations and 14 local communities invited to affiliate with the new body, voted to do so. All were represented at the first meeting. In addition to the officers who were official delegates, staff members of national agencies were present to discuss specialized aspects of the various problems.

Program.

Among the problems considered were political anti-Semitism, relationships with other religious groups, labor and industry. An attempt was made to analyze the local and national aspects of each problem, to consider what is now being done to meet it, and to analyze what gaps exist and where there might be overlapping, duplication, and working at cross-purposes.

The discussion revealed that in some aspects two or more organizations were attempting to meet the same situation, sometimes making similar plans apparently without knowledge of what the other was doing and without prior consultation. Revealed also, in some instances, was duplicating activity and contradictory action, which have been the cause of some open differences among the groups in the past. Despite the frank expression of these differences, all discussions were marked by a spirit of cordiality and harmony.

The meeting resulted in unanimous agreement that clearance and joint planning should be instituted with regard to several of the specific problems considered. This clearance and planning would involve both the national and local agencies. It was felt that in some instances it might be well to have more than one approach and one technique used, but that even in such cases it would be well to have joint clearance and planning so that such apparent divergence would be part of a coordinated program, with one technique supplementing the other rather than counteracting it.

COUNCIL OF JEWISH FEDERATIONS AND WELFARE FUNDS
NATIONAL OFFICE: 165 WEST 46th STREET · NEW YORK CITY

The new Council, therefore, unanimously authorized the executive committee to set up several committees to undertake at once this joint planning and clearance.

Officers and Executive Committee.

To serve as its first chairman the Advisory Council elected Edgar J. Kaufmann of Pittsburgh, long active in the effort to bring about coordination in community relations work. Jerome Rothschild, Chairman of the Philadelphia Anti-Defamation Council, was chosen Secretary-Treasurer. The Executive Committee will consist of the officers and Joseph M. Proskauer, President of the American Jewish Committee; Dr. Stephen S. Wise, President of the American Jewish Congress; Henry Monsky, President of the B'nai B'rith; Adolph Held, Chairman of the Jewish Labor Committee; Sidney Hollander, Baltimore; Philmore J. Haber, Cleveland; Maurice B. Fagan, Philadelphia; and Robert Segal, Cincinnati. Alternates were also designated. Mr. Haber, Co-Chairman of the Organizing Committee established at Pittsburgh, served as Temporary Chairman over the sessions.

The Executive Committee met immediately after the close of the sessions to undertake the active work of the Council. Preliminary consideration was given to questions of membership, establishment of clearance committees, finance, office and professional staff. These matters will be given further attention at the next meeting of the Executive Committee. It is expected that the agency will be financed temporarily by advances from the four national agencies until a permanent basis of financing is developed and adopted.

Structure.

The By-Laws were deliberately designed to make the structure of the new Council as simple and as flexible as possible. It was thought best to provide machinery only to formalize the structure of the new agency and to make possible such action as is deemed necessary in dealing with concrete problems. (A copy of the By-Laws is attached).

The committee on structure which drafted and presented the By-Laws to the Council for adoption consisted of: Bernard B. Kopkind, New Haven, Chairman; Isaac Frank, Detroit; Edgar J. Kaufmann, Pittsburgh; Jerome Rothschild, Philadelphia; Leon Sachs, Baltimore; David Sher, American Jewish Committee; Maurice Bisgvyer, B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League; Rabbi Irving Miller, American Jewish Congress; and Isaiah Minkoff, Jewish Labor Committee.

Membership.

The resolution adopted at Pittsburgh contemplated that there would be additional membership beyond the 14 communities and four national agencies originally invited to affiliate. The four national agencies are: American Jewish Committee, American Jewish Congress, B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League and Jewish Labor Committee. The 14 communities include: Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Brooklyn, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Detroit, St. Louis, Milwaukee, Indianapolis, Minnesota, Los Angeles and San Francisco. The communities are those whose professional executives have been members of the Community Relations Conference, an informal group established in 1940 for purposes of cooperation and exchange of information.

It was recognized at Pittsburgh that there was no particular pattern in that representation and that some areas are not now represented, among them the Southeast, Southwest and Pacific-Northwest. At their recent conferences, the Southeastern States and Southwestern States Regions of the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds took cognizance of this fact by adopting resolutions

which officially called the attention of the new Advisory Council to their omission, requested that the communities in their regions be granted representation, and that their regional organizations be consulted in the process of granting such membership, so that the representatives chosen would most adequately bring to the Council the needs, problems and experiences of those areas. Individual communities which have made application for membership include Omaha, and Kansas City.

The problem of acting on additional membership is complicated by the fact that communities already affiliated have been included on the sole basis of the previous association of the local professional with the CRC. The local members have no single pattern of community organization for civic-protective work, although all are characterized by having community-wide agencies which represent and act for a cross-section of the community. The present local delegates represent community councils in which the executive director gives part-time to civic-protective work; community councils and federations which have committees or departments for civic-protective work, with additional full-time or part-time professional direction for these departments; special central community agencies established for the sole purpose of conducting civic-protective work; and one state-wide organization. Several communities not now members have similar or the same types of organization.

Questions of additional membership will also involve other national agencies. An application already has been received from the Jewish War Veterans.

The By-Laws provide that the executive committee shall receive and review membership applications and make recommendations to the full Council which shall act upon them.

Relation to General Jewish Council.

The formation of the Advisory Council raises the question as to the future existence of the General Jewish Council, which has been more or less inactive during the past few years. While leaders of the General Jewish Council stated informally that upon initiation of activity by the new body, the General Jewish Council would go out of existence. No official announcement concerning its status has yet been made.

Relationship to the Council of Jewish Federation and Welfare Funds.

The Organizing Committee set up by the Board of the CJFWF at Pittsburgh, was given the specific responsibility of securing the membership of the national and local agencies originally invited to participate by virtue of the resolution adopted by the Assembly and to arrange for the first meeting. Its responsibility was to cease after the first session. The committee carried out this charge, securing a 100 per cent response as noted above, and developed an agenda on the basis of problems suggested by the local and national agencies for discussion. The committee's responsibility for the new agency has therefore ceased. Its membership included Mr. Kaufmann, and Mr. Haber, Co-Chairmen; Sidney Hollander, Maurice Fagan, Bernard Kopkind and David Watchmaker. Ira Younker served as an alternate for Mr. Watchmaker at the final meeting of the committee.

The staff and office responsibility of the CJFWF also ceased when the new body officially organized. Philip Bernstein of the CJFWF staff served as temporary Secretary for the Organizing Committee and for the first meeting. The NCRAC is now an independent organization.

The Board of Directors of the CJFF however, will probably continue to maintain the same general interest in this field of Jewish work as in others.

Next Steps.

The meetings on March 18, 19, and 20 thus launched the beginning of the program which the member agencies of the Council have been seeking during the past several years. It should be noted that the scope of the new Advisory Council is limited to policy making, and specifically excludes jurisdiction over the structure and fund-raising of the national agencies. The first meeting resulted in a generally favorable reaction, achieving more than many of the delegates expected at the initial sessions.

With the framework now set up, the new body has before it the tasks of filling out its membership developing its contact with all parts of the country, establishing an office, employing a staff, working out a plan for financial support, and undertaking the concrete activities of clearance, joint planning and policy making in combatting anti-Semitism in America.

It is expected that the Executive Committee will meet within a month and that the Advisory Council will meet within 90 days.



CONFIDENTIAL

AHS File

REPORT OF CONVERSATION WITH MR. ABRAHAM FORTAS, Department of Interior, Washington, D. C. Lunch, March 30, 1944

re: U.S. policy - Oil

Present: Mr. Fortas, Mr. Louis Bean, Dr. Josef Cohn and Dr. Goldmann.

Dr. Goldmann reported on the Palestine situation as he had found it in London. He said that the Zionists were very much worried by the complication caused by the new oil interest involved in it. Dr. Weizmann and others feel that so long as there is no agreement reached between the United States and England, Ibn Saud will be in a position to blackmail and to play one off against the other using Palestine as a card in the game, whereas if a united front were established by both of them such blackmailing methods could not be used.

Dr. Goldmann said he was interested to know whether Palestine was discussed in this connection and his opinion on what bearing the oil business had on the American attitude concerning Jewish Palestine.

Mr. Fortas said he would talk frankly, but asked me to regard his information as strictly confidential. He spoke of the difficulties they were meeting in carrying through the scheme. He is not at all sure that Congress will agree to it. He knew all about the campaign which the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey was organizing against it, and advised Dr. Goldmann to see the President of the Standard Oil of California.

Mr. Fortas said that, as far as he knew, Palestine was never discussed in the negotiations with Saudi Arabia. He fully agreed with the Zionist point of view that unless an agreement is reached with Great Britain, Palestine may be endangered by the blackmailing power of Ibn Saud. The United States has not yet discussed the matter with the British; they have not even officially informed them of their negotiations with Ibn Saud. But, as the decision is to build the pipe lines to Haifa, with big refineries there, etc., it is clear that they cannot start to implement the project before an agreement with Britain is reached.

Mr. Fortas believes that Jewish Palestine would benefit enormously from such a scheme for two reasons: the agreement would leave Iraq and Iran oil to the British and Saudi Arabian oil to the Americans. This would mean that the British would clear out of Saudi Arabia, which is financially supported by the British 100%. Once Ibn Saud was financially and politically dependent on the United States, America could influence him in his attitude toward Palestine. Palestine itself would benefit greatly from the pipe lines and the refineries, where Jewish skilled labor could be used, etc. Mr. Fortas does not believe that the Zionists have any reason to fight the scheme. Senator Maloney had told him that he was receiving hundreds of letters from Jews protesting the scheme and the revisionists have published advertisements implying that Jewish Palestine will be betrayed because of oil. He even thought that Dr. Wise had somewhere made a similar statement.

Mr. Fortas recommended that the Zionists pursue a "wait and see" policy, trying to prevent the Palestine problem from being tied up with oil, but not yet committing itself to a hostile attitude on the scheme.

From the point of view of this country, he believes that the project is necessary. It may be that in a few years new methods will be found which will make Arabian oil unnecessary; today, however, geologists believe that America needs these vast oil reserves. The best experts believe that within five or ten years the center of the world's oil production will shift from the Caribbean to the Middle East and Palestine will become the industrial center for this development.

Dr. Goldmann told Mr. Fortas of Col. Hoskins' mission to Ibn Saud, Philby's plan, etc. He asked Dr. Goldmann to send him a copy of the memorandum to HM and one to Mr. Bean, so that he would know the background of Ibn Saud's attitude in case Palestine should come up again.

Mr. Fortas who was very friendly and interested in the Zionist cause asked Dr. Goldmann to keep him informed and said he would do likewise.

The talk lasted for two hours.

Washington, D.C.
April 3, 1944

NG

C O N F I D E N T I A L

United Palestine Appeal
41 East 42nd Street
New York City

NOTE ON A MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT'S WAR RELIEF CONTROL BOARD
WASHINGTON BUILDING, WASHINGTON, D. C.
MARCH 30, 1944 at 11:30 A. M.

PRESENT: Charles P. Taft, Acting Chairman of the President's War Relief Control Board; Charles Warren, Member; James Brunot, Executive Director; Judson C. Dickerman, Consultant; C. C. Bookman, Consultant.

For the United Palestine Appeal: Rabbi James G. Heller, Louis Lipsky, Bernard A. Rosenblatt, Rabbi Leon I. Feuer, Henry Montor.

The committee representing the United Palestine Appeal met with the President's War Relief Control Board as a result of the decision of the Administrative Committee of the UPA on March 16th to consult with the Board as to the effect of its Order #9205 on the UPA. That order required the severance of political and propaganda activities from relief fund-raising bodies. The UPA had discussed the effect of this order in relation to the fact that up to \$250,000 each was voted to the American Zionist Emergency Council by the Keren Hayesod and Keren Kayemeth which receive their funds from the UPA.

Mr. Taft opened the meeting by giving the background as to why the Board had issued its ruling #9205. There were many organizations in the field, including a number in the National War Fund, which, although raising funds ostensibly for relief purposes, were using a large part of their money for propaganda and political purposes. The fact that money was being used in that way was probably not understood by the general contributing public. He mentioned particularly such organizations as the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee and China Relief. The Board had to be uniform in the application of this rule to all organizations alike.

Rabbi Heller expressed the hope that the Board would regard the activities of the UPA as in a different category than the other organizations to which Mr. Taft referred. He described the nature of the Keren Hayesod and Keren Kayemeth, which are long-range bodies which have carried on their activities, in the one case since 1921, and, in the other, since 1898. None of these, including the Mizrahi Palestine Fund - a beneficiary of the UPA to the extent of \$250,000 - is in any sense a "war" fund. From the very beginning the Keren Hayesod and Keren Kayemeth had conducted a political or rather a public relations program on the ground that the building up of public sentiment favorable to Palestine was an important adjunct to the fund-raising program itself and to the future possibilities of building the Jewish National Home. The UPA could not be described as only a "relief" organization; and in that way differed completely from the other organizations which the War Relief Control Board had in mind when the order was issued.

Mr. Taft said that the Board had to take note of the fact that from funds of the UPA an activity was being carried on by the American Zionist Emergency Council which involved, for example, public pressure on Congress.

Mr. Taft made special reference to the Resolution on Palestine now before Congress in which the American Zionist Emergency Council is deeply interested. The Board is faced with the problem arising out of the fact that an amount of \$500,000 is provided out of UPA funds for such work without any advertising of this fact, when the public assumes generally that the funds raised for the UPA are all for relief purposes. The very name of the United Palestine Appeal, he said, implies that it is distinctly a relief fund-raising agency.

Mr. Bookman inquired whether there would be any difficulty in having a line in all the material issued by the UPA to indicate that the amount of \$500,000 was going to the American Zionist Emergency Council.

Rabbi Heller said that he saw no difficulty about that. He asked if it would satisfy the War Relief Control Board if the UPA would indicate in its budgetary statements to the country that \$500,000 is used for the needs of the American Zionist Emergency Council.

Mr. Taft observed that another question was also involved: that is, the deductibility of gifts to the United Jewish Appeal in which the UPA is included. The tax exemption of these contributions would be imperilled, since funds contributed for political activity are debarred from exemption. He suggested that the UPA counsel ought to review that aspect of the situation.

Judge Rosenblatt explained how the Jewish Agency operates its public relations program in Palestine. He emphasized that funds raised by the UPA and sent to Palestine are used by the Jewish Agency in Palestine for work similar to that undertaken here. He gave as an illustration the contact between the Jewish Agency and the High Commissioner in making representations about immigration and other matters. This type of activity has been conducted with UPA funds for a very long time.

Mr. Warren said that the War Relief Control Board is not concerned as a legal body with the deductibility aspect of the question. It was merely calling it to the attention of the UPA for its consideration.

Rabbi Heller said that if the Board were to adhere to its original decision with respect to the elimination by the UPA of the grant to the Emergency Council, it would mean another campaign. If that could be avoided, it would be desirable.

Mr. Montor amplified the discussion of the tasks undertaken by the UPA agencies. Their activities were not created by the war and preceded it by many years; nor could all of the activities or even most of the activities of the UPA agencies be regarded as of a relief nature. There was a complete program which took into account every aspect of the upbuilding of the country.

Mr. Taft said that the members of the Board were aware of the fact that the UPA agencies were not born out of the war. But the fact remains that, insofar as the public is concerned, there is no distinction between the various purposes. The general impression is that the UPA funds are raised exclusively for relief purposes. The Board, Mr. Taft continued, could not say to the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee that "You cannot use your funds, raised ostensibly for relief purposes, for political activity" without being faced with the danger of having the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee come to the Board and say: "You have barred our use of such funds for political work, but you have permitted the United Palestine Appeal to do the very same thing."

Following a discussion along similar lines, Mr. Taft said that the Board wants a very clear definition of the political work being financed with funds of the UPA. Such a definition should be provided in a description of the total program of the UPA, with special reference to the exact activities of the American Zionist Emergency Council. The War Relief Control Board, Mr. Taft stated, would like to see such a statement drawn up by the UPA and submitted to it first. That statement should then be sent out to every welfare fund in the country and to every community raising funds for the UPA, in which it would be stated that up to \$500,000 is being made available to the American Zionist Emergency Council out of UPA funds. Also reference to this fact should be contained in all future literature issued by the UPA. The Board, in addition to wanting to see a copy of the statement before it is issued, would also like to have a statement on how the UPA plans to proceed in distributing this statement. The welfare funds and other communities should also be asked to pass on the information about this work to the contributors.

Mr. Bookman made further reference to the attitude of the Treasury Department on the subject of deductibility. Some indication would have to be given as to how much is involved in the expenditure for political work.

Mr. Warren observed that it is not wise to "poke a sleeping dog".

Mr. Lipsky defined the work of the American Zionist Emergency Council and stated that it consists of genuinely educational propaganda and not merely of political propaganda, as that term is commonly understood. The work of the Emergency Council is closely related to the education of the American public as to the needs in Palestine.

The meeting terminated at 12:00 Noon.

*

[March 31, 1944]

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
STATEMENT OF INCOME AND CASH BALANCE
October 15, 1943 to March 31, 1944

Cash on hand, October 15, 1943 \$ 26,216.34

Income Oct. 15, 1943 to March 31, 1944

Keren Hayesod 135,375.00

Keren Kayemeth 111,250.00

272,841.34

Expenditures, Oct. 15, 1943 to Mar. 31, 1944 219,863.83

Cash on hand, March 31, 1944 \$ 52,977.51

Cash in Bank 46,377.51

Petty Cash on hand 100.00

Travel Revolving Fund 500.00

Revolving Fund Washington Office 1,000.00

A. P. O. Bank Account 5,000.00

\$ 52,977.51

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

STATEMENT OF INCOME AND CASH BALANCE

As of March 31, 1944

Cash on hand, March 1, 1944	\$ 99,364.76
Income--Keren Hayesod, March	<u>16,375.00</u>
	115,739.76
Expenditures, March 1944	<u>62,762.25</u>
Cash on hand, March 31, 1944	\$ <u>52,977.51</u>

Cash in Bank	46,377.51
Petty Cash on hand	100.00
Travel Revolving Fund	500.00
Revolving Fund Washington Office	1,000.00
A. P. C. Bank Account	<u>5,000.00</u>
	\$ <u>52,977.51</u>

Expenditures for five and one-half month period	\$ 219,863.83
Average monthly expenditures on basis of 5½ month period	39,975.24
Average yearly expenditures on basis of 5½ month period	479,702.88

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
ANALYSIS OF EXPENDITURES
As of March 31, 1944

	<u>EXPENSES</u> <u>MARCH</u>	<u>EXPENSES Oct.</u> <u>15 to Mar. 31</u>	<u>BUDGET</u> <u>10/15/43 to</u> <u>10/15/44</u>	<u>UNEXPENDED</u> <u>BALANCE</u>
<u>ADMINISTRATIVE</u>				
Payroll	7,791.53	30,013.97	55,866.00	25,852.03
Travel, per diem, transportation	4,512.24	16,343.53	25,000.00	8,656.47
Equipment	127.71	7,838.85	5,000.00	2,838.85
Rent	1,823.37	6,171.22	10,000.00	3,828.78
Printing, stationery & supplies	1,356.04	9,894.21	7,500.00	2,394.21
Insurance	112.00	289.40	1,500.00	1,210.60
Postage	1,793.13	6,272.34	20,000.00	13,727.66
Cables, telephone & telegraph	2,581.72	8,105.62	20,000.00	11,894.38
Functions, dinners & meetings		4,792.46	25,000.00	20,207.54
Washington Office	4,270.25	9,966.90	10,000.00	33.10
Audit			1,000.00	1,000.00
<u>POLITICAL DEPARTMENT</u>				
Payroll	1,203.43	4,740.05	9,880.00	5,139.95
<u>PRESS DEPARTMENT</u>				
Payroll	1,919.58	8,061.33	18,928.00	10,866.67
Films, special studies	337.56	20,814.08	25,000.00	4,185.92
<u>PUBLICATIONS DEPARTMENT</u>				
Payroll	708.76	1,983.76	5,200.00	3,216.24
Literature	2,508.45	8,931.35	15,000.00	6,068.65
Printing	523.98	3,341.89	25,000.00	21,658.11
Photographs	109.41	173.07	5,000.00	4,826.93
<u>COMMUNITY CONTACTS</u>				
Payroll	427.42	6,291.65	15,860.00	9,568.35
<u>RESEARCH DEPARTMENT</u>				
Payroll	3,236.52	8,365.25	25,100.00	16,734.75
Materials, special studies	714.34	3,290.33	17,000.00	13,709.67
<u>AMERICAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE</u>				
Payroll	3,061.47	11,876.86	34,500.00	22,623.14
Speakers fees & Expenses	1,270.18	5,570.70	20,000.00	14,429.30

	EXPENSES MARCH	EXPENSES Oct. 15 to Mar. 31	BUDGET 10/15/43 to 10/15/44	UNEXPENDED BALANCE	
<u>COMMITTEE ON CHRISTIAN CLERGY</u>					
Payroll	410.79	1,432.12	11,296.00	9,863.88	
Materials	355.79	1,397.43	10,000.00	8,602.57	
Grant		3,000.00	2,500.00	500.00	*
<u>COMMITTEE ON SPECIAL SERVICES & EVENTS</u>					
Payroll			7,080.00	7,080.00	
Radio 1)	1,560.16	5,808.16	25,000.00	5,232.80	*
Religious Conference 1)	1,311.30	5,624.92			
Economic Studies 1)		64.60			
Zionist Youth Action 1)	99.00	99.00			
Advertisements 1)	394.80	394.80			
Palcor 1)	5,500.00	5,500.00			
Madison Square Garden Meeting 1)	12,741.32	12,741.32			
Manuscript Service			50,000.00	50,000.00	
<u>COMMITTEE ON INTELLECTUAL MOBILIZATION</u>					
Payroll		672.66	5,060.00	4,387.34	
<u>CONTACTS WITH ALLIED POST WAR GROUPS</u>					
	\$ 62,762.25	219,863.83	509,382.00	289,518.17	

*Budget overdrawn

1) Charged to Budget for Radio.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCILCommitments April 1, 1944-Oct. 15, 1944

Eugene Kelly	1,000.00	
Rent-4/1-10/15/44	7,583.36	
Leo Sack	3,250.00	
Jewish Agency, Moving expenses	750.00	
Auditor	1,000.00	
Marvin Lowenthal	500.00	
Addressograph	360.50	
Special services	2,500.00	
" "	2,500.00	
Madison Square Garden meeting	4,500.00	
A. P. C. Conference	5,000.00	28,943.86

PAYROLL--April 1 to Oct. 15, 1944

Shoshana Agamit	1,120.	Sulamith Schwartz	1,960.
Lillian Benjamin	1,260.	Blanche Shepard	1,400.
Sydel Bogal	700.	Harold Manson	2,800.
Leah Cohen	1,120.	Harry L. Shapiro	4,846.24
Ruth Epstein	980.	Benjamin Shwadron	1,400.
Elehnur Dardick	700.	Hans Lamm	1,960.
Kinereth Dushkin	980.	Adolph Hubbard	2,380.
Sadie Gottlieb	588.	Harry Steinberg	1,960.
Clara Salkind	770.	Naomi Borowsky	1,400.
Lilian Mond	1,120.	Stephanie Silverman	1,120.
Bertha Pollack	1,260.	Rose Davis	700.
Roselyn Pauker	840.	Bernard Weinryb	1,400.
Marjorie Landsmark	644.	Norma Knoblock	1,625.
Rose Shepatin	1,400.	Abram Magida	3,500.
Muriel Nerenberg	980.	Judith Abrahams	700.
Lesh Dorfman	840.	Sylvia Rubin	980.
Selma Hyman	980.	Stephanie Baer	700.
Eva Rosenfeld	700.	Irene Richman	1,120.
Laura Finkelstein	980.	I. B. Berkson	4,846.24
Julius Miller	840.	Shirley Siegel	980.
Estelle Silbergleit	700.	Cyvia Kaufman	980.
Rhoda Tendler	770.	Ida Kolodney	644.
Belle Strauss	1,120.	L. Friedman	840.
Joy Turover	1,120.	Sara Seidlin	1,120.
Terry Wolf	840.	Bernard Miller	644.
Dora Ente	1,120.	Robert Friedman	320.
Beatrice Cohen	2,100.	Miriam Lev	588.
Elizabeth Bing	1,120.	Harriet Pierce	980.
Esther Goldberg	1,120.	Ruth Hershman	980.

Judith Hara	700.	Ruth Neibloom	700.
Henrietta Herman	1,120.	Bertha Isaacs	980.
Leon I. Feuer	4,846.24	Syma Gerchik	980.
Arnold K. Isreeli	2,520.00	Sylvia Kopelman	840.
Arthur Lourie	4,307.80	May Goldberg	1,260.
Moseh Perlman	1,120.	Esphere Schachtman	734.
Florence Kaplan	672.	Leonard Miller	320.
Elsie Klein	<u>1,120.</u>	May Goldman	<u>840.</u>

TOTAL PAYROLL

\$ 96,795.52

TOTAL COMMITMENTS

\$ 125,739.38



Federbusch
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

HAPOEEL HAMIZRACHI OF AMERICA
1133 Broadway
New York 10, N. Y.
Watkins 9-5725

March 31, 1944

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, Chairman
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Silver:

Hapoel Hamizrachi of America has on previous occasions requested the erstwhile Zionist Emergency Committee to give it representation thereon. The request was ignored and Hapoel Hamizrachi continued its political activity independent of the Emergency Committee. Now, that the Committee has been reorganized and you have assumed the chairmanship of the Emergency Council, we renew our request for representation. We hope that our request will be granted so that in these crucial days for Israel and Zion we may have united Zionist political action.

We are sure you are acquainted with the role of Hapoel Hamizrachi in Eretz Israel and in the Zionist movement. Hapoel Hamizrachi, as the only religious-Zionist labor movement is an independent organization, which maintains separate institutions and activities subject to the control of no other political party in Zionism, save the Zionist Congress and its elected organs. No other group or organization, therefore, is entitled to represent us or talk in our name. In Eretz Israel, Hapoel Hamizrachi is represented by delegates of its own choosing in every Zionist and Communal body.

Hapoel Hamizrachi of America has branches in most of the large Jewish communities throughout the country. It has been actively participating in every Zionist endeavor since its inception in this country, twenty years ago. It has a fine youth organization and publishes its own monthly, the Jewish Horizon. It is recognized by, and represented in, the American Jewish Congress, the World Jewish Congress, it has participated in the American Jewish Conference and is represented in its Interim Committee. We consider it most important that Hapoel Hamizrachi of America be a full-fledged member of the Emergency Council during this crucial period for Zionism so that it should be fully informed of, and thus be enabled to participate in, the political decisions and activities of the Zionist movement.

HAPOEL HAMIZRACHI OF AMERICA

2.

The present situation calls for the active cooperation of all Zionists and the existence of an enlightened rank-and-file Zionist membership. Hapoel Hamizrachi, however, is in no position to give directives for political action in conformity with the policies of the Emergency Council since because of its exclusion from the Emergency Council it gets its information, if at all, from secondary sources and often in distorted fashion. We are, therefore, obliged to conduct whatever action seems advisable to us without regard to the actions and policies of the Emergency Council.

We wish to repeat: Hapoel Hamizrachi is a movement based upon a specific ideology and approach to Jewish and Zionist problems, and it therefore requests to be represented, with voting rights, on the American Zionist Emergency Council. Otherwise, the Council has no right to claim that it speaks in the name of all Zionist parties.

We trust your sense of justice and we hope you will give this matter your immediate attention.

With Zion's greetings, we are

Sincerely yours,

HAPOEL HAMIZRACHI OF AMERICA

Dr. Simon Federbusch, Pres.

ed
4/4/44

April 4, 1944.

Dr. Simon Federbusch, President
Hapoel Hamizrachi of America
1133 Broadway
New York 10, New York

Dear Dr. Federbusch:

Your letter of March 31st, addressed to Dr. Silver, has been received and it will be referred to the Executive Committee at its next meeting so that the matters contained therein may be taken up.

Cordially yours,

Harry L. Shapiro
Director

HLS:HBI

ed
4/4/44

[March 1944]

1944

Draft reply to "Arizona Star".

The analysis in your letter of March 28th of the differences between the 1922 Palestine Resolution and the Wagner-Taft Resolution is interesting. But on a careful reading I still suggest that those differences are more superficial than real.

The 1922 Resolution repeated practically unchanged the wording of the Balfour Declaration in which the British Government stated "that it viewed with favor the establishment of a National Home for the Jewish people...it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine..."

Both Mr. Lloyd George, (see Palettine Royal Commission Report 1937, page 24) who was the British Prime Minister at the time, and President Wilson indicated that what was meant by this Declaration was that the Jews were to be given the opportunity to build in Palestine a Jewish Commonwealth. President Wilson put it as follows when he stated on March 3, 1919, "that the Allied Nations with the fullest concurrence of our own Government and people are agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the foundations of a Jewish Commonwealth." Among others who spoke or wrote in similar terms were General Smuts, who had been a member of the Imperial War Cabinet when the Declaration was published, Lord Robert Cecil, Sir Herbert Samuel, and Mr. Winston Churchill.

The Wagner-Taft Resolution seeks to make explicit what was thus intended. It does not propose something new, but it does seek to give expression to the underlying purposes of the Balfour Declaration.

The explanation of why there was no specific reference to the Jewish Commonwealth in the Balfour Declaration was indicated by the Palestine Royal Commission when it stated that the British Government could not promise that the National Home would become a Jewish State for that would depend mainly on the zeal and enterprise of the Jews themselves. But that they should be given the opportunity to do so was clearly intended. It is hardly open to question that the Jews have fulfilled their side of the bargain, but the withdrawal on the part of the British Government represented by the Palestine White Paper, has made necessary ^{the} reaffirmation in more explicit terms of the original undertaking -- and that, I suggest, is what the Wagner-Taft Resolution seeks to do.

You ask whether we are going to force the Jews upon unwilling Arabs. Certainly it was never proposed that the entry of Jews into Palestine and the development of the National Home should be made dependent on Arab consent. ^{But} the Arabs in Palestine have benefited, and will continue to benefit greatly, as a result of the National Home promise. Their "civil and religious rights" have been and will be safe-guarded. But these rights do not include the right to remain a permanent majority. Perhaps the result is not ideal. But on balance the Arabs as a people cannot complain that they have been treated unjustly. They were perhaps the greatest beneficiaries of the last war. Occupants of vast territories they entered that war as the long-oppressed subjects of the Turkish Empire. As a result primarily of the efforts of the Allies the vast territories occupied by them were freed, and today they enjoy, or are about to enjoy, independent rule in Trans-Jordan, Syria, the Lebanon, Iraq, and Saudi-Arabia. In

an effort to ameliorate the age-old Jewish problem, "the little notch" of Palestine, immemorially associated with the Jewish people, was to be opened to Jewish immigration and to become again the Jewish homeland. The special position of Palestine in this connection was understood and accepted by the principal Arab representative at the Peace Conference, the Emir Feisal. Obviously to give the Jews the right to immigrate into Palestine might involve an element of compulsion so far as the existing population is concerned, and the use of the word "shall" in the Wagner-Taft Resolution does not introduce any new element in this respect. Nor was there any question of that right being limited to Jewish "refugees".

I think that there is more substance in your remaining point that the Wagner-Taft Resolution goes somewhat further than the 1922 Resolution when it uses the phrase "shall use its good offices and take appropriate measures", instead of "favors". At the same time the 1922 Resolution was clearly intended as an expression of American opinion which provided a basis for government policy. It is to be doubted if anything more is intended by the 1944 Resolution. This is borne out in the discussion in the House Committee on this point, when the author of the Resolution expressed his readiness to omit the words "appropriate measures", lest it be thought that anything more be intended than the making of diplomatic representations in the ordinary course in regard to an issue with which this country is legitimately concerned.

[April 4, 1944]

TRANSJORDAN

Mailed New York only via
Washington

Cairo, (AP) - "We fear Jewish imperialism."

This flat, frank statement was made to me by Tewfik Pasha Abou Neda, Prime Minister of Transjordan, discussing the tension existing in Palestine with the expiry of the first five-year term of the British White Paper on March 31, 1944.

Tewfik Pasha is a dapper little man, custom-tailored from the tassle of his dark red "tarboosh" to the points of his neat brown shoes. His hands and wrists are slender, his face fine-chiseled. He has the brown eyes and hawk-like nose of the Arabian aristocrat. His conversational style is high flown and majestic without being pompous. He is, in point of fact, a very restful personality, sitting in the sunshine-flooded salon of his suite at Shepherd's Hotel, with his hands crossed on his knees, his low voice and slow, sad smile.

He doesn't really look as if he was afraid of anyone. But he says he is afraid of the Jews.

He is an admirer of western culture, he says. He thinks highly of the spirit of the United Nations. He is a devoted fan of Mr. Roosevelt, and the Atlantic Charter.... just as he was, he remarks with his sad smile, of Mr. Wilson and his fourteen points....

"But," he went on, "we Arabs must make our viewpoint clear about the Jewish question. I am very much afraid that the people of America are inclined to use more heart than head in this matter. But I think it was a testimonial to their sincerity with regard to the independence of small nations that the recent protests of the leaders of the

Arab world at the discussions and resolutions of Congress on the Palestine question were heeded.

"You see, the Jewish question is not what it seems to be. Please understand me when I say that we Arabs do not hate the Jews. It would be absurd to say that we were anti-Semitic. We are ourselves Semites. The difference between us is that we have built up our culture along a certain line and the Jews on another.

"The Jews make historical claims to a national home in Palestine. Suddenly, after a thousand years and more, they discover the need for a national home! We Arabs sympathize with them in their hour of torment and persecution, and are as willing to help them as any other decent people. But, after all, their claim that Palestine, our Palestine, is their national home, is as ridiculous as would be the claim of Red Indians to the lands of the United States."

Tawfik Pasha paused for a while to let this sink in. He then went on, smiling very politely, and made the point: "How would you like it if 100,000,000 Jews were suddenly let loose in the United States. Proportionately it would be the same as what we are expected to put up with -- or at least some sections of the Jewish Zionist movement would like to see visited on us. Unrestricted immigration.....

"I know for a fact," he stated flatly, "that the Jews would not be satisfied with just Palestine. That makes another good reason for us not desiring them. They have already made attempts to infiltrate into my country, Transjordan. In the Lebanon and Syria, too, they have made similar efforts. Fortunately, they have been discovered in time.

"It is not a question of liking or disliking, sympathizing or not

sympathizing with the Jews in their time of suffering. It is a question of ensuring that our people, the Arab people, and our culture, does not perish."

Tewfik Pasha has devoted the best part of his 49 years to seeing the Arab culture does not perish. Born into the distinguished Palestinian family of El-Tagy el-Farouki, he was educated in Istanbul. When the last war broke out, he was studying law. A reserve officer, he became a bright star in the pro-Allied movement headed by Emir Feisal. After the war, on the formation of the state of Transjordan, he was invited to assist in the setting up of the legislative machine. In 1935 he was sent by his chief, the venerable Emir Abdullah, to the Hedjaz to conclude a treaty of friendship and alliance.

Tewfik Pasha formed his first government under Abdullah in 1938. In 1939 he went to London to represent his country at the Round Table Conference. He succeeded in obtaining for Transjordan sovereign status, and at the same time showed remarkable firmness on the Palestine question as well. He contends that the issue of Palestine is one which affects the whole Arab world. In this he is at one with every other Arab leader who has ever uttered his views on the Pan-Arab movement and the future of the Near East.

"Many mistakes have been made," he said, "but after all that is no reason why we Arabs should suffer more than anyone else. I am very glad to see signs that the United States is apparently going to take an active part in world affairs after the war, as befits her position in the world society of nations. I am very glad of this because I believe that this time America will see to it that the rights of small nations

will be upheld....and I think that if the Arab position were better appreciated in America, it would help greatly.

"The Jews," he concluded, "the Zionist Jews have spent considerable time and money on making their case. It is the duty of the Arabs to present their side of the picture before it is too late."

Just as I was leaving, the Arabian aristocrat suddenly had an idea:

"Tell me, young jan;" he said, "have you read the Bible?"

I confessed to not being very well informed in Biblical matters.

"Neither am I," he said. "It is not, of course, my Book, though, naturally, I have read it. But I was once told by an eminent student of the Bible that although in one passage it is promised to the Jews that they shall return to this much-discussed strip of the Jordan Valley, in another passage they are told that they will spend the rest of their days roaming the earth."

"I will try and find out, Sir", I said. And we bowed very low to each other.

"Maa Salaamak," he said. "Go in the safety of Allah."

Written-Cairo, 4/4/44, by Stephen Barber

NOTES ON CONFERENCE WITH GENERAL HURLEY

Washington, D. C.
April 4, 1944

I spent an hour and a half today with Major General Patrick J. Hurley, President's special envoy and minister without portfolio to the Near East, India, Russia, and other points.

I called upon General Hurley because of recent widespread publicity to the effect that he was the spearhead of Arab opposition to the Jewish National Home in Palestine. At the outset, General Hurley recalled that he had met me before and that years ago he had spoken in my pulpit in Cleveland. I recalled this too.

I found General Hurley at first inclined to be somewhat argumentative about Jewish rights in Palestine and confused as to the legal status of the Jewish National Homeland. It was quite apparent that in his several trips to the Near East as an emissary for the President, he had been so glutted with anti-Zionist propaganda that he was inclined to accept most of it at its face value. His apparent anti-Zionist attitude was inflamed also by the barrage of attacks from Jewish sources to which he has been subjected since Drew Pearson's recent broadcasts and a very intemperate speech in the House by Congressman Emanuel Celler of New York. (I explained to General Hurley that Mr. Celler in no way spoke for, or represented the Zionist organizations of America.)

It seemed, from what I gathered, that General Hurley was sent to the Near East as a confidential representative to ascertain on the ground the

effects of the Lease-Lend Law and the use to which Lease-Lend materiel was being put by the British. He also was directed to discuss Lease-Lend with King Ibn Saud in Saudi Arabia.

General Hurley told me that he never mentioned Palestine or the Jewish National Homeland to King Ibn Saud until the King, himself, brought up the matter. After a discussion of the business in hand he said, Ibn Saud said that he had written a letter to President Roosevelt, outlining his views about Palestine. He also had recently given an interview to "Life" magazine in which he had outlined his views.

"Ibn Saud told me," Hurley said, "that he is not anti-Semitic.

"I have no anti-Jewish feelings whatsoever" he said. "The Jews and the Arabs are joint descendants of Abraham. I am opposed to a Jewish state and a Jewish minority controlling an Arab majority."

General Hurley also told me that he had not discussed the proposed oil pipe line with Ibn Saud. This was very revealing to me in that his name has been so frequently mentioned in the newspapers and otherwise as the guiding spirit in the preliminary negotiations which have taken place for the proposed tapping of the large oil resources of Saudi Arabia by American interests, and piping of that oil to some port on the Mediterranean.

General Hurley said that, as a matter of fact, he personally is opposed to the pipe line. He does not think that it is a good thing for the United States government to finance, as is contemplated in the present discussions in government circles. He added, for my confidential information, that the President had offered him the presidency of the

contemplated United States governmental agency which would administer the pipe line but that he had refused the suggested assignment. He also reminded me that the original negotiations for development of Saudi Arabia oil resources by American money occurred back in 1933. (This was at the time when General Hurley, as Secretary of War under former President Herbert Hoover was retiring from political office.)

General Hurley told me that the U. S. Minister, Alexander Kirk, in Cairo, had assigned a Mr. Olijer to proceed to Saudi Arabia to conduct the negotiations for the pipe line with King Ibn Saud.

General Hurley declared that he spent much time in Palestine, Syria, Iran and elsewhere in the Near East, and that wherever he went he ran into very vehement anti-Semitic and anti-Zionist propaganda from British Civil Servants and other Britishers. This propaganda was of a most poisonous nature and was intended not only to belittle everything that the Jews are doing in Palestine, but to create a vigorous opposition on the part of the Arabs, British Colonials, Americans, and all others concerned, against fulfillment of the Jewish aspirations in regard to the Jewish National Home

Sir Ronald Storrs, has been assiduously spreading a propaganda among the Arabs to the effect,

That, the British are opposed to the creation of a Jewish State;

That while Mr. Churchill has professed himself to be a Zionist, British policy actually is created by the Colonial Office and the veterans of the Colonial Service;

That, President Roosevelt is surrounded by Jewish advisors and

powerful Jewish interests and that these advisors and interests have persuaded him to advocate the Jewish National Home.

That, the British Empire is at was and is in great need of assistance from the United States and thus it must acquiesce to Mr. Roosevelt's wishes;

That, the British Colonials want the Arabs to know that if the Homeland comes to pass it will not be the British who are responsible, but, to the contrary, it will be Mr. Roosevelt's responsibility because he is forcing acceptance of the Zionist viewpoint.

Mr. Hurley said that he was outraged by this vicious propaganda and that he immediately transmitted to the President his findings.

He advised the President in writing, and subsequently verbally that while he himself had no positive views on the National Homeland and, thus had no recommendations to offer, he would want to offer suggestions which were along these lines: "First, if you are committed as a matter of policy to the Jewish National Homeland, then I have no criticism whatsoever. But, if you are not wholly committed and your views in this matter parallel those of the British government, then the British should be made to accept that responsibility jointly with us, and cease their vicious anti-American propaganda."

General Hurley said that his views were later communicated by the President to Mr. Churchill.

In outlining the British propaganda, he said it embraced arguments that because of the communal farms, an eventual Palestinian state would be a communist state; that because the Jewish people followed a different religion from their Christian and Moslem neighbors, it would be a Jewish

state; that because the Jews had been engaged in mercantile pursuits, it would be a mercenary state. Also the argument was used by the British, first, that the Jews were anti-democratic, and second, that this was a bid for world power by the Jews. These arguments all were circulated by British Colonial Servants who made no bones whatsoever of their anti-Jewish attitude and that they are now more determined than they have ever been, the Palestine Mandate notwithstanding, to defeat the intent of the Balfour Declaration and the subsequent pronouncements on the subject.

Mr. Hurley also told me that even more viciously anti-Zionist than the British are the three American missionary colleges in the Near East.

Mr. Hurley described to me with appreciation his observations in Palestine. He visited several communal farms and had the opportunity to study at first hand what has been accomplished in Palestine by Jewish energy and intelligence. He spoke very highly of Dr. Magnes, Mr. Ben Gurion and Mr. Moishe Shertok. He regarded them all as "fine fellows", and admired their devotion to Palestine. He was most critical, however, of Mr. Joseph whom he described as a "police court lawyer" in the tone and methods he employed while in conference with him (Hurley)

During the conversation, Mr. Hurley said that he too has been giving consideration to a solution of the Jewish question as it applies to the Near East. It was his thought, he said, that a larger state, composed of Syria, Palestine and Trans-Jordania, to which Jewish

immigration would be freely admitted, would solve the problem in that the limited areas of Palestine then would not be taxed beyond its absorptive capacity, and at the same time, Jews would have the opportunity of settling in larger areas. Obviously, such a solution would not conform to Jewish aspirations for the Homeland.

I found General Hurley sadly unacquainted with the legal aspects of the Jewish right to Palestine. He had been completely saturated with the anti-Palestinian arguments of our enemies. I left with him the booklet prepared by the House Foreign Affairs Committee and also a copy of my speech at the American Palestine Committee dinner. He promised me that he would study these documents, as well as other material which he asked me to send him from time to time, with an open mind, in order that he could fully acquaint himself with our viewpoint. I feel that as a result of our conference, wherein Hurley said that he was hearing from me, for the first time, our side of the story, that we have converted a potential enemy into, at least, an open minded observer.

I was accompanied by Mr. Leo R. Sack, a friend of General Hurley's for the past twenty-five years, who arranged the conference.

SUPPLEMENTAL MEMORANDUM

Conference with General Hurley.

Washington, D. C.
April 4, 1944

It was quite obvious during General Hurley's conversation that he has become disgusted with British operations in the Near East, and I feel hopeful that because of this disgust he is somewhat inclined to discount British propaganda against Palestine.

General Hurley, for example, was most critical of the British in reference to Lease-Lend goods, paid for by American taxpayers and shipped in American bottoms, to the Near East to further the war effort. Instead of being used for the purpose intended, these goods are being resold by the British at from four to twenty times their normal value, the British pocketing the profits.

General Hurley has reported this situation to the President who also, he said, is outraged. There were other phases of British policy which have offended General Hurley's Americanism, as well as his Irish ancestry which has long been antagonistic to Britain.

General Hurley's feelings are such that as a result of conversations which he has had with Lord Halifax, His Majesty's Ambassador in Washington, and Mr. Richard Casey, the representative of the Churchill government in the Near East, the plan to have him return to the Near East is being opposed by influential Britishers. Whereas, General Hurley told Mr. Sack last week that he was planning to return to the Near East shortly - meaning during the week of April 3rd - he today indicated that he may be sent on another assignment and someone else assigned to the Near East.

This is because of the manifestly unenthusiastic British sentiments which he has reflected recently. I think we may regard this as a hopeful sign for our cause.



Please Return

April 5, 1944

Mr. Ludwig Lewisohn
Hotel Eastgate
Ontario Street East of Michigan Avenue
Chicago, Ill.

My dear Friend:

Thank you for your kind letter of March 30. I returned this morning from a ten day stay in the East. Hence the delay in replying to your letter.

Our Emergency Council had an all day meeting last Monday and drew up certain proposals and projected certain lines of action. I am asking Mr. Shapiro to send the minutes of the meeting on to you. In the meantime, I am enclosing the most recent "Confidential Bulletins" which the Emergency Council sent out, as well as one which was sent out on March 24. They will give you a general idea of the line which we shall follow from here on.

I should like the opportunity to sit down with you, before long, and talk over the situation with you more thoroughly and in greater detail than can be done through correspondence. What is important is "not to paint the situation in sombre colors." That is quite unnecessary. Zionists are not suffering from an excess of optimism at the moment. What is important is to maintain a fighting morale. The decisive battle has neither been fought nor lost. The White Paper has not been officially abrogated. Nevertheless no one in any responsible position, here or abroad, believes that it is the last word on the status of the Jewish National Home. The British were able to exploit the fact that the doors of Palestine actually still remain open for thousands of Jewish refugees to justify their refusal to make a formal declaration at this time. Furthermore, intimations were plentifully given from the highest sources that when the available certificates are exhausted, the authorities would not stick to the strict letter of the law. De facto, the doors of Palestine are still open. We must work feverishly and in cooperation with the War Refugee Board and other refugee agencies to see that as many Jews as can possibly be evacuated from Europe shall immediately be transported to Palestine.

April 5, 1944

Our demands will be irresistible when the available certificates are used up. We shall continue to press for the abrogation of the White Paper on the basis of its illegality, its inhumanity, etc. And of course, our major job is to press for the major Zionist objective against which the White Paper ^{was} directed in the first place -- the establishment of a free and democratic ^{Jewish} commonwealth. This is our solution for the Jewish problem. This is our solution for the problem of the political re-organization of the Near East. This is our contribution in part to the rapidly developing American interests in that part of the world.

As far as Zionism on the American scene is concerned, the remarkable popular response of the American people, evoked by the introduction of the Palestine resolutions in Congress indicates that the American people is deeply sympathetic to our cause and that there is a growing understanding in all sections of our population of our aims. The readiness of Congress to vote for the resolutions, if not inhibited by the military -- a vote which would have been overwhelming -- is another indication of the willingness of the representatives of our country to be helpful and cooperative. The subject of Palestine has been lifted onto a high plane of political importance and significance in the thinking of the American people. And it will stay there. It will not be possible to ignore or surreptitiously to sacrifice the interests of the Jewish National Home in present and future international discussions and arrangements. An attempt was made to impose a blanket of silence on the subject of Palestine, and under cover of that secrecy and silence, to conclude political arrangements involving the Jewish National Home which would have confronted us at the proper time with a fait accompli, and left us completely betrayed. The great pro-Palestine agitation which has taken place in this country (and which will continue) has succeeded in frustrating any such conspiracy.

The Palestine resolutions in Congress have not been defeated or tabled. In the House Foreign Affairs Committee, action on the resolution has been deferred for the time being. In the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, no action whatever has taken place. The resolutions are still pending.

It is conceivable that the military authorities who registered their objections are not very happy about being brought into the picture, and that perhaps at the first favorable turn in the military situation which may come before the Summer or Autumn, they may wish to seize the occasion to withdraw their objections. In that case the resolutions will be voted on in Congress, and there is no doubt how the vote will go. It is likely, too, that the nearer we approach the elections in November, the greater pressure there will be within Congress itself for the right of Congressmen and Senators to express themselves on this basic issue in which millions of American citizens are interested. There is no ground, therefore, for pessimism in relation to these resolutions.

April 5, 1944

The declaration of the President, made on March 9, is highly important. I am afraid that it has been under-played in the New Palestine for reasons which I cannot understand. I think the statement which appeared this week in the Reconstructionist on the subject is a sounder reaction to the President's statement. I am enclosing the editorial herewith. There may be stronger statements forthcoming from the head of our government, but the March 9 statement represents the best thing which we have had from our government since 1939. We should make the fullest use of it and read into it all that can properly and legitimately be read into it. Our good friend, Ibn Saud, regarded it as a stab in the back, and was furious about it. The degree of his fury should be the measure of our satisfaction. We must sympathetically encourage our President to carry out the full meaning and intent of this declaration. Let us not whittle down the President's statement in the same way as the English have whittled down the meaning of the Balfour Declaration.

American interests in the Near East are rapidly expanding. A new political orientation is bound to follow. Our government may find itself, of necessity, in a position to take a much more positive stand in relation to the Jewish National Home than heretofore. It is important to see that our government does not adopt an anti-Zionist attitude "on its own", aided and abetted by the example of the British Colonial Office. There have been American forces working in this country representing American imperial interests (and one might say also ~~missionary~~) to convert our government to just such an anti-Zionist position. It will be our task to demonstrate that the legitimate interests of America in the Near East not only coincide with, but will be clearly helped by a strong and friendly outpost such as a Jewish National Home would represent in that part of the world.

We should not presume at the moment that the oil negotiations now pending are ipso facto detrimental to our interests. As yet there is no evidence available that any commitments whatsoever unfavorable to us have been made. They may have been, but we have no knowledge of them. We are probing for the facts. For the time being, we ought not to go all out in an oppositional attitude towards these oil negotiations in which the American War and Navy Departments are vitally interested, and which they claim are essential to the future security of our country. The future Senate hearings on the subject may reveal new facts which may determine our attitude. For the time being, the only logical position for us to take is that none of the legitimate rights of the Jewish people in Palestine, our rights under the Declaration and the Mandate, shall be sacrificed in the process of these negotiations.

There is much more that I should like to say to you, but I will look forward to an early meeting with you. In the meantime I send you my best wishes for a happy Passover holiday. With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

April 7, 1944

General ~~John~~ Patrick Hurley
Department of State
Washington, D.C.

My dear General Hurley:

I was most happy to have had the chat with you the other day in your office. It was good of you to give me so much of your time. I was greatly interested in the impressions and the reactions which you received in the Near East, particularly with reference to the extensive propaganda which is carried on against the Jewish National Home. They confirm similar impressions received by others who have recently visited that part of the world.

I am greatly distressed that you have been made unhappy by what you know to be a gross misrepresentation of your position with reference to Palestine and the Jewish people generally. In these feverish days when passions run high and the work of men in public life must of necessity be wrapped in considerable diplomatic secrecy, it is inevitable that some people who gain their information from the public press should jump at conclusions which are very often imperfect and sometimes altogether inaccurate conclusions. Such misconceptions, however, can be dissipated.

I was happy to learn that to your best knowledge, no commitments have been made in the course of recent oil negotiations which involve the Jewish National Home. This has been bothering many of our people who have been led to fear that the Jewish National Home is, to use a colloquialism, being "sold down the river."

The first part of our conversation led me to believe that you have not had the opportunity to familiarize yourself fully with some of the legal aspects of the Palestine Mandate or of the Convention on Palestine which was signed by the United States and Great Britain in 1924. I hope that you will have the opportunity to go through the documents which I left with you. I am also taking the liberty of enclosing an excellent statement on the claims of the Jews and Arabs with reference to Palestine which was made by Mr. Emanuel Neumann before the Foreign Affairs Committee at the hearings on the Palestine resolution recently introduced in Congress.

General Hurley

-2-

April 7, 1944

I shall be most happy to hear from you on any of the subjects which we talked about, if you desire any additional information. I shall also look forward with keen pleasure to the opportunity of meeting with you again.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

(Signed) Abba Hillel Silver

AHS:EK
Enc.



C
O
P
Y O F C A B L E

JERUSALEM APRIL 18, 1944 (Rec'd April 26)

NLT
ARTHUR LOURIE
342 MADISON NEW YORK

APPLIED 3/1 SCHEDULE QUARTER APRIL JUNE 6000 PLUS 500 YOUTH ALIYAH 500 OTHER
CATEGORIES MILLS MIGRATION COMMISSIONER JERUSALEM TOOK VIEW MUST RESERVE REMAINING
CERTIFICATES WITHIN WHITEPAPER LIMITS TO COVER COMMITMENTS PREVIOUSLY MADE FOR
PERSONS OCCUPIED COUNTRIES ALTHOUGH ADMITTEDLY THESE CONJECTURAL WE CHALLENGED
NECESSITY RESERVE THESE SOCALLED COMMITMENTS STOP ENTIRE QUESTION INCLUDING
SCHEDULE APPLICATION DISCUSSED BY MOSHE SHER TOK LONDON WITH COLSECRETARY 30/1 STOP
LATTER ANNOUNCED UNPUBLISHABLE DECISION DISREGARD COMMITMENTS AMOUNTING 18000 BUT
AFTER DEDUCTION RESERVE 1000 FOR WIVES CHILDREN RESIDENTS PALESTINE ELIGIBLE
EXCHANGE SCHEME WILL DEVOTE WHOLE BALANCE FUGITIVES ENEMY COUNTRIES SAVE APPLICA-
TIONS APPROVABLE INDIVIDUAL CASES OTHER COUNTRIES STOP SHER TOK ARGUED PRIORITY
FUGITIVES UNQUESTIONABLE BUT CHANCES ESCAPE UNCERTAIN MEANWHILE INADMISSIBLE DELAY
REHABILITATION VICTIMS SAVED AND OTHER JEWISH SUFFERERS EVENTUALLY SECRETARY AGREED
LIBERAL INTERPRETATION RULING INDIVIDUAL APPLICATIONS ALSO AGREED KEEP MATTERS
ELASTIC REVIEW POLICY LIGHT ACTUAL ESCAPE FROM NAZI LANDS STOP WE CABLED LONDON
REGARD THIS DECISION VIRTUAL CESSATION IMMIGRATION FROM NONNAZI COUNTRIES PRE-
CARIOUS DEPEND ON LIBERAL INTERPRETATION NECESSARY OBTAIN URGENTLY CERTIFICATES
FOR ALL REFUGEES ITALY SPAIN ADEN TANGIERS CASABLANCA TURKEY TOTALLING MINIMUM
6000 QUESTION IS ARE AUTHORITIES PREPARED GRANT THESE CERTIFICATES WE NOT
PREPARED APPLY FEW HUNDRED CERTIFICATES BASIS INDIVIDUAL NAMES EITHER AUTHORITIES
AGREE GIVE SCHEDULE OR NOT PLEASE CLARIFY STOP EXECUTIVE CONSIDERING ACTION
ESSENTIAL VIEW THIS NEW SITUATION

BERNARD JOSEPH

[April 21, 1944]

American Jewish Trade Union Committee for Palestine
Room 2500 245 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York MU 3-1881

FOR RELEASE: MONDAY, APRIL 24

SIDNEY HILLMAN DEMANDS WHITE PAPER REPEAL AND JEWISH COMMONWEALTH
IN PALESTINE

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS HEAD SAYS PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT AND AMERICAN PEOPLE
TAKE THE SAME POSITION

New York -- Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, today demanded the immediate opening of Palestine's doors to free Jewish immigration, and declared that "this is the position, not only of the President of the United States, but also of great sections of the American people who feel the tortures visited upon a defenseless people."

In a declaration supporting the aims of the newly-organized American Jewish Trade Union Committee for Palestine, Mr. Hillman denounced the British White Paper policy, which prohibits new Jewish immigration into Palestine, as "a travesty upon elementary justice and humanity," and urged that the remnants of the Jewish people be saved from complete destruction by "the immediate abrogation of the White Paper and the reconstitution of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth."

Asserting that this is the position of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, representing more than 5,000,000 American trade-unionists, Mr. Hillman pointed out that the C.I.O., in a resolution adopted unanimously at its national convention in Philadelphia last November, assailed the White Paper as "discriminatory, unfair, unjust, and a hindrance to the war effort."

The text of Mr. Hillman's statement follows:

"Justice demands the immediate abrogation of the White Paper, which bars

(more)

further immigration into Palestine, and the reconstitution of that country as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth.

"The soil of Europe is soaked with the blood of Jewish dead. They have been killed in the ghettos, they have been killed in the fields. Men, women and children. And as the Nazi hordes are being beaten into Roumania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and the rest of Middle and Eastern Europe, their first victims, as always, are defenseless Jews -- men, women and children.

"It is a travesty upon elementary justice and humanity to close the door to the one avenue of escape for the hapless Jews who still remain alive. As we wait, as we write, as we talk, they are being killed. Just that. They are being killed.

"It is imperative that appropriate measures be taken to open the doors of Palestine for free entry of Jews into that country.

"This is the position not only of the President of the United States but also of great sections of the American people who feel the tortures visited upon a defenseless people.

"It is the position of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, representing more than 5,000,000 American trade-unionists. The C.I.O., in a resolution adopted unanimously at its national convention in Philadelphia last November, urge the abrogation of the Chamberlain White Paper, declaring it to be 'discriminatory, unfair, unjust, and a hindrance to the war effort.'

"I wish to add my voice to that of millions of other Americans asking that the remnants of a people be saved from complete destruction at the hands of our common enemy. This can best be accomplished by the immediate abrogation of the White Paper, and the reconstitution of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth."

II.

APR-25 1944

Draft - Oil Memorandum

1. Great numbers of Jews in this country are deeply concerned with the possible implications for the future of the Jewish National Home in Palestine, of the proposed oil pipe-line from Saudi-Arabia to the Palestine littoral.

2. Much of this feeling of apprehension is based on unconfirmed reports of possible arrangements with King Ibn Saud which may affect the political issue in Palestine. In general, there is anxiety lest in the conflict of interests which center around the pipe-line proposal the special needs and position of the Jewish National Home will be forgotten.

3. The United States Government has been associated with the policy of the reestablishment of the Jewish National Home in Palestine since the inception of that policy in 1917. In 1922 the Congress of the United States expressed itself unanimously in favor of the Jewish National Home policy, and it has further had the support of every President since President Wilson. That this continues to reflect the sentiment of the great mass of the people of this country is evident from the statements of very many members of the Senate and House of Representatives ^{of} the present American Congress, from the Resolutions adopted in eighteen of the State Legislatures of this country, and from the statements and resolutions of numerous representatives of the Church, of labor, of academic, civic, and other public bodies.

4. Clause 8 of the "Principles of Proposed Agreement" between

the Petroleum Reserves Corporation and the American Arabian Oil Company, dated January 24, 1944, provides that the "commercial and other policies and practices of the companies would conform to the foreign policy of the United States". It is submitted that in view of this clause, and with a view also to allaying the widespread anxiety above referred to, it is essential that the nature of United States foreign policy in regard to Palestine should be clearly defined in advance as looking toward the early fulfillment of the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate, in accordance with their underlying intent and purpose to afford the Jewish people the opportunity to establish in Palestine a Jewish Commonwealth.

5. Clause 11 of the "Principles of Agreement" is also relevant in this connection in that it refers to the desire and intention of the parties to the agreement "to promote the interests of the Governments" of the ^{areas} ~~states~~ affected by the pipe-line, and "to respect their sovereignty and protect their rights". In addition to providing for an active concern for the peace and prosperity of these countries, the Agreement calls for the exercise of their rights by the parties concerned, "with due regard to the rights including that of political integrity of the Governments of such countries." It is clear that this clause imposes on the Government of the United States and its nationals active and affirmative duties in regard to the countries traversed by the pipe-line, which are susceptible of wide latitude of interpretation. Obviously there is need for clarification and definition. Thus, not merely is it desired that assurance will be given that no commitment adverse to the future of the

Jewish National Home has been or will be given to any party with whom negotiations in behalf of the pipe-line may be conducted; but past experience with the Palestine Mandate indicates the necessity that from the outset the United States Government should take the lead ⁱⁿ ~~and~~ making indubitably clear that it stands foursquare behind the policy of the Jewish National Home.

6. Apart from the political issue, the pipe-line raises economic questions of great importance for the future of Palestine. Palestine is developing rapidly as an industrial center. The continuation of this trend is intimately bound up with the existence of an adequate supply of cheap fuel. It is a matter of vital importance, accordingly, that any arrangement that may be made with the oil companies should include provision for the supply to the Palestine market of ample quantities of oil and oil products at a price reasonable in relation to cost. It is suggested that such an arrangement is implicit in the reference in Clause 8 of the "Principles of Agreement", to the concern of the parties for the peace and prosperity of the countries in question. It is obviously desirable, however, that these provisions be made explicit in advance.

7. The question also arises of conditions of labor in connection with the construction and operation of the pipe-line and refineries in Palestine. It is urged that in regard to ~~these~~ as well as any other conditions of agreement which may finally be reached affecting the establishment of the Jewish National Home, the opportunity should be given to the representatives of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, officially recognized under the Palestine Mandate as the representa-

the Jewish body, for the purpose of advising and cooperating with
the Administration of Palestine, to submit their views in advance
to the Government ^{and} ~~of~~ the oil companies concerned.



4/24/44

HARRY GREENSTEIN
Rm. 913 - 1344 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington 25, D.C.

April 26, 1944

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
c/o The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Rabbi Silver:

In accordance with your request I am outlining below the highlights of my conversations in London.

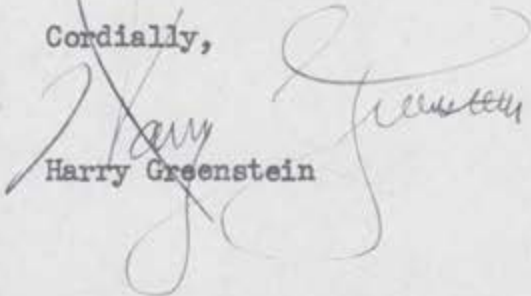
It is of supreme importance that there be maintained the best of relations between England and the United States, and that nothing be done by word or deed which will make for a breach between the two countries. The Prime Minister has staked his entire policy on this program, and should he feel that the American Zionist leadership is jeopardizing these relations, this more than anything else may lose Palestine for the Jews.

The opposition to the "White Paper" can be vigorously expressed but the motives of Great Britain should not be impugned; and above all, no malicious attacks should accompany any protests against present policy of Great Britain with regard to Palestine.

Roosevelt likewise feels quite strongly that the future of the world depends upon the closest relations between Great Britain and the United States, and he too would resent anything said or done which would play into the hands of our enemies.

The future of Palestine hangs in the balance today, and the utmost statesmanship will be needed particularly in the next few months on the part of Zionist leadership, if a maximum program is to be assured.

Cordially,


Harry Greenstein

HG/jb

April 28, 1944

The Honorable Adolph J. Sabath
United States House of Representatives
Washington, D.C.

My dear Congressman Sabath:

I was very happy to have had the talk with you Tuesday. I know of your unfailing interest in our cause, and of your readiness at all times to be of help. I value greatly your counsel and guidance.

What has transpired in recent weeks in connection with the Palestine Resolution introduced in Congress and the President's statement made through Dr. Wise and me on March 9th has caused great confusion in our ranks and has given our people a sense of frustration and defeat. Here are the facts.

(1) After receiving the "green light" from everybody in the Administration and in Congress whom we consulted, we introduced the Palestine Resolution. Cordell Hull saw the Resolution before it was introduced and raised no objections to it. The majority and minority leaders of both branches of Congress not only approved of the Resolution, but spoke in favor of it on the floor of the House and the Senate when it was introduced. We were led to believe that the passage of the Resolution would be quick and sure.

(2) Hardly had the Resolution been introduced when the War Department was brought into the picture, presumably by the State Department, to warn against the passage of the Resolution as dangerous from a military point of view. Why a presumably friendly State Department could not have apprised us beforehand, so that we could have delayed introducing the Resolution, and thus obviating all that happened subsequently, remains a distressing mystery.

(3) The entire country had been aroused by the introduction of the Resolution. Tens of thousands of communications poured into Washington endorsing it. The press of the country published hundreds of editorials favoring it. Numerous Christian organizations, churches, labor groups, service groups, etc. were moved to send friendly messages. The sudden intervention of the military came as a distinct shock to all of them and left them bewildered -- and certainly not convinced that the intervention of the military was either warranted or spontaneous.

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(4) In that state of bewilderment we turned to the President of the United States. Since the American people had been inhibited from expressing through their chosen representatives in Congress their true sentiments on the subject, we felt justified in turning to the Chief Executive to learn from him what the true policy of our government was with reference to Palestine. We asked for clarification and for reassurance.

(5) On March 9th, Dr. Wise and I met with the President. As a result of a very pleasant and full conference, we were authorized to issue a statement in which it was stated that "the American Government had never given its approval to the White Paper of 1939...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, etc." We were pleased with this statement although it did not go as far as we had hoped. Our people received the statement with great satisfaction. Coming as it did, after the intervention of the military and after the Arab protests had been received, it had real significance. We were prepared to make use of it both here and abroad.

(6) But as if deliberately intended to nullify the whole value of the President's statement, and hot upon its heels, came the announcement of the House Foreign Affairs Committee that it had deferred action on the Resolution because of military considerations. The Jewish public and the Jewish press were stunned. What prompted Mr. Bloom, the Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee to rush through formal action on the Resolution, after it had been agreed that the Resolution should remain pending until the proper time arrived for its passage, remains another of those distressing mysteries. Mr. Bloom has never paid us the courtesy of telling us why the precipitated action was taken. As a result there has been bitter and mounting resentment.

(7) Not long thereafter, the President himself, at a press conference, in reply to a question of how he reconciled the statement issued by us in his name with the attitude of the military authorities gave a reply which still further befogged the situation and greatly weakened the effectiveness of his March 9th statement. The result of all this has been a growing conviction on the part of many that the Zionists have been given the "run around" by the Administration in Washington. You have undoubtedly seen articles in the public press -- and even in the press which is friendly to the Administration.

(8) The article of Drew/Pearson which appeared last Monday has not improved matters any. We had been led to expect another statement from the President, this time in his own name, one which he would issue after consultation with Churchill. It

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had been intimated to us that we would be given the courtesy of seeing the statement before it was issued. It is six weeks now since the subject of this second statement was discussed with the President. We have not heard a word from the White House, but through Drew Pearson's column we learn that the conversation with Churchill had been held, and that both the President and Churchill are opposed to the Jewish Commonwealth! If true, this is alarming news. It puts the President in direct and open opposition to the Zionist Movement. I cannot believe it. Please remember that the Jewish Commonwealth is not something new, something introduced for the first time in connection with the Palestine Resolution. It is what Wilson, Balfour, Lloyd George and Churchill had in mind when they talked about the Jewish National Home in Palestine. A Jewish Commonwealth is old-fashioned, orthodox Zionism. It is only the propaganda of British agents in the last few years since the introduction of the White Paper, which has spread the idea that Zionists who demand the faithful fulfillment of the letter and spirit of the Palestine Mandate and the Balfour Declaration are extremists.

This, then, is the situation today, my dear Congressman Sabath. Our Palestine Resolution has been stymied by a friendly Administration. The President's own position has been obscured by things said by him and by others. The enemies of our cause have rejoiced over the turn of events in Washington. Our political position in London and Jerusalem has deteriorated as a result of it, and in a most critical time. Our people have received a severe and unmerited blow.

What is to be done? Clearly there are two things which should be done and quickly done to repair the damage.

(1) The President should issue a clear-cut statement which will allay all doubts as to his own position on the subject of the Jewish National Home. It should be more definitive than his statement issued on March 9th -- one which will be in line with the traditional American policy toward Palestine inaugurated by President Wilson. The American people as a whole will hail such a declaration. No adverse political capital will be made of it for there is no political division on the subject. Both political parties, through their authorized leaders, are on record as heartily endorsing the Jewish Commonwealth.

(2) After the President's statement will have been issued, the "green light" should be given for bringing out the Resolution from committee. The Administration should call off the "hounds of war". After all, the Resolution does not contemplate the enactment of any law. It is merely the expression of sympathy and good will. It asks that the United States shall

Congressman Sabath

-4-

April 28, 1944

use its good offices. Everybody has agreed that once this Resolution comes on the floor of the House and the Senate, it will be approved overwhelmingly.

Prolonged delay will serve only to entangle and embitter an already unhappy situation. Capital will be made of it within the next few months to the disadvantage of everyone concerned. I know your statesmanship and your political sagacity. I know that your judgment is valued. You can render a historic service to a great cause in a decisive hour.

I shall be very happy to hear from you. With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

AHS:BN



April 28, 1944

August

The Honorable Robert F. Wagner
United States Senate
Washington, D.C.

My dear Senator Wagner:

I was very happy to have had the pleasant chat with you the other day in your office. I was particularly delighted to find you looking so well and in such good health and spirits.

I am very anxious that the situation with reference to our resolution should be clarified and that the position of the President on the subject, which has unfortunately been obscured, should be made clear. As of the moment, our Palestine Resolution seems to have been stymied by a friendly Administration through the intervention of the War Department. The President's own position, made public through Dr. Wise and me on March 9th, has unfortunately become obscured by a subsequent statement which he made at a press conference in reply to a question of how he reconciled his statement issued through us with the attitude of the military.

The announcement of the House Foreign Affairs Committee that it had voted formally to defer action on the resolution weakened greatly the effectiveness of the President's statement which was issued a few days previously. The press -- and not only that part of it which is unfriendly to the President -- has widely popularized the idea that the Administration has been giving the Jews of America the "run around" on Palestine.

Again, many of our people have come to feel that because of the Administration's interest in Arabian oil and the proposed pipe-line, the Jewish national home is being sold down the river. A few days ago, a widely read columnist published the statement that the President had consulted Churchill recently, and that they are both opposed to the Jewish commonwealth. All this has contributed to the serious bewilderment of our people and is arousing increasing resentment. The situation clearly cannot continue in this state of confusion indefinitely. Two things should be done to repair the damage.

(1) The President should issue a clear-cut statement which will allay all doubts as to his position on the subject of

April 28, 1944

the Jewish national home. It should be more definite than his statement issued on March 9th -- in line with the traditional American policy towards Palestine inaugurated by President Wilson. The American people will hail such a declaration. Since both political parties, through their authorized leaders, are on record as heartily endorsing the Jewish commonwealth, no adverse political capital can be made of such a statement. On the contrary, it will make hosts of friends.

(2) After the President's statement will have been issued, the "green light" should be given by the Administration for bringing out the Palestine Resolution from committee. The Administration should call off the "hounds of war"....After all, the resolution does not contemplate the enactment of any law. It is only an expression of sympathy and good will and asks that our government should use its good offices. Once the resolution comes to the floor of the House and the Senate, it will be approved overwhelmingly.

Prolonged delay will serve only to entangle and embitter an already unhappy situation. Capital will be made of it in the next few months to the disadvantage of everyone concerned. I know that you can present this situation to the President very forcibly and convincingly. You brought about our meeting with the President on March 9th with very excellent results which were unfortunately impaired by subsequent events. I know that your statesmanship can help bring about the two objectives mentioned above.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

AHS:BK

C O P Y

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D.C.

May 10, 1944

Mr. Louis Lipsky
386 Fourth Avenue,
New York City

My dear Louis:

Needless to say, I have read your letter of the 8th with the most willing and conscientious care. I need hardly assure you (as a friend) that I am just as sympathetic to the cause of which you are so ardent a supporter, as are you and your associates.

Similarly, it goes without saying that I stand ready in any way within my power, to serve and to be helpful. Just how far I or anyone, for that matter, can give you an assurance of ability to procure a statement from the President — "clear and definitive" as you phrase it, on the rights of the Jewish people under the Mandate — I am unable to say.

The willingness to help is mine. The outcome rests elsewhere.

Sincerely yours,

SOL BLOOM

SB:Cv

REPORT ON COMMUNITY CONTACTS SUBMITTED TO THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
OF THE AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL, MONDAY, MAY 15, 1944

by Dr. Leon I. Feuer

- - - - -

I am submitting at your request a report of our Community Contacts work as of this date. It is appropriate to survey and evaluate this work just prior to our coming Community Contacts Conference in Washington.

Working under our direction at the present time are 215 regularly constituted local emergency committees for Palestine. In addition, we have a number of individual correspondents in small communities; there are borough, county, and state organizations and communities which are served through members on State Emergency Committees. This makes a total of 311 communities in 42 states with which we have contact. Serving on these committees are nearly 2,000 men and women. We possess in these local emergency committees, as amply demonstrated by the magnificent job which they have done, highly effective instrumentalities for propaganda and political action. In the 2,000 members of our local committees we have a small but active, well-disciplined, and politically conscious corps which, if properly directed, developed, and kept informed, can constitute a mighty weapon for our future work. Later in this report I shall make some recommendations with regard to some of the ways in which we can increase the effectiveness of these local committees. It can be said here, however, that the secret of their successful operation thus far is the formula by which these committees were organized. They were purposely kept small, their personnel as representative as possible of the best Zionist talent in each community, simple in structure, with considerable authority vested in the chairman.

No one will pretend that all of our committees have been equally productive of results in their work. A number of them, particularly in those sections of the country where the Zionist movement generally has been weak, have fallen down badly on the job and will need to be reorganized and given a fresh start. I want to give you a sketch survey of how these committees have operated. Since this report will be something of a cross-section there will necessarily have to be many omissions. It is interesting to note that some communities did an excellent all-around job in every field of activity. This was of course due to the initiative and imagination of the chairman. In other cases, local emergency committees performed well in one field to the neglect of other areas of work.

Generally speaking, however, most of our committees rendered outstanding services in the area of direct political action, that is, in contacting Congressmen and Senators personally and in mobilizing telegram, letter-writing, and post-card campaigns in support of the Resolutions pending before Congress. This type of activity, of course, had a tremendous appeal to our local communities, because it had a direct impact, and promised tangible results. The best job done in a large community was undoubtedly Detroit, Michigan, which dispatched 22,000 post-cards and 19,000 individual letters to Representatives and Senators, and 3,000 telegrams to the President. Two notable achievements in smaller communities were produced by Meriden, Connecticut which sent 12,000 individual letters, and Portsmouth, New Hampshire with 11,000 individual letters. Other outstanding examples were Cincinnati, Ohio, 13,500 letters; Buffalo, 10,000 letters; Milwaukee, 7,000; Oakland, California, 5,000. Leominster, Massachusetts sent 1,000 telegrams to the President; Bridgeport, Connecticut, 700; Portland, Maine, and Pottsville, Pennsylvania -- small communities -- 600 and 100 telegrams respectively. South Bend, Indiana did an unusual job in getting 60,000 signatures to petitions which

were sent to Congress and the President, incidentally illustrating what the possibilities are should we decide on a national petition. Twenty-five communities picked at random from our roster sent 11,500 telegrams to the White House, when we decided to divert the stream of our pressure in that direction. There is no means of estimating the total number of letters, telegrams, postcards, and other forms of communications which our communities produced during the course of the campaign for the Resolutions, but judging by the communities from whom we did receive exact reports, the total must be impressive. We know that the campaign made a tremendous impact upon Congress. A number of individual Representatives and Senators expressed their amazement at the number of communications which they were getting from their constituents, a substantial percentage of them coming from non-Jews.

Through personal visits, telephone communication and letter-writing, our communities succeeded in obtaining definite expressions of sympathy and support for our cause from 63 Senators and 201 Representatives. A number of communities sent individuals or delegations to interview Senators and Congressmen in Washington, and dozens of them met with their Representatives at home.

I should like now to describe for you the work of some of our outstanding committees in other fields of activity. Please keep in mind that this represents a few out of the many examples which could be cited.

A. Christian Activities

I. Los Angeles, California

Los Angeles organized what it called a Committee on Palestine, non-sectarian in membership. It can point with pride to the illustrious names on its letterhead of Bishop W. Bertrand Stevens as Honorary Chairman, and Manchester Boddy and Byron C. Hanna as Co-Chairmen. A fine job was done in educating a large group of outstanding non-Jews. Los Angeles has arranged with Columbia Broadcasting Company for a coast to coast broadcast on May 23rd of the "Columbia Presents Corwin" program on "Tel-Aviv" starring Robert Young.

II. Atlanta, Georgia

One of the best American Palestine Committee activities in the country has been carried on in this community. The American Palestine Committee chapter of Atlanta was addressed by Dr. Stephen S. Wise. As a result, all of those present volunteered to write letters to their Congressmen. Copies of Van Paassen's "Forgotten Ally" were distributed to the members of the committee. Reprints were made and distributed throughout the community of an excellent editorial of an article entitled "Palestine" which appeared in the Atlanta Journal.

III. Detroit, Michigan

This community has been extremely active in non-Jewish circles. It held an excellent meeting of the Michigan Branch of the American Palestine Committee on December 21st, which was addressed by the chairman of the committee, Judge Picard and Judge Kross of New York. The community sent three outstanding citizens, including its mayor, Mr. Jeffries, Judge Picard, and Dr. David Henry, Chancellor of Detroit University to the National

Conference on Palestine in Washington. Subsequent to the Conference, a large public mass meeting was held, to which the delegates to the Conference gave their reports, and which was also addressed by Dr. Carl Voss.

IV. Claremont, New Hampshire

This tiny community has performed a model piece of work. It has an all-Christian Committee on Palestine, and a representative of the local emergency council has appeared before and obtained favorable resolutions from virtually every non-Jewish organization in the community.

V. Uniontown, Pennsylvania

This committee also deserves honorable mention for its Christian activity. It has made contacts with virtually every civic and church group in the community, produced resolutions from these organizations, and succeeded in getting large numbers of non-Jews to send letters and telegrams to Congressmen. They also secured the signatures of 500 non-Jews to a petition which was sent to the Speaker of the House.

B. Press and Radio

Through the activities of our local emergency committees, and their diligence in the use of our press books and in their contacts with local newspapers, there appeared during the course of the campaign for the Resolutions, more than 350 favorable editorials in newspapers throughout the country. An attractive publication, reproducing some 200 of the best of these editorials, is about to appear under the imprint of our Emergency Council.

I. Denver, Colorado

Denver has done a magnificent public relations job, particularly with the press and radio. When the emergency committee was first organized, 5 radio stations carried the announcement. These same 5 have since then devoted 3 programs each week to the work of the committee. When last reported, a total of 175 news reports had been broadcast on the various meetings to be held, national directives for local members, and news of the progress regarding the Resolutions in Congress. Individual stories were sent to 44 newspapers in the various communities throughout the State. In the Denver region there have appeared this year 105 articles in newspapers.

II. New Orleans, Louisiana

The newspapers of this city published 22 press releases including the endorsement of the Catholic Archbishop. Although this city is largely under the influence of anti-Zionists and members of the Council for Judaism, the Anglo-Jewish newspaper offered to devote a regular full page to emergency committee activities to prevent a pro-Zionist paper from being launched.

III. Maine

The Maine State Committee publishes a 4-page bulletin, distributed to its branch committees every two weeks.

IV. St. Paul, Minnesota

A constant flow of editorials and press releases have appeared regularly in St. Paul newspapers. A special article on Palestine, by James Gray, was reprinted and circulated through the community. The same writer also wrote an excellent review of Dr. Lowdermilk's book.

V. Oklahoma State

This is one of our best state organizations. It contacted newspapers throughout the state, and as a result, numerous news items, excellent editorials appeared in the newspapers, not only of the large but of the very small communities.

VI. Portland, Oregon

One of the outstanding press projects in the country is "The New Horizon", the publication of the Oregon emergency committee. It is an attractive, 8-page, well-written, and informative newspaper--- which might serve as a model for similar publications by local communities in other parts of the country. Copies of the paper are sent regularly to the Representatives and Senators of this state. The average issue of the newspapers is 50,000, and requests for it come in from all parts of the United States and Canada.

C. Resolutions

I. Oakland, California

In this community Resolutions were obtained from Jewish organizations representing more than 5,000 people.

II. Meriden, Connecticut

Resolutions in this city were obtained from the Central Labor Union, the American Legion, the Kiwanis group, and numerous other non-Jewish organizations. Care was taken to give local publicity to each of these Resolutions as they were obtained.

III. Minneapolis, Minnesota

This committee obtained Resolutions from 50 local organizations, and as a result of its efforts a strong Pro-Palestine Resolution was passed by the State Legislature.

IV. Newark, Essex County

Jewish, non-Jewish, and veteran organizations, to the number of 160, passed Resolutions under the guidance of the Essex County Committee.

V. Buffalo, New York

Thirty-five Jewish organizations, representing 19,395 people, or virtually the entire Jewish population of Buffalo, passed and sent Resolutions to their Congressmen, Senators, and the White House.

VI. Seattle, Washington

Due to the sympathetic support of the Governor obtained by this committee, they were able to secure from the Washington State Legislature a joint memorial appeal to the President and Congress to pass the Resolutions pending in the House and Senate. This group took advantage of a short visit by Vice President Wallace to meet with him and present a memorandum.

VII. Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Among many excellent activities in this community has been the success in obtaining Resolutions from Trade Union organizations representing 125,000 workers.

This report will of course not attempt to survey the meetings which have been held throughout the country under the auspices of local emergency committees. A check will reveal hundreds of them, many serviced by our own Speaker's Bureau. There is hardly a community in the country which, during the course of this campaign has not held one or more meetings. Some of these were large mass demonstrations paralleling our own Madison Square Garden meeting. Communities have reported to us considerable interest and attendance of non-Jews at these meetings, and out of many of them came strongly worded Resolutions to the President and Congress. There were meetings addressed by Governors of states, meetings held under the auspices of local Ministers' Associations, church and labor groups. Since the National Conference on Palestine on March 9th, communities which sent delegates have been holding non-sectarian public gatherings to which these delegates have reported the results of the Conference. Such meetings are still in the process of being held. Worthy of note are: a mass meeting in San Francisco of 10,000 people, addressed by Dr. James G. Heller; a meeting in Miami, Florida, addressed by Dr. Stephen S. Wise, to which some 8,000 people attended; and a \$100 dinner meeting in Philadelphia, addressed by Dr. Silver, from which scores of people were turned away flashing \$100 bills and begging to be admitted. In the small Jewish community of Wilkes-Barre there was a mass meeting of 2,000 people, the large proportion of the crowd being non-Jewish.

Lest I tire you with statistics -- although to me the results of this work are fascinating because of the possibilities which are open for us -- let me hasten to conclude this report by making several recommendations for the planning of our future activity in local communities. I sincerely feel that a good job has been done but I am also convinced that a much better job can be done on the basis of what we have learned during this past year. This nation-wide machinery which we have developed is one of the greatest assets of the Zionist movement in this country. That machinery must be used, and used effectively. It must be kept moving. For the future development and perfection of this political and educational instrument which we have forged may I make the following recommendations:

1. There is at the present time a serious lack of personal contact between our National Office and the local committees. We depend exclusively on correspondence, and this is not always satisfactory. There are occasions when local

committees badly need guidance and help on the spot, and as I pointed out previously, there are weak spots which need to be remedied. Our work through the country would benefit enormously by the addition to our personnel of two or three competent field men who would serve in the capacity of trouble shooters. We could dispatch them to places where they are needed, as they are needed, to bolster up the work of local committees, to inject new enthusiasm into the work, to spend a few days in localities, assisting communities with special projects on which they may be working.

2. We should continue the practice of meeting at least twice a year with the chairmen of our emergency committees, give them the opportunity to participate in the discussion and planning of our program, and to give them the feeling that they are a part of a powerful, dynamic, and aggressive movement. In addition, I think it might be well on occasion to invite individual chairmen of communities to come to New York to attend meetings of our Executive Committee, and to observe at first hand the operation of our National Office.

3. I think some improvement might be made in our confidential bulletin. This really ought to be basically a publication devoted to two objectives:

- a. grounding our people in the classic tenets of the Zionist movement; and
- b. keeping them abreast of political realities.

It has become axiomatic in the modern world that the effectiveness of political movements depends on the political sophistication of its propagandists.

4. We ought to devise some methods by which communities could exchange ideas on programs and activities, especially those activities which are imaginative and unconventional. We might regularly devote a column to such activities in our bulletin.

5. There should be a rapid intensification of the effort to enlist and strengthen mass non-Jewish support. This will depend upon how quickly we can obtain the services of a Director for Christian Activities. May I urge that no expense be spared to obtain as speedily as possible the ablest person available. We have made a real impact upon non-Jewish public opinion in this country. This opportunity must be exploited to the fullest, and without any delay.

MAY 22, 1944

FROM: MR. JACOB LANDAU

I SAW MR. STETTINIUS FRIDAY, MAY 19. I ASKED HIM TO WHAT EXTENT DEVELOPMENTS HAD TAKEN PLACE IN LONDON WITH REGARD TO THE PALESTINE QUESTION. HE STATED THAT HE FELT VERY MUCH ENCOURAGED BY THE TALKS HE HAD HAD WITH EDEN AND CHURCHILL. HE STATED THAT THE JEWS COULD FEEL REASSURED THAT A FAIR SOLUTION WOULD BE FOUND. HE CONSIDERED IT MOST INADVISABLE FOR THE ZIONISTS TO ENGAGE AT THIS TIME IN ANY NOISY MANIFESTATIONS. HE MENTIONED THAT AUGUST WHEN THE WAR MAY HAVE PROGRESSED OR HAVE REACHED A CLIMAX WOULD BE THE TIME TO RAISE THEIR VOICES AGAIN. FROM WHAT HE SAID I GATHER THAT THE IDEA IS THAT THE INITIATIVE WILL BE LEFT IN THE HANDS OF THE BRITISH AT WHICH TIME THE UNITED STATES MAY EXERT ITS INFLUENCE.

HE ASKED ME, "HOW DO YOU SPELL THE NAME OF THAT MAN BERKMAN, BERKDON...?" I TOLD HIM HOW TO SPELL PETER H. BERGSON AND GAVE HIM THE FULL NAME OF THE COMMITTEE. I UNDERSTOOD FROM HIM THAT NAHUM GOLDMANN HAD CALLED ON HIM JUST PRIOR TO ME AND HAD TALKED TO HIM ABOUT BERGSON. THE ZIONISTS ARE MUCH PERTURBED BY THE LATEST STUNT PERFORMED BY BERGSON. MR. MURRAY HAS BEEN APPROACHED BY THEM TO WARN THE STATE DEPARTMENT AGAINST RECEIVING ANY REPRESENTATIVE OF THE BERGSON GROUP, AND ALL EMBASSIES HAVE BEEN SIMILARLY APPROACHED.

MR. ISAIAH BERLIN, A FEW DAYS AGO, RETURNED FROM LONDON, AND DESCRIBED TO ME THE SITUATION WITH REGARD TO PALESTINE, COINCIDING WITH THE VIEWS OF STETTINIUS. HE POINTED OUT THAT WHILE THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT MAY BE DISPLEASED WITH THE ANTI-BRITISH SPEECHES AND ARTICLES INSPIRED BY ZIONIST LEADERS, THEY WOULD NOT FOR THESE REASONS CHANGE THEIR POLICY. ACCORDING TO HIM, CHURCHILL AND WEIZMANN HAVE LUNCHED A FEW TIMES. CHURCHILL EMPHASIZED HIS PRO-ZIONIST SYMPATHIES AND TOLD WEIZMANN: YOU KNOW THAT I HAVE GREAT DIFFICULTIES WITH VARIOUS MEMBERS OF THE CABINET WITH THE WAR DEPARTMENT, THE FOREIGN OFFICE, THE COLONIAL OFFICE, THE ADMINISTRATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST. YOU ARE MAKING IT MORE DIFFICULT FOR ME. THE ZIONISTS ENGAGE IN ANTI-BRITISH PROPAGANDA IN THE UNITED STATES AND YOUR PEOPLE SHOOT BRITISH POLICEMEN IN PALESTINE.

CONFERENCE OF EMERGENCY COMMITTEES
Of The
AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

Tuesday, May 23 and Wednesday, May 24, 1944

P R O G R A M

Tuesday, May 23, 1944

First Session - 11:00 A. M.

Greetings - Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
Opening Remarks - Rabbi Irving Miller
Report on Washington Situation - Rabbi Leon I. Feuer
Report on Activities of the Emergency Council - Harry L. Shapiro
Question and Discussion Period - Thirty Minutes
Plan of Committee on Scope of Future Activities - Chairman, Lester Cohen of
Uniontown, Pa.
Adjournment

Second Session - 1:30 P. M. - Luncheon

Herman Shulman, Presiding

Subject - American Palestine Committee and Christian Council on Palestine,
Reverend Carl Hermann Voss, Speaker
Discussion - To be led by Judge David Diamond of Buffalo

Third Session - 3:30 P. M. - Public Relations

Harold P. Manson - Marvin Lowenthal

Discussion - To be led by Philip Slomovitz of Detroit, Rabbi Manuel Laderman
of Denver, Judge Saul Yager of Tulsa

Fourth Session - 7:00 P. M. - Dinner

Honorable Jacob W. Mack, Presiding

Speakers - Max Zaritsky - Labor Relations
Emanuel Neumann - League for a Free Palestine
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver - The Current Political Picture
Instructions for Visits to Congressmen - Rabbi Leon I. Feuer and Leo R. Sack

Wednesday, May 24, 1944

Fifth Session - 2:30 P. M.

Report of Program Committee
Discussion
Closing of Session

PROGRAM COMMITTEE

Lester Cohen, Uniontown, Pa. - Chairman

Rabbi Max Maccoby, Mount Vernon, N. Y.
Rabbi Carl L. Manello, Wichita, Kans.
David Goldstein, Asbury Park, N. J.
Harold Goldenberg, Minneapolis, Minn.
Harry M. Ehrlich, Springfield, Mass.
Joseph Goldberg, Worcester, Mass.
Charles Rosengarten, Waterbury, Conn.
Edward Jacobs, Philadelphia, Pa.
Harry Levine, Leominster, Mass.
Rabbi Louis J. Swichkow, Milwaukee, Wis.
Israel R. Goodman, St. Louis, Mo.
Rabbi Robert P. Jacobs, Asheville, N. C.
Mortimer May, Nashville, Tenn. (?)



PRESS RELEASE from

AMERICAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE
1720 - 16th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
Michigan 4480

[May 24, 1944]

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5/24/44

5/24/44

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Washington, D. C. — Leaders in the fields of government, education, science and religion paid tribute on Wednesday evening, May 24th, to Dr. Walter C. Lowdermilk, Assistant Chief of the Soil Conservation Service of the United States, and author of "Palestine, Land of Promise." Dr. Lowdermilk was honored at a testimonial dinner held at the Statler Hotel.

Speakers at the dinner included Senator Ralph Owen Brewster (R.-Maine) and Senator Arthur Capper (R.-Kansas), whose addresses were carried over the Mutual Broadcasting System.

Other speakers included Dr. Lowdermilk, Senator Robert F. Wagner (D.-New York), Professor Abel Wolman of Johns Hopkins University, Dr. Kan Lee, Commercial Counselor to the Chinese Embassy, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, Chairman of the Executive Committee, American Zionist Emergency Council, Hon. Harry W. Bashore, Commissioner of Reclamation of the Department of Interior, and Dr. Emanuel Neumann, member of the Commission on Palestine Surveys.

Honorary sponsors of the dinner included Louis Adamic, Hon Thurman W. Arnold, Mrs. Louis D. Brandeis, Sen. Arthur Capper, Rep. Ranulf Compton, Prof. Albert Einstein, Sen. Guy M. Gillette, William Green, Freda Kirchwey, Dr. Daniel L. Marsh, Lt. Col. Frank Monaghan, Sen. Claude Pepper, Prof. Richard J. Purcell, Dr. Alexander Sachs, Sen. Elbert D. Thomas, Sen. Arthur H. Vandenberg, Pierre van Paassen, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Joel David Wolfsohn and Rep. James A. Wright.

Senator Wagner, Chairman of the American Palestine Committee, pointed out that Dr. Lowdermilk went to the Near East without any preconceived notions as to the political implications involved in a study of soil reclamation there; he emerged, however, with a plan "which in the considered opinion of competent

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engineers, would not only give the final and complete answer to those people who have raised questions as to the absorptive capacity of Palestine, but which, when fully implemented, would constitute a great boon to all of the inhabitants of that area of the world -- Jew and Arab alike."

Senator Wagner lauded Dr. Lowdermilk as one who stands in the "very forefront of the extremely small number of gifted people" who can "combine the lessons taught by the ruins of past civilizations with the technique of modern science and draw upon both to produce the elements essential to the building of the greater civilizations of the future."

He declared that he is "convinced of the elementary justice involved in the reconstitution of Palestine as the Jewish Commonwealth," and hailed the Jewish builders of modern Palestine for "the magnificent work already done in the improvement of the soil by men and women who but yesterday were physicians and attorneys and teachers and shopkeepers and who, by the hardest kind of labor and the greatest of devotion, are building a new home for their people."

Harry W. Dashore, Commissioner of Reclamation of the Department of Interior, asserted that Dr. Lowdermilk's plan for Palestine "aims at the reclamation of a country and the rehabilitation of a people," and added that "the Jordan Valley Authority plan, as I see it, is not merely an interesting chapter in an interesting book but a great and promising project soundly conceived and technically feasible. What the Bureau of Reclamation has done at the Boulder Dam on the Colorado River and has done and is planning to do on the Columbia River through Grand Coulee Dam can be done in Palestine."

Dr. Kan Lee, Commercial Counselor to the Chinese Embassy, paid tribute to Dr. Lowdermilk as "a scientific warrior fighting against soil erosion," and added that "his interest embraces all humanity regardless of race or creed."

"The brilliant reclamation project which he inspired will go a long way toward the solution of the problem of livelihood of millions of Jews and Arabs; that, by itself, entitles Dr. Lowdermilk to fame and distinction. His Land of Promise goes far beyond Palestine," he said.

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MESSAGE TO THE DINNER BY
PROFESSOR ALBERT EINSTEIN

"It is a signal privilege to extend a word of greeting to Walter Clay Lowdermilk on the occasion of the Testimonial Dinner at the Statler Hotel in Washington. It is with a feeling of sincere regret that I cannot be among the men and women assembling to honor him.

"Experts in the field of agricultural science and economic planning have paid well-deserved tribute to the vision of Dr. Lowdermilk's study, which outlines so ~~auspicious~~ a future for the development of the Near East.

"May I add my voice in stressing one aspect of Dr. Lowdermilk's book which impressed me most profoundly. It is his genuine understanding of the religious devotion to the rejuvenation of the soil which has characterized the work of the Chalutzim (pioneers) in Palestine and which has made their endeavors, in the face of overwhelming odds so great a success.

"This hour is, indeed, a tragic and sinister one in Jewish history. Among the most heartening experiences which we can have in so trying a period is that friends rally to our ranks, impressed by the soundness and justice of our cause and convinced that it will inevitably make a contribution to that better world to which all of us look forward so prayerfully."

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MESSAGE TO THE DINNER BY
FORMER SENATOR GEORGE W. NORRIS, OF NEBRASKA

"I desire to add my tribute to Dr. Lowdermilk, the author of 'Palestine, Land of Promise.' I have read this volume with the most intense interest. Dr. Lowdermilk has carried the T.V.A. idea to the opposite side of the earth. It is only another evidence that the T.V.A. method of handling the natural resources applies with equal force to the entire world.

"The controlling of the angry floods that endanger our country, and putting

(more)

to the use and the happiness of mankind what would otherwise be death dealing and destructive, is the simple but effective method of handling these destructive elements adopted and practiced by the Tennessee Valley Authority in our own land. It is a yardstick that applies with equal force to every part of the world where the happiness and the prosperity of mankind is made a reality and the same methods that will bring relief from the roaring waters of destruction as they travel from the mountains to the sea apply to every place in this world. It is hard to imagine how selfish and greedy interests control so often our social and political machinery, and fail to prevent damages by uncontrolled flood waters, and thus fail to convert these death^{dealing} elements of destruction into calm and peaceful waters that will bring happiness and contentment to untold millions of God's suffering people.

"Dr. Lowdermilk has carried the T.V.A. idea to the other side of the world where the same principles involved in the Tennessee Valley Authority, when properly applied will convert the deserts of Palestine into gardens of fruitful happiness for the patient and suffering multitudes that have been ostracized, murdered and slaughtered by the unconscionable and merciless conduct of the enemies of human freedom and human liberty."

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EXCERPTS FROM ADDRESS BY SENATOR CAPPER

"The problem of Palestine concerns us particularly tonight. Considered politically, it is a knotty problem. It will have to be solved in the near future. A political solution must be found; a political decision must be made.

"But, as I listened to the course of the discussion this evening, the thought did occur to me that the problem of Palestine may also be approached on a different level, not only from the point of view of resolving political conflicts, but from the positive and constructive standpoint of rebuilding and economic reconstruction. Who knows but that the scientist and engineer may succeed, where the statesman and diplomat have thus far failed.

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"Now we have heard from Dr. Lowdermilk, a scientist, a soil conservationist, a reclamation expert, a man who avoids politics and political controversy. He is not a statesman, in the conventional sense of the word. But he has made a great discovery, which goes a long way toward removing at least one of the major issues in controversy. He has discovered a new dimension for Palestine. Its name is water. Water for irrigation, and water for hydro-electric power development. He has outlined this discovery in an exciting chapter of his book: 'Palestine, Land of Promise,' which all of us should read. The consequences of this discovery is to increase effectively the size of Palestine; to double in effect its cultivable area; to provide power for its industrial development; to create a basis for trebling its present population. That is practical statesmanship in a deeper sense of the term.

"In that little country, only a little larger than the state of Massachusetts, there is room, and to spare, for its present population and for millions of additional people - Jews and Arabs alike - and on a higher standard of living. Let us therefore be done with such doubts and the arguments based upon them.

"Armed with the findings of our scientists and the plans of our engineers, let the statesmen and diplomats approach the question of Palestine's political future, with a new confidence and determination. Let them establish on the ancient mountains of Judaea a New Republic, a new Commonwealth, the third Hebrew Commonwealth, modelled upon our own Republic, modern, progressive, democratic, dedicated to justice, to peace and the brotherhood of man."

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EXCERPTS FROM ADDRESS BY SENATOR BREWSTER

"As a foremost world power, bearing a corresponding responsibility for the future peace of the world, we are vitally concerned for the security and stability of the Near East and its place in a democratic world order. Too long has the Near East been the breeding ground of international tensions and conflicts. We should, hereafter, be interested not merely in the exploitation of its resources, but in

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building up its internal strength and in promoting the growth of a democratic society and the building of a democratic civilization. We have no better means at hand to further these ends than by encouraging the further rapid development of Palestine. In a large measure, Palestine is today the pace-maker of western democratic civilization in the Near East.

"It is the experiment station, the testing ground, the pilot plant, where courageous men and women - Jewish settlers and pioneers - are daily working out methods and techniques, by which that whole vast and neglected area may be rehabilitated, retrieved from the desert, and reclaimed for civilization. Already the Near East is profiting by their example.

"Therein, to my mind, lies the tremendous significance of Dr. Lowdermilk's contribution. As Senator Wagner and other speakers have told you, this plan, which Dr. Lowdermilk calls the 'Jordan Valley Authority,' envisages a series of great engineering projects, modelled on our own reclamation achievements in the south and in the west - the Grand Coulee, the T.V.A., Boulder Dam, and the rest. He would divert the waters of the Jordan, its tributaries and other streams into a vast network of irrigation canals; he would cause the water of the Mediterranean to flow into the Dead Sea, generating hundreds of thousands of kilowatts of electrical energy. He would thus revolutionize both the agricultural and industrial economy of the country, making room for additional millions of population. Palestine, though small, can become great again and help the whole Near East recover some of its former greatness.

"It is a brilliant conception. It is a noble conception. It is a conception worthy of the best that American science and technology has to offer to the world. I am thrilled and proud that this program for the rehabilitation of Palestine, has come from America, and that these engineering studies and projects are the handiwork of American scientists and engineers."

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EXCERPTS FROM ADDRESS BY EMANUEL NEUMANN

"Because of the urgency, the Commission on Palestine Surveys will accelerate its work and the work of its experts so that final reports may be complete within six months. They will be placed at the disposal of Dr. Chaim Weizmann, President of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, and by him submitted for the consideration of the appropriate official and unofficial bodies concerned with the future of Palestine.

"The Commission will thus have completed its labors, for it is not charged with actual implementation. But we do not feel absolved from including within the scope of our study such all-important practical questions as that of the costs and the eventual financing of the projects. The total capital that will be required over a period of years may be large, perhaps \$150,000,000 - perhaps \$200,000,000, but not too large a price for the reclamation of a country and the rehabilitation of a people.

"As to the source of such capital, my personal opinion - and it is only a personal opinion - has already been quoted to the effect that it can be provided through the cooperation of

- (a) The Government of Palestine
- (b) Jewish organizations
- (c) Private investment capital, and
- (d) By credits based upon Jewish property looted by the Nazis, for which Germany should make some restitution.

"May I point out that the property thus looted from millions of European Jews is estimated to run into the billions. Many, probably most, of the owners will have disappeared - liquidated - without a trace, leaving no heirs. Shall their despoilers be left in peaceful possession of the loot? There were about 1,000,000 Jews in Germany and Austria alone before the war; very few of them will be alive. But what of their personal and immovable property? What of the land, the buildings, the factories they once owned - the product of generations of savings,

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toil and industry? Shall not this property, which can be traced and identified, be constituted as a trust fund and used for rehabilitating and resettling the surviving victims of Nazi crimes?

"It will be noted that I am not speaking of reparations but of restitution of stolen goods. There can be no reparation for those and other millions of human lives, no adequate reparation for crimes so vast and so monstrous. But a measure of restitution can be effected.

"I would, therefore, visualize two steps:

"First: Setting up a Restitution Commission to study the question in all its aspects, to gather all relevant information, to map out a program of restitution.

"Second: Setting up, under United Nations auspices, of a Rehabilitation and Resettlement Trust as the financial instrument for effectuating these plans. The Trust should take over and administer all such looted property, to be gradually liquidated over a period of years and the proceeds to be used for the purposes described. Once such a Trust is established provision can be made for temporary credits, secured by its holdings, so that the programs of rehabilitation and resettlement might go forward."

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5/24/44

(From a letter Dr. Silver sent to Mr. Herman Shulman
on May 25, 1944)

"I should like the present committee to conclude the matter of the relationship between the Emergency Council and Dr. Goldman. This matter should not be left hanging in the air. Serious complications might develop which would embarrass our work here in Washington. The basis of an agreement is a very simple one. The initiative in deciding what contacts should be made and with whom, in government circles, must be left with the Emergency Committee. Dr. Goldman, will, of course, be used frequently on such missions as often as his presence will be deemed helpful. The Bureau of the Agency will be free to initiate whatever activities he deems necessary with countries outside of the United States, but all contacts with United States Government officials and the British Embassy must first be cleared through the Zionist Emergency Council.



May 25, 1944

Mr. Louis Lipsky
386 Fourth Avenue
New York, New York

My dear friend:

I am anxious to see progress made on the volume of Congressional opinion on Palestine, and America's relationship to the Jewish National Home. The most of the work connected with gathering the opinion of Congressmen has been done and the rest of the work is being followed up aggressively. It ought to be in in two weeks. In the New York office, the historical background documents, etc., is to be drafted with the aid of our Research Department. I trust that this work is being rushed to completion.

The volume should be out sometimes in July because we are planning to make a major move for the action on our Resolutions sometimes in August or early in September. We should want to place this volume in the hand of every Congressman and Senator by the end of July. I should be very happy to hear from you as to the progress which you are making in this direction.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

AHS:sbr

(dictated but not signed)

May 25, 1944

Mr. Herman Shulman
39 Broadway
New York, New York

My dear Mr. Shulman:

I thought that our Conference in Washington was eminently successful, and the meeting last evening had a real lift and quality to it. I believe that the official community at Washington is coming to entertain an attitude of respect for our cause and the manner of our presentation of it to the public.

I am happy that we have finally succeeded in getting an Executive Director for the American Palestine Committee. As I understand it, he will take up his official duties the first of the coming month.

I should like the present committee to conclude the matter of the relationship between the Emergency Council and Dr. Goldman. This matter should not be left hanging in the air. Serious complications might develop which would embarrass our work here in Washington. The basis of an agreement is a very simple one. The initiative in deciding what contacts should be made and with whom, in government circles, must be left with the Emergency Committee. Dr. Goldman will, of course, be used frequently on such missions as often as his presence will be deemed helpful. The Bureau of the Agency will be free to initiate whatever activities he deems necessary with countries outside of the United States, but all contacts with United States Government officials and the British Embassy must first be cleared through the Zionist Emergency Council.

I would also appreciate if you would draft, perhaps in consultation with one or two other people, the kind of a plank which we would like to see written into the platforms of both political parties. The planks should be brief, no more than a single paragraph of four or five sentences. As soon as you have that draft, would you please send it down to me. I would suggest that you look over the political platforms of previous years and study the character of the planks introduced in them with reference to the Irish Free State, etc. These platforms are available in our office in New York. A study of them has been made by our Research Department.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

AHS:sbr

(dictated but not signed)

1944

BUDGETING BULLETIN*For Member Agencies*

No. B - 14

May 1944

NATIONAL LABOR COMMITTEE FOR PALESTINE
43 East 17th Street
New York City

(Based on information furnished by secretary of the Committee)

The National Labor Committee for Palestine (also known as the *Gewerkshaftern Campaign*) was organized in 1923 upon the initiative of the United Hebrew Trades of New York City. Its purpose is to mobilize American support for the work of the General Federation of Jewish Labor (*Histadrut Haovdim*) in Palestine. In cooperation with a network of Jewish unions, the Jewish National Workers' Alliance and many branches of the Workmen's Circle, Poale Zion groups, youth groups and *landsmanshaften*, the Committee conducts an annual fund-raising campaign on behalf of the *Histadrut*.

Structure and Function

The Committee's highest governing body is the annual convention composed of delegates of the cooperating organizations. In 1943, some 1,000 national and local organizations were represented. The convention elects a National Governing Council of 250 members, who meet quarterly, and an Administrative Committee of 25 (most of whom are New York residents) which supervises the Committee's administrative work. The Committee's staff comprises the national secretary, a national organizer who supervises a corps of regional organizers, and a fund-raising staff which conducts the New York City campaign. Outside New York, funds are raised by local committees consisting of representatives from the local branches of cooperating organizations.

The basic policy of the National Labor Committee is to conduct independent campaigns. A local committee may, however, subject to the approval of the national office, forego an independent appeal in favor of participating in the community welfare fund. With the aid of the national office, which supplies speakers, literature, etc., local committees organize mass meetings and regional conventions. Their aim is to secure not only financial, but also moral support and interest in the cause of Jewish labor as a constructive factor in the building of a Jewish homeland in Palestine.

COUNCIL OF JEWISH FEDERATIONS AND WELFARE FUNDS
NATIONAL OFFICE: 165 WEST 46th STREET • NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

Finances

During the five-year period 1938-1942, collections by the National Labor Committee more than doubled. In the fiscal year ended September 30, 1943, collections by the Committee, as distinct from those of the Pioneer Women's Organization, amounted to nearly \$687,000, an increase of more than \$200,000 over the preceding year. This increase was attributable principally to the independent campaigns both in New York and elsewhere; the rise in welfare fund grants was much smaller, both in dollars and percentagewise (see table at end of report). For the current fiscal year - ending September 30, 1944 - the campaign goal of the National Labor Committee is \$1,500,000 as compared with \$1,000,000 for 1942-43.

Administrative expense in 1942-43 was about \$131,400, some 19 percent of the collections. This level of cost is rather high if all of it is to be charged to fund-raising. It is to be noted, however, that the cost of propaganda activities on behalf of the Histadrut is included in the total above and that all but 20 percent of the collections are received from independent campaigns. The 19 percent cost in 1942-43 represents a reduction from the 24 percent ratio in 1941-42.

Histadrut Haovdim

The net proceeds of the National Labor Committee campaigns are remitted to the Histadrut in Palestine. The Histadrut was founded in 1920 for the purpose of "advancing all the social, economic, and cultural interests of the working class in Palestine and of building a Jewish society of labor in Eretz Israel." From an initial membership of 4,400, it has grown to an organization numbering about 139,000 members in 1943, comprising approximately 73 percent of all Jewish labor in Palestine. This figure includes not only wage and salary workers, but also persons self-employed in agriculture and in the professions as well as some wives of members. In addition to its purely trade union functions, the Histadrut has developed a many-sided program of social assistance (sickness, invalidity, old age and unemployment), educational and cultural activities, pioneer mass immigration, agricultural and industrial labor cooperatives, housing, public works, and defense and mobilization for Palestine's war effort. It has also come to play an increasingly important role in the political and civic affairs of the country. (A detailed study of the Histadrut is now in preparation by the Council; when issued it should be consulted in connection with this report.)

During the early years, the program of the Histadrut was supported mainly by funds raised in the United States. Since 1930, however, the Histadrut has financed its organizational needs, social service program, and a major share of its cultural and educational activities through membership dues and earnings. The funds received through the National Labor Committee have been used chiefly for its broader economic and social programs, connected with immigration, settlement, defense and war mobilization. These activities are part of the general effort for the development of Palestine and increasing its absorptive capacity; the financial contributions made to this effort by and through the Histadrut is relatively minor when compared with the amounts made available through the Jewish Agency and the Jewish National Fund. In the fiscal year ended September 30, 1941, income from membership dues and earnings amounted to \$1,145,000, as compared with some \$375,000 received from and through the National Labor Committee. In the fiscal year 1941-42, income from membership dues was \$2,020,000, as compared with \$441,000 received through the National Labor Committee. Complete figures covering the receipts of the Histadrut for 1942-43 are not available.

American funds for the Histadrut are obtained also through the Pioneer Women's Organization (see separate report) which campaigns on behalf of the Council of Working Women. This Council is an organization of all women members (including members' wives) of the Histadrut and is, among other things, responsible for a program of training and settlement for immigrant girls and women, an integral part of the Histadrut program. The Pioneer Women's funds are included in the total transmitted to Palestine through the National Labor Committee.

Histadrut Programs Financed with American Funds

Agricultural Colonization has received primary emphasis in the Histadrut program of building a labor commonwealth. In 1941, 134 agricultural settlements, with a population of 40,000 - of a total of 236 such settlements - were affiliated with the Histadrut; these settlements were operated on either a collective or cooperative basis. By the end of 1943 the number of such labor settlements was 171. The Histadrut policy has been to emphasize mixed rather than one-crop farming - cereal, vegetable, dairy and poultry products rather than citrus fruit or viticulture. The labor settlements lease land at a nominal rental from the Jewish National Fund, and to a smaller extent use land owned by the Palestine Jewish Colonization Society (the Palestine ICA). While the basic funds are provided initially by the Palestine Foundation Fund (fiscal instrument of the Jewish Agency), the Histadrut has supplied, through its cooperative agricultural finance association Nir, medium term credit for irrigation systems, water supply, tools and machinery, seed, feed, and the like. The Nir has also made long-term loans to the new settlements in the undeveloped and strategically situated areas such as the Negev and Galilee. In war time Nir financing has also been used for auxiliary vegetable gardens as part of the emergency food production program.

Immigration - The Histadrut program includes the training of pioneers for labor settlements and their absorption into colonies and cooperatives. Pioneers are prepared for immigration through Hechalutz, a world-wide organization affiliated as an autonomous body with the Histadrut. In the United States, Hechalutz training farms are beneficiaries of the American Fund for Palestinian Institutions, while branches in other countries receive financial assistance from the Histadrut, Jewish Agency and Joint Distribution Committee. Within Palestine, Histadrut erects labor camps and other facilities for the housing of immigrants pending their placement in agricultural colonies or industrial employment.

Cooperatives and Industrial Enterprises - All Histadrut members are ipso facto members of the Hevrat Haovdim (General Cooperative Association of Jewish Labor) the holding company for a network of producers, marketing, credit and consumer cooperatives. The Histadrut has also been developing a program of cooperative housing in urban and suburban settlements. In recent years it has entered more actively into the industrial life of Palestine. It is stated that the number of workers engaged in industrial enterprises directly operated by the Histadrut has grown sevenfold in the past three years, and that 244 factories and workshops were operated by the Histadrut in 1943. Of them, 177 are located in agricultural settlements, and specialize in agricultural implements, produced both for internal use and for export.

With the help of American funds, the Histadrut has also organized the following companies: Solel Boneh, engaged in contract construction; Nachshon, organized in 1937 for the purpose of developing the shipbuilding, shipping and fishing industries, and training workers for them; Aviron (operated in conjunction with the Jewish Agency), engaged in airplane production and training aviators; and Hassneh an insurance cooperative.

Defense and Mobilization - During the war period, a substantial portion of American funds have been used by the Histadrut in defense and mobilization programs. Major emphasis has been placed on the voluntary recruiting of men and women for the armed forces, defense industries and civilian defense duties.

Dislocations resulting from the war effort have been met through special assistance to families in the form of low-cost foodstuffs, free medical service, and child care. During the past year, new activities in the form of housing, medical care and retraining were undertaken on behalf of returning soldiers invalided by the war. Some work has also been done in training instructors for "rescue legions" to be dispatched to liberated territory in Europe.

Arab Jewish Relations - In 1929, the Histadrut established a confederation of Jewish Arab labor known as the Palestine Labor League, under whose auspices a relatively small number of Arab workers have been organized into either Arab or mixed Jewish-Arab Unions. All members of the League participate in the Histadrut sick fund. During the war period, emphasis has been placed on improving the wage standards of large numbers of Arab workers employed on Government projects. The Histadrut has, since 1937, published an Arab newspaper with the aid of American funds

Other Activities - Social, cultural and educational activities in cities, pioneering settlements and war and defense camps, including general and vocational schools, youth programs, sports organizations, theatres, publications, lectures, etc form an important section of the Histadrut program.

Utilization of American Funds in 1942-43 - In the year ended September 30, 1943, the National Labor Committee remitted to Palestine \$631,742. In the same period the Histadrut received \$7,268 in foreign funds from countries other than the United States and Canada. A statement received from Palestine accounts for the disposition of \$665,562, substantially all of the above amounts, excluding only LP 6000, credited on the Histadrut books in October 1943. The disposition as shown in the Palestine report is as follows:

Invested in shares of Nir and directly in agricultural colonization and emergency food production	\$197,910
Invested in buildings for schools, gymnasias, theatres, etc. and other capital investments for urban and suburban settlements	146,488
Spent for mobilization, "USO" activities, assistance to families of soldiers and other war activities	113,029
Spent for reception of immigrants, activities of working women, labor hygiene and protection, organization of Arab workers	108,007
Spent for education, vocational training and cultural activities primarily among the youth	87,771
Spent for Histadrut representation and propaganda abroad (incl. for Hechalutz)	10,377
Suspense items	1,980
TOTAL	\$665,562

Officers of the National Labor Committee

National Chairman: Joseph Schlossberg

Co-Chairmen: Joseph Breslau Dvora Rothbard
 Israel H. Goldberg Louis Segal
 Louis Hollander Herman Seidel
 Alexander Kahn David Wertheim
 David Pinski William Wolpert

Alex Rose

Chairman, Administrative
 Committee: Isidore Nagler

National Treasurers: Max Zaritsky
 Abraham Miller

National Secretary: Isaac Hamlin

Associate Secretaries: Harry Arial
 Benjamin Teller

Assistant Secretary: Saadia Gelb

WRHS
 - - -
CASH RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS
 (Based on certified financial report)

	12 Months Oct. 1942- Sept. 1943	13 Months Sept. 1941- Sept. 1942
CASH RECEIPTS		
Contributions		
From federations and welfare funds	\$ 136,059	\$ 115,618
New York campaign	185,818	101,706
Other independent appeals	364,868	264,222
From Pioneer Women's Organization	130,500	89,547
Miscellaneous	4,291	-
TOTAL	<u>\$ 821,536</u>	<u>\$ 571,093</u>
DISBURSEMENTS		
Transmitted to Palestine	\$ 681,742	\$ 441,068
Administration, promotion and fund-raising	131,404	117,243
Miscellaneous	3,922	7,299
TOTAL	<u>\$ 817,068</u>	<u>\$ 565,610</u>

copy

June 2, 1944

Honorable Edward R. Stettinius
Under-Secretary of State
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Secretary:

Reference
to meeting x
with Silver
Wise
on May 23

We need hardly tell you how deeply gratified we were over that which you told us with respect to the general situation in Europe and, more especially, with regard to what you evidently feel are the justified hopes for the rightful solution of the Zionist problem. Your word to us was indeed most heartening, and we shall look forward with high anticipation to mid-August, when we may hope to resume the discussion of the subject with you and the President.

The outlines of the situation, as you put them to us, were admissible, but we are concerned lest they be predicated upon Partition. Palestine partitioned would be a further fragmentation of a small country — about 10,000 square miles in all — as compared with the million square miles of the Arab territorial complex. We take it for granted that you and the President will feel as we are told Mr. Churchill feels, — inhospitable to the idea of further partitioning, diminishing Palestine, which since 1919 has ~~been~~ been of Transjordan, thus making it impossible for the land to carry the burden of solving the Jewish problem.

would be making

We are, dear Mr. Secretary, with warmest regard,

Faithfully yours,

Abba Hillel Silver

Stephen S. Wise

June 2, 1944

Rabbi Leon I. Feuer
American Zionist Emergency Council
1720 - 16th Street N.W.
Washington, D.C.

My dear Leon:

I understand that George Creel called on you with reference to an article which he would like to write in Collier's about the Bergson group. I do not think that the subject is of sufficient importance to rate an article in a non-Jewish magazine of such large circulation. It will give too much prominence to this group.

On the other hand, it would be highly desirable for Mr. Creel to write a straight Zionist article presenting our case to the American public. He might use the Jordan Valley idea and Dr. Lowdermilk as a starting point for such an article. In the English magazines, it is far more important to present the positive side of our case than to inform the non-Jewish world of inner fights among Jews.

I hope that you are making rapid progress in collecting congressional copinions for our book. Please keep in touch with Mr. Lipsky and Dr. Barkson of our Research Department and check up on the progress of their end of the work.

With all good wishes, I remain

As ever yours,

AHS:RK

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

MEMORANDUM

To Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple, Cleveland, Ohio

Date June 2, 1944

From Arthur Lourie

In accordance with your request I enclose a brief memorandum on the immigration position, for consideration at Monday's meeting of the Council.

AL:CK
Enc.

A. L.

The Palestine White Paper and the Present Position
in Regard to Jewish Immigration.

1. The White Paper provided for an annual quota of 10,000 immigrants for the five year period from April, 1939, subject to the economic absorptive capacity principle; in addition 25,000 refugees were to be admitted as soon as the High Commissioner was satisfied that adequate provision for their maintenance was ensured.

2. In practice the British Government made no distinction in the immigration quotas allocated from time to time between "refugees" and other immigrants. Thus in the letter of the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies to Mr. Shertok in London, dated April 5, 1944, a statement of the immigration account is given which makes no distinction between the different categories of immigrants.

3. In terms of the Under-Secretary's letter, the balance of Jewish immigrants who could still enter Palestine as of January 1, 1944 against the figure of 75,000 was about 27,500. Assuming that some three or four thousand immigrants have entered since that date, the present balance would be about 24,000.

4. In the course of Mr. Shertok's conversations with the Under-Secretary he was informed that it was proposed to use the balance of these certificates almost exclusively for fugitives from enemy countries and that applications for would-be-immigrants from "safe" countries would be considered only in respect of each individual applicant -- that is to say no block grant would be made available for such prospective immigrants.

Representations by Mr. Shertok in opposition to this ruling apparently succeeded in achieving only very minor modifications.

5. In accordance with a cablegram from Dr. Bernard Joseph, dated April 18, 1944, to this office, the Jewish Agency in Jerusalem cabled London that they regarded the decision of the Colonial Office as meaning the virtual cessation of immigration from non-Nazi countries and that it was necessary urgently to obtain at least 6,000 certificates for refugees in Italy, Spain, Aden, Tangiers, Casablanca, and Turkey.

6. Confidential information received from the War Refugee Board indicates that the British have now agreed to make available certificates for all Jews reaching Turkey; the numbers at present arriving, however, are small. On the other hand there seems to be some possibility of rescuing Jews from Hungary by bringing them via Yugoslavia to southern Italy. The trouble here, however, is that there is already considerable refugee congestion and it would be necessary to remove say five thousand Jews in order to get the military authorities to agree to the entry of additional numbers from Yugoslavia on any substantial scale. The failure of the British to make available Palestine certificates for these refugees at present in Italy is accordingly preventing the rescue of others. This situation accounts in part for the desire of the War Refugee Board to put through the idea of "free ports" so as to be in a position to drain off refugees from the immediate reception areas.

7. Following the receipt on April 26th of Dr. Bernard Joseph's cable of April 18th, a cable was sent him from this office enquiring as to whether any action was called for on our part at this time. Dr. Joseph replied merely that the cable had been sent us for the information of the

Emergency Council. In view of the additional information received from the War Refugee Board, however, the question should be considered as to whether publicity should not ^{now} be given to the whole matter.

R. L.



AL:CK
6/2/44

JTA DAILY NEWS BULLETIN

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Friday, February 4, 1944

JEWISH FEDERATIONS ASSEMBLY OPENS TODAY TO DISCUSS WAR PROBLEMS AND POST-WAR PLANNING

PITTSBURGH, Pa. Feb. 3. (JTA) -- More than 600 leaders of Jewish communities from all parts of the country gathered here today to discuss American Jewish war problems and vital post-war needs at the General Assembly of the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds which opens tomorrow at the William Penn Hotel.

The Assembly, which will last four days, will open with group discussions on war and post-war planning, fund-raising problems, Jewish community organization and civic-protective services. It is the leading forum at which Jewish community leaders exchange ideas and experience, develop policy, and stimulate action on problems concerning Jewish social services and community financing agencies.

Among other questions, the Assembly will discuss the problem of anti-Semitism in America. "Anti-Semitism has not decreased," says a statement published by the Council on the eve of the opening of the Assembly. "Thoughtful American Jews are seeking more effective machinery for combatting it. In this area, not only the national civic-protective agencies, but the local communities as well are involved. In fact, the local community's role has been increasing during the last few years to a degree that warrants examination today of the structure and procedures being developed."

The statement also points out that the tide of war having turned inexorably in favor of the United Nations, "it is imperative that we take up the question of relief and reconstruction in reconquered areas, and specifically the role of the private agencies in relationship to government programs. Long-term rehabilitation in addition to immediate relief, must be developed."

CHURCHILL PERMITS ZIONISTS TO ANNOUNCE HE STILL FAVORS JEWISH HOMELAND IN PALESTINE

WASHINGTON, Feb. 3. (JTA) -- Prime Minister Winston Churchill, after a recent interview with Zionist leaders, gave them permission to quote him as still favoring the Balfour Declaration which provides for the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council revealed here today.

Dr. Silver made this disclosure at a press luncheon at which it was learned that the House Foreign Affairs Committee would begin open hearings next Tuesday on the resolution pending in Congress favoring free immigration into Palestine and the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth there. Dr. Silver said he anticipated no organized opposition to the resolution in either house of Congress.

Dr. Silver also disclosed that he had visited the Turkish embassy in Washington in an effort to increase the number of Jews permitted to pass through Turkey on their way to Palestine. This number is now limited to 400 a month, he said. He attributed British opposition to the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth to a group of officials within the British civil service, and predicted that a change in British policy would soon come. He pointed out that Secretary of State Cordell Hull had expressed himself publicly as supporting the position of the United States in favor of the Balfour Declaration.

PALESTINE RESOLUTION ISSUE RAISED BEFORE HOUSE; FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE CRITICIZED

WASHINGTON, March 14. (JTA) -- The question of action by Congress on the Palestine resolution, which has been shelved by the House Foreign Affairs Committee and by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, came up for discussion today in the House, when Rep. Samuel Dickstein of New York announced that he intends to file a petition to bring the resolution before the House, unless the Foreign Affairs Committee acts on the measure by the end of next week. The signatures of 218 Congressmen are required to discharge a committee from consideration of a bill.

Discussion on the Palestine resolution started when Rep. Martin J. Kennedy, of New York, raised the question of whether it would be parliamentary procedure to file a discharge petition. Explaining that such a procedure was permissible, Rep. Dickstein said:

"All members of the House were hoping and waiting for an opportunity to support the resolution which would persuade the British Government - just the guardian for Palestine - to open its doors to the many thousands who could easily get there. But we hear today around the capitol and other places that the Wagner and Wright Resolutions have been tabled in committee."

Congressmen Suggest Omission of "Commonwealth" from Resolution

A suggestion that the word "Commonwealth" be omitted from the Palestine resolution was voiced during today's discussion by Rep. Hamilton Fish, and supported by Rep. Emanuel Celler.

"Are the congressmen just going to make speeches and let it go at that, or are we going to strive to get action from the Committee on Foreign Affairs, even if it is necessary to amend the original proposal?" Rep. Fish asked. "I have an idea that if this thing were put in proper form, that is, in a form which we could come out and repudiate the White Paper and uphold the Balfour Resolution upon which Congress has voted unanimously, we could get action. What I am interested in is action to permit those hounded and persecuted Jews to find a haven, a refuge, a homeland in Palestine."

Rep. Emanuel Celler, in supporting the suggestion to amend the resolution by striking out all references to the establishment of a commonwealth, said: "If we can get that resolution past the House Foreign Affairs Committee without the use of the word 'Commonwealth,' I certainly would be for that proposal. If we get that resolution through and thereby needle and spur England into withdrawing the White Paper and allowing the entrance of Jews into Palestine, even for temporary purposes, we will be going a great long way."

Rep. Ed Rowe, of Ohio, opposed such an amendment saying that it was impossible to "modify" the correction of a wrong. He said that the complaints from Arab governments seemed to be the complaints of "some international politicians, particularly those interested in Empire rights."

In answer to questions from Rep. Walter F. Brehm, of Ohio, and James F. O'Connor, of Montana, Celler charged that England was afraid of the competition that would be offered by a Palestine industrialized by the Jews.

JEWISH DETECTIVE ASSASSINATED NEAR TEL AVIV BY UNKNOWN TERRORIST

JERUSALEM, March 14. (JTA) -- A Jewish plainclothesman, Zee Jacob Flesh, was shot to death today in front of his home in the settlement of Ramath Gan near Tel Aviv. An unknown assassin fired five bullets into Flesh's body. The policeman, who was 25, was brought to Palestine from Germany ten years ago by the Youth Aliyah.

April 11, 1944

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM TO WRITERS' WAR BOARD

(This memorandum has just been received from an eminent American writer recently returned from the Middle East. It does not state the position of the Writers' War Board on Zionism, for the Writers' War Board has taken no position on that question. It is sent for your information and consideration.)

Confusion and prejudice to the good purposes we hope to serve in this war are being caused by the presentation given the problems of Zionism, Palestine and the Jewish refugees by the American press and public figures. Mass meetings are held, statements are made, an agitation is steadily carried on, the general aim of which is to muddle all these questions up together and deliver them in one ultra-simple solution; open Palestine to the Jewish refugees. When the British government which is responsible for the preservation of order in the Middle East refuses to adopt this solution, it is vilified; when it is clear that Palestine is not going to be opened up, at least at this moment, responsible authority declares that "Europe and Asia" must do so. "Europe and Asia" -- large areas, most of which we do not control -- but not America.

The general impression given of America's mind and intentions by all this is bad. The Americans are not such hypocrites as our public figures make us out to be. We prefer clarity if we can get it. Clarity would demand at the outset a separation of these two distinct questions:

(1) Palestine Zionism, which aims at the creation of a Jewish state in the Arab world, with more or less floating or progressive frontiers depending on how many colonists can be pumped in;

(2) The Jewish refugees of eastern Europe, a persecuted and unhappy product of the Nazi tyranny, whom it is our most obvious duty to help into conditions where life and some hope may be possible.

These two questions must be seen to be of quite different orders. The first is political and the second humanitarian. By stirring up American feeling on the second question, and applying the heat thus engendered to the first question, the Zionists are executing a simple political manoeuvre to forward the long-range purposes they have in mind, without regard to our war necessities, the present situation in the Middle East, or even -- it must be said -- for the true interest of the bulk of the Jewish refugees in eastern Europe. Four million Jewish refugees could not possibly get into Palestine within a decade, no matter how much reclamation and irrigation and capital support might be applied to the problem. Most of them must go elsewhere. Therefore why the agitation about Palestine?

At a moment when our intentions are being scrutinized and questioned by the anxious peoples of the whole world, to whom we pose as liberators and to whom we have promised four almost limitless freedoms, it is most unfortunate that we offer nothing whatever on the Jewish question except proposals to dodge it. The question is: are we truly disposed to help the Jewish

refugees? If so, why do we not admit them to the United States of America and ask our allies in the British Commonwealth of Nations, where there are vast uninhabited territories, to do likewise?

And if we are unwilling to do this, why do we take a high moral attitude towards the British, the Arabs and Palestine?

We are asking the whole rest of the world ("Europe and Asia") to do what we will not ourselves do. And we are perhaps the only people in the world who could really deal with the problem if we wished.

Much of the confusion is caused by the desire of certain senators and representatives to obtain votes; much is caused by organized propaganda; much by carelessness and ordinary middle-headedness. However, some of us feel that an opposing point of view should be at least stated, so that it will not be idly supposed, by people who have thought little about this problem, that Zionism is the only or even the best solution. To some of us it seems no solution at all, but merely an aggravation of the evil.

It is quite impossible to argue with a convinced Zionist, either Jewish or non-Jewish -- that is, with a person who has already made up his mind that a Jewish state in the Arab world is right, will solve the Jewish problem, will have good results and conduce to peace and good will. Those who hold this belief will continue to hold it in spite of any event, circumstance or condition. But they should not impose upon the whole of American public opinion a completely one-sided view of such an immense moral problem. Other points of view should be stated. Americans should face the fact that the Jewish problem has become an American problem because we have posed before the whole world as the champion of the Jews and have in point of fact done nothing whatever to help the most tragic sufferers from the hell of Nazi Europe.

DANIEL FRISCH
INVESTMENTS
FIVE HUNDRED TWELVE INSURANCE BUILDING
INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA
—
LINCOLN 6569

Sumner Wells

June 5, 1944

Abba Hillel Silver, D. D.
The Temple
East 105th Street at Ansel Road
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Friend:

Dr. Goldstein, our president, has appointed me chairman of the committee in charge of our forthcoming Convention, scheduled to be held in New York City on October 14th, 15th and 16th.

I would appreciate it very much if you would assist me in helping plan the program of the Convention. I know that you can be most helpful if you would but take a few minutes to put down in writing the thoughts that you may have in mind pertaining to the Convention.

May I call to your attention one of the major considerations confronting us is the integration into Zionism of the large percentage of our present membership who became affiliated with the Organization during the current year. What can we do to make them conscious of the significance of their affiliation?

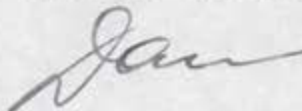
How can we utilize outstanding lay leadership at this Convention thus giving the Organization the benefit of their experience and at the same time giving the delegates a real sense of participation in our deliberations and decisions?

What should in your judgment be the "theme" of this Convention - (a) The American-Jewish scene? (b) The political situation? (c) The cultural aspect of our movement? or (d) Combating the anti-Zionists within our community?

I would also like to have your opinion as to the advisability of inviting Sumner Wells as one of the speakers at the Convention. How would Hull feel about it?

May I hear from you soon? Please!

Yours for Zion rebuilt,



Daniel Frisch

July 3, 1944

Mr. Daniel Frisch
512 Insurance Building
Indianapolis, Indiana

My dear Friend:

I have been giving the matter of the invitation to Sumner Welles considerable thought. I do not see why he should not be invited to address the convention of the ZOA. He is a great friend of our cause, and the fact that Secretary Hull may not like him is no reason why he should not be invited. There is no fear about irritating the Secretary. He has so far done nothing for us, and a little irritation might be very helpful.

I know that you are eager to have "lay" participation in the Convention. Every convention starts out with such a commendable wish. Unfortunately there are too many Zionist notables who must appear on the program that have a "chazakah"....To ask them to move over and make room for someone else is to incite to revolution and reprisals. If you have the courage to face the music -- go to it.

Because this is an election year, and the Convention will meet less than a month before election, it is of utmost importance to make sure of the non-partisan character of the Convention. If political figures are invited, then we must make sure that they will represent both political parties. This is particularly important in view of the very fine plank on Palestine which the Republican Party has included in its Platform, and in view of the strong pro-Zionist sympathies which Governor Dewey has expressed.

For your benefit, I am enclosing a letter which I sent yesterday to Dr. Wise. It may guide you in any discussions which may come up at the meeting of the Executive of the ZOA next Sunday.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

AHS:BK

Enc.

June 12, 1944

CONFIDENTIAL

Mr. Louis Segal, General Secretary
Jewish National Workers' Alliance
45 East 17th Street
New York 3, N.Y.

My dear Friend:

Thank you so much for your thoughtfulness in sending me a copy of the letter which you received from Stettinius. This official confirmation is highly welcome.

I note in the Yiddish press of this Sunday, that a testimonial dinner is being given to Congressman Bloom and that you and other leaders of the Poale Zion, as well as other Jewish leaders, are on the sponsoring committee. I have no objection to Congressman Bloom or to his re-election, but it seems to me that Zionist leaders ought to make sure of what Congressman Bloom plans to do with reference to the Palestine Resolution which is at present buried in the Foreign Affairs Committee, of which he is chairman. He is the key man in the situation, and up to this moment, we have been unable to get a definite commitment from him whether he plans to bring out the Resolution and when, and whether he will aggressively push favorable action on it.

As you probably know, his relationship to the Resolution has never been straight forward. At times it seemed as though he was playing ball with us and we praised him for his position, which praise he has since incorporated in the printed volume of the hearings of the Foreign Affairs Committee. Simultaneously he tried to press amendments upon us which would have completely defeated the purposes of the Resolution. And finally, he rushed through an action of deferment of the Resolution in the Foreign Affairs Committee after we had requested him not to do it and he had promised that no such action would be taken. This deferment which Bloom rushed through was particularly hurtful because it came a few days after the President had issued the statement to Dr. Wise and myself which was very favorable to our cause and which, by implication, repudiated the position taken by the War Department.

Since that time Mr. Bloom has been approached by some of our friends in an endeavor to find out what he intends to do about the Resolution and he has been evasive and non-committal. His line seems

Mr. Segal

-2-

June 12, 1944

to be "I am prepared to bring up the Resolution, but yours is the responsibility if it is defeated." I suspect that Mr. Bloom would like to look upon the whole matter of the Palestine Resolution as definitely disposed of. Unless pressure is brought upon him -- and this pressure must come before the election -- Mr. Bloom will do nothing to see the Resolution passed.

Before the Zionist leaders go all-out in endorsing Mr. Bloom and in giving him a testimonial at the end of this month, they ought to elicit a promise from him as to when he intends to bring up the resolution for action and whether he intends aggressively to push it through the Committee and the House. We should like to see this Resolution brought up for action sometime in August or early in September. It was, in my humble judgment, tactically unwise for the Jewish leaders of New York to have lent their names to this testimonial without first obtaining such a commitment. I think that you ought to write to Mr. Bloom about this matter and that all other Zionists who are on his sponsoring committee ought to do likewise.

I am taking the liberty of sending a copy of this letter to a few of the other Zionist leaders.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

AHS:BK

copy omitting 1st
paragraph sent to

Dr. Stephen S. Wise
Rabbi De Solu Pool
Judge Morris Rottenberg
Rabbi Wolf Gold
D. L. Meeklen

Dr. Samuel
Margoshes

June 13, 1944

Mr. Emanuel J. Feigin
The American Student Zionist Federation
220 S. State Street
Chicago 4, Ill.

My dear Mr. Feigin:

Let me thank you for your note of June 11 and for sending me a copy of your new publication, "The Student Zionist," which I read with interest.

The article of Mr. Sol Gordon on "Behind the Palestine Resolutions" needs some careful editing. The Palestine Resolutions were not "tabled" in Congress. No action whatsoever has as yet been taken on the Resolution in the Senate, and the House voted to defer action for the time being, not to "table" it. There is a sharp difference. We hope that action on the Resolutions will take place some time in August or in September.

The article also assumes that the Zionists did not sufficiently arouse American public opinion in connection with the Resolutions, and that they relied entirely on diplomacy. "If diplomacy can't do it, perhaps the people can!" Mr. Gordon should know that seldom has a resolution in Congress been attended by as much of a public response as the Palestine Resolution. Tens of thousands of letters, telegrams, resolutions poured in upon Washington from all parts of the country. Hardly a community in the United States and an important civic cultural labor or church organization but what was heard from by the legislators in Washington. The American Zionist Emergency Council has just published a volume of the editorial comments on the Palestine Resolution which appeared in hundreds of American newspapers. The Jewish press of course, Yiddish and Anglo-Jewish, went all-out for the Resolutions. Numerous delegations from many parts of the country came to Washington especially to interview their Congressmen and Senators. Mr. Gordon should know all this. He should also know that all this is not the result of spontaneous combustion, but must be planned, prepared for and organized by responsible leaders who understand the importance of public opinion as the principal source of strength for our cause.

I wish your magazine every success. With all good wishes,
I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK

P.S. This letter is not for publication.

June 15, 1944

Mr. Louis Lipsky, Chairman
Executive Committee
United Palestine Appeal
302 West 36th Street
New York, N.Y.

1944 Lipsky, 1325

My dear Mr. Lipsky:

I note that an emergency meeting of the Executive Committee of the U.P.A. has been called for next Tuesday to discuss the action of the Emergency Council in calling upon its constituent groups to raise a sum of money to make possible an intensive national broadcasting program for a period of thirteen weeks during the months of August, September and October of this year, when our Palestine Resolutions in Congress are likely to come up again for action. The time of the meeting was set without any consultation with me, who might have been consulted, seeing that I am the chairman of the Executive of the Emergency Council, and would logically be the person to represent the Council at the U.P.A. meeting to discuss this subject. As it happens, I am to address a U.J.A. campaign meeting that noon in New York City. Mr. Montor might have paid me the courtesy of consulting me as to the date of the meeting, and also as to the necessity of calling it, seeing that I am also one of the co-chairmen of the U.P.A. and in the past years have had something to do with that organization and with the defense of its interests.

The matter of the radio program was discussed at the last meeting of the Executive of the Emergency Council. The chairman of the Administrative Committee of the U.P.A., Dr. Wise, as well as the president of the Z.O.A., Dr. Goldstein, as well as yourself, the chairman of the Executive Committee of the U.P.A., and quite a number of other officers of the U.P.A., were present at this meeting, and the idea appealed to everyone. It occurred to no one that this project would in any way interfere with the U.P.A. or that it impinges in any way upon its territory or upon its commitments. It was felt by everybody that this would give us an excellent opportunity to present our story to the American people in a planned and organized manner, using speakers and artists of our own choosing, and at a time which is likely to be the most decisive in the history of the Zionist Movement. It was generally recognized that one of our most serious weaknesses in our program of propaganda was the radio. We must beg

June 15, 1944

for time. We succeed in obtaining time for very brief programs only two or three times a year, and then only for speakers which are acceptable to the radio people.

The question of the cost of such a national radio program was also discussed at the meeting. It was suggested that the total cost would amount to about \$100,000.00. Various proposals were made for financing this program. It was suggested that perhaps some commercial sponsors might be found for it, or that the four major Zionist bodies might underwrite part or the whole of it. These possibilities are now being explored. It was also suggested that we sound out the community contact groups throughout the country, especially in those cities where a local station would be used for our broadcast, to see whether they are in position to contribute something to this program. Some of the community contact groups have raised special funds for propaganda and might welcome the opportunity of contributing to such a magnificent project which would help them so much in their own local communities or regions. The Emergency Council itself in its present budget would have about \$25,000.00 to apply to this project.

It was never intended to make community-wide appeals for this cause or to apply to any welfare funds. No campaigns are being contemplated.

I can not see how the interests of the U.P.A. are in any way jeopardized or how this invalidates anything which the U.P.A. may have written to the President's War Relief Control Board.

As of the moment, it is yet too early to know what the responses from the community contact groups will be. If the response is inadequate and the other sources referred to above do not materialize the project may be abandoned altogether. Under any condition, the matter has to be finally approved by the Emergency Council. The communication to the community contact groups was to find out how much they are interested in the project, and to what extent they are prepared to back it.

These facts, I believe, should be presented to the members of the Executive Committee.

With all good wishes, I remain,

Very cordially yours,

AHS:DR

June 15, 1944

Mr. Louis Lipsky, Chairman
Executive Committee
United Palestine Appeal
302 West 86th Street
New York, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Lipsky:

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These facts, I believe, should be presented to the members of the Executive Committee.

With all good wishes, I remain,

Very cordially yours,

(Signed) Abba Hillel Silver

AHS:DR

Publicity Division
Republican National Committee
Stevens Hotel
Chicago, Illinois

IMMEDIATE RELEASE
June 22, 1944

Senator Robert A. Taft, Chairman of the Resolutions Committee, today announced appointment of a platform drafting committee. The members are:

Senator Robert A. Taft, Ohio
Miss Mary Donlon, New York
Mrs. Ernest B. Griffin, Illinois
Representative John Phillips, California
Senator Eugene Milliken, Colorado
Senator John A. Danaher, Connecticut
William L. Hutcheson, Indiana
Alfred M. Landon, Kansas
Senator Albert W. Hawkes, New Jersey
Mrs. Ruth Hanna McCormick, New Mexico
Miss Genevieve Seger, Oklahoma
Mrs. Consuelo Northrop, Bailey, Vermont
Roy A. Vitousek, Hawaii

Senator Taft announced the Committee would meet in his room at the Blackstone Hotel tonight (June 22nd) at 8:30 P.M.

* * * * *

June 25, 1944

For Dr. Silver

While Mr. Sack and Mr. Manson were preparing the statement to be read before the Resolutions Committee tomorrow morning, Attorney General Goldstein phoned and informed us that a special emergency meeting had been called by Senator Taft after supper tonight to complete the business of the Resolutions Committee. Mr. Goldstein said that Senator Taft had amended our original resolution so that it now reads as follows: (Read the resolution.)

Beth Mr. Manson and Mr. Sack, in their telephone conversation with Attorney General Goldstein, stressed the supreme importance of the term "Jewish Commonwealth." However, Mr. Goldstein said that inasmuch as opposition had arisen to the resolution in the committee, and because he was fearful that with continued haggling the measure might be killed, he was willing to accept the plank as proposed by Mr. Taft. He also emphasized that Mr. Taft was proposing this substitute because the question of political planks concerning other peoples in Europe had been before the committee, and the committee was reluctant to go into the full category of all aspirations of every people.

Mr. Manson suggested to Attorney General Goldstein the inclusion of the phrase "in accord with the full intent and purpose of the Balfour Declaration," and Mr. Manson and Mr. Sack also hope to have the term "unrestricted" Jewish immigration inserted. Mr. Goldstein sought to convey the impression to Mr. Manson and Mr. Sack that this was an emergency which had developed and we had better take this or we get nothing because of the hate with which the committee is now operating.

Mr. Sack and Mr. Manson have left for the Stevens Hotel where they are attempting to find Goldstein and get it to the committee again.

The Emergency Council Bulletin

ISSUED FOR PRIVATE USE BY

American Zionist Emergency Council, 342 Madison Avenue, New York 17, N. Y.

Vol. 1. No. 6

June 26, 1944

WE HAVE TRAVELED A LONG WAY

The accomplishments of the Emergency Council in the fields of politics and public relations were evaluated a few weeks ago at the gathering in Washington of over two hundred local emergency committee leaders from communities in 38 states. More important even than this "taking of stock" was the demarcation of the Council's line of activity for the next few months - a period likely to be even more critical politically than the months just past.

Dr. Silver pointed out that a year ago it had become clear that the Jewish National Home was taboo in Washington. References to it were beginning to disappear even from the routine messages of sympathy government officials sent to Zionist conventions and gatherings. Some crucial change had taken place: an agreement, it appears, to accept the White Paper as the last word on Palestine. Last summer an official statement was on the point of being issued jointly by our government and that of Great Britain, definitely discouraging discussion for the duration of the political situation in Palestine.

THE TWO BASIC STEPS

Only drastic action on the part of Zionists could change this threatening picture. To go along at our old pace was impossible. Hence two major steps were taken. The first was the convening of the American Jewish Conference, the most democratic and representative Jewish assembly ever held on these shores. The American Jewish Conference spoke out clearly and forcibly for the full Zionist solution - the establishment of the Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine - rather than for a mere immigrants' aid approach to the question of Palestine. The Conference served to give convincing proof that American Jewry endorsed the Zionist objective. That having been demonstrated, the next step was an appeal to the whole of American public opinion. There was no more compelling way to do this than through the introduction of the pro-Zionist resolutions into Congress. In the course of a few months, the campaign of enlightenment preceding and accompanying the introduction of the resolutions succeeded in focusing America's attention on the subject of the Jewish National Home and in winning for it the good-will of the American public.

This major achievement, so significant in the light of the indifference and hostility to Zionism prevailing just a short time ago, must be credited in large part to the extraordinarily effective work done in over three hundred key cities by the local emergency committees working with the national office of the Emergency Council. Not the least rewarding aspect of

the Washington conference of emergency committee leaders was the analysis by a number of delegates of the effective work done in their localities. They drew a picture of energetic, well-coordinated activity. For example, in the state of Colorado under the aegis of the Colorado Emergency Council for Palestine representing practically all local Jewish organizations, close to two hundred pro-Zionist resolutions were passed by non-Jewish organizations, including the State legislature and the Denver City Council, and hundreds of favorable newspaper articles and radio comments were stimulated; in Oklahoma with a total Jewish population of 5,000 in a state of 2,500,000 people, local emergency committees financed and carried through a remarkably effective campaign of letter-writing to Senators and Congressmen and won over non-Jewish newspaper editors and clubs.

WITH THE NON-JEWISH COMMUNITY

The report of local activity was augmented by discussion of work with non-Jews led by Dr. Carl Hermann Voss, Executive Secretary of the Christian Council on Palestine, who presented practical hints on such activity and stressed the fact that the Zionist education of the Jewish community is the necessary pre-requisite for successful work with non-Jews. Dr. Voss pointed to the tremendous influence the March 9 National Conference on Palestine had had and to the need for future regional non-Jewish conferences on Palestine of the same type. The Lowdermilk book, too, was everywhere serving as a most effective weapon.

The joint membership of the APC and Christian Council on Palestine is now approximately 5,000. It is our goal to multiply this many times over. A notable step has been taken in the establishment of the American Jewish Trade Union Committee for Palestine under the chairmanship of Max Zaritsky and the honorary chairmanship of William Green and Philip Murray. Built upon decades of work by Labor Zionists among the labor groups, the Trade Union Committee has already received a very cordial reception in the labor press and has taken as its projects for the future the addition of thousands of new members; the adoption of pro-Commonwealth resolutions by state and city labor federations throughout the country; and a general program of education and propaganda to win the sympathy of American labor for Zionism.

THERE HAVE BEEN CONCRETE GAINS

The "office" aspect of this Emergency Council's work was described by the directors of the Washington and New York offices. Rabbi Feuer's analysis of the Washington scene emphasized the fact that few measures have been introduced into Congress with brighter prospects of success than our Resolutions, and that they should have clear sailing through Congress once the military reasons against their passage are voided - if only we press for it. The risk, he pointed out, had to be taken. No victories in war or politics are won by remaining in the trenches. In the midst of war other small peoples, too, are pressing their demands with regard to their political futures.

That the introduction of the Resolutions - despite their temporary shelving - has in itself led to certain not inconsiderable political gains

for Zionism was pointed out by Dr. Silver. President Roosevelt's statement that the Government of the United States had never approved of the White Paper was "an act of tremendous political significance," the first expression of opposition to that document from a high American government official. It was a response to the appeal of public opinion which in a democracy can be so effective. Of what fundamental importance this change - or beginning of a change - in the American attitude on Palestine is, can be gathered from a recent remark by the head of the Political Department of the Jewish Agency in Jerusalem. Upon his return from the conferences with Dr. Weizmann in London, Mr. Shertok reviewed the Zionist political situation at a meeting in May of the Smaller Actions Committee. He pointed out that the chief change in the situation was the abandonment of the March 31 date which under the White Paper was to have terminated Jewish immigration. This decision, he said, was in some measure the result of representations by the United States Government.

Further evidence that a definite change has taken place in the attitude of our Government toward our problem, Dr. Wise and Dr. Silver stated, had been borne in upon them that very day during a most encouraging conference with a very high official who had recently returned from England and in the course of his visit there saw Dr. Weizmann and discussed the Palestine question. "If what we learned today holds true three months from today, six months from today," Dr. Silver summed up, "then we have every reason to face the future with the utmost confidence."

This optimistic forecast has since been strengthened by the action of the British Labor Party's Executive in accepting as one of the planks of its postwar program a statement on Palestine demanding that Jews be admitted in such number as to become a majority, recommending that the Arabs be encouraged to move into other territories, and that the present boundaries of Palestine be extended by agreement with Syria and Egypt. This statement is particularly significant in view of the fact that the Labor members of the British Cabinet are bound by their Party's decisions.

COUNTERING A FLUID SITUATION

Every discussion and every prophecy with regard to the Zionist political situation must, it was stressed, be tempered by the understanding that our political situation changes constantly and will inevitably continue to change until the final settlement is made. We must therefore not allow ourselves to be overwhelmed either by the good or bad news of any given moment, but continue - in the words of an important official with whom our problem was discussed - "to keep American public opinion informed and aroused," since any vital decision which our government will take with reference to Palestine will have to have the moral backing of the American people.

The conviction that it must remain our central task "to keep American public opinion informed and aroused" was confirmed by the interviews the delegates to the Washington gathering had with their own Congressmen and Senators. "Keep bothering us and reminding us," a Texas Congressman said.

Practically every one of the large group seen, asserted definitely that he would vote for the Resolutions when they were reintroduced. Some went so far as to say that they thought they should be brought back out of Committee now and that they would be willing to circulate a petition to have them brought out. Many discounted the military reasons completely. All were sure that the Resolutions would pass when reintroduced.

It is clear that the utmost importance must be attached to maintaining contact with the members of Congress until such time as it becomes possible to bring the Resolutions up again. It was the consensus of opinion in Washington that the crest of the invasion should be reached by the middle of August. The propitious moment for reintroducing the Resolutions would thus be some time after that period and before the November elections.

THE LOGICAL PROGRAM

It is plainly our job during the summer months to carry on educational propaganda work both in our own Jewish and non-Jewish communities and with our Congressmen, who should be given the impression that the Jewish community is on the alert, waiting for the proper moment for the reintroduction of the Resolutions.

What precise steps should be taken in connection with this program of summer activity? As worked out by the Program Committee of the Washington conference, headed by Mr. Lester Cohen of Uniontown, the steps to be taken throughout the country include a constant effort towards the reintroduction and successful passage of the Resolutions; the launching of local membership campaigns to enlist non-Jewish citizens in the American Palestine Committee and the Christian Council on Palestine, (the invitations to come from local persons rather than from the central office of the American Palestine Committee); the organization by existing emergency committees of additional emergency committees in neighboring communities, where there are no committees.

In addition, it was recommended by the Program Committee that the Emergency Council develop radio programs to strengthen the understanding and appreciation of Zionist objectives among the American people. It was further "noted with satisfaction that the Zionist Organization of America had embarked on a program for combating the activities of the American Council for Judaism", and it was urged that this program be implemented "with all possible speed and vigor."

The Program Committee had further prepared a statement, approved by the delegates, which condemned the seven members of the Bergson group in "their successive attempts, under various front organizations and guises, to divide and confuse the American public"; pointed out that they had no authority to speak in any representative capacity; and reaffirmed "our belief in the democratic processes of Jewish life" and in the upbuilding of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth by the entire Jewish people through representative and accredited Zionist organizations.

MEMORANDUM
Dictated by Dr. Silver

June 26, 1944

At 10:15 Monday morning, I telephoned Dr. Wise to New York, read him Senator Taft's draft which eliminated the Jewish Commonwealth and asked him what to do, whether to accept Taft's draft if we have to, or whether we should reject it and have no Palestine resolution in at all, the thought being that the plank without the word "Commonwealth" in it might unfavorably affect the passage of our resolutions in Washington.

It was Dr. Wise's thought that Taft's resolution, while it does not go as far as we would like it, is nevertheless quite satisfactory and that we ought not to turn it down if we cannot get the Commonwealth resolution.

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At 12:30, Mr. Dulles called, announced himself as political adviser to Mr. Dewey and suggested the change in the first sentence from "distressed men, women and children" to "distressed Jewish men, women and children" and from "to unrestricted Jewish immigration" to "their unrestricted immigration;" also, the substitution of the word "constitute" for reconstitute. For the last sentence he indicated that they insist on putting in a sentence condemning the President for failure to see that the mandatory was carried out, etc. I suggested that that may not be entirely justified and that a substitute thought may be included in a preamble, namely, that the Republican Party has always manifested an interest in the Jewish National Home. Dulles thought that it was up to the Republican Party to decide that question. He said that Taft had seen the sentence of condemnation.

Handwritten notes in Hebrew, including the word "אברהם" (Abraham) and other illegible text.

June 26, 1944

DRAFT OF RESOLUTION SUBMITTED BY MR. DULLES TO DR. SILVER
at 12:45 P.M.

In order to give refuge to millions of distressed Jewish men, women and children driven from their homes by tyranny, we call for the opening of Palestine to their unrestricted immigration and land ownership, so that the Jewish people may, in accordance with the full intent and purpose of the Balfour Declaration of 1917 and the resolution of the (Republican) Congress adopted in 1922, constitute Palestine as a free and democratic commonwealth. We condemn the failure of the President to insist that the mandatory of Palestine carry out the provisions of the Balfour Declaration and of the Mandate while he pretends to support them.

June 27, 1944

Hon. Robert A. Taft
Stevens Hotel
Chicago, Ill.

My dear Senator Taft:

I have been informed that there has developed in the drafting committee certain opposition to the inclusion of the term commonwealth.

I think it will be a serious mistake to drop the term, inasmuch as it would practically make the resolution valueless. It would also serve notice that the Republican Party has officially declared itself against the resolution which you introduced in the Senate and which is now pending, which resolution embodies the true aspirations of the Jewish people and the only practical solution for the salvation of several million of our oppressed people and for the age-old tragedy of Jewish national homelessness. The revised plank, therefore, far from being a welcome endorsement of Jewish aspirations would, indeed, be a whittling down and a repudiation.

I do not believe that the objection of one or two people ought to be sufficient to force a revision of the plank to which Governor Dewey and many of the foremost leaders of the Party have given their unqualified approval. If it is sufficient, then I would like to request that no plank on Palestine whatsoever be included in the platform. Against the present political background here and abroad, a plank which calls for less than a commonwealth is a defeat.

The American Jewish Conference, meeting last September in New York and representing organized American Jewry, voted almost unanimously for a Jewish commonwealth.

I send you my warmest greetings.

Most cordially yours,

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

AHS:BP

P.S. You may reach me at the above address (Plaza 1000) all morning.

A.H.S.

June 28, 1944

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

My dear Dr. Wise:

I suppose that by now you have read the Palestine plank which was inserted in the Republican Party Platform. I tried to reach you yesterday in New York to read you the text before it was broadcast but I was informed that you were in Washington. I am delighted with the Resolution, and when I next see you I will give you an account of the many things which had to be done to have it adopted. I did not like the last sentence — the criticism of the President — and so told Mr. Dulles, who is the political adviser of Mr. Dewey, and I strongly urged that it be omitted. He told me that that was a matter for the Republican Party and not for us to decide. We were not assuming any responsibility for the criticism for the Republican Party.

I believe that the adoption of this plank will make it easier for us to have a pro-Palestine plank introduced in the Democratic platform, and that inclusion by both parties of strong pro-Palestine planks in their platforms will make it easier for our Resolutions to be voted on in Congress when it reconvenes.

Dewey was fine. He phoned twice from Albany and told his people that the Palestine plank was a "must." Senator Taft was extremely helpful. As you may readily assume, some of the Jewish hangers-on tried to eliminate reference to "Commonwealth" and even to "unrestricted immigration." There was a moment when I threatened to leave the Convention and not to appear for my invocation if "Commonwealth" and "unrestricted immigration" were omitted. Yesterday morning, a few hours before the Resolution was finally voted on, I wrote a note to Senator Taft in which I stated that if "Commonwealth" was omitted, I would rather have no resolution on Palestine at all since that would have insured the defeat of our Palestine Resolutions in Congress.

It now becomes our task to contact the Democratic leaders. I do not know who the chairman of the Democratic Committee on Resolutions will be. When he is appointed, I think that you ought to get in touch with him and have a preliminary discussion as to the best way of going about introducing the pro-Palestine plank.

Dr. Wise

-2-

June 28, 1944

To keep the balance even, it may be tactically wise for the Democratic Party to have you pray for them at the Convention as I prayed for the Republican Party. They both surely need it.

With all good wishes, I remain

Cordially yours,

AHS:EK

note signed by AHS



H.U.C. STEERING COMMITTEE
Meeting held June 28, 1945 - 10:30 A.M.
Chelsea Hotel, Atlantic City, N.J.
Rabbi Samuel Wohl presiding

In attendance: Dr. Julian Morgenstern, Jerome Levy (representing the U.A.H.C. and Rabbi Eisendrath) Rabbis Samuel Wohl, Jacob Singer, Abraham Shusterman, Abraham J. Feldman, Solomon B. Freehof, Abba Hillel Silver.

Rabbi Wohl informed the Committee that:

- 1 - Mr. Isador Sobeloff of Detroit has accepted the campaign directorship, the Detroit community having agreed to share him with us.
- 2 - Attempts were made to interest key individuals. Leading fund-raisers were consulted. These experts encourage us to conduct a vigorous campaign.
- 3 - Singer and Shusterman approached Jacob Blaustein of Baltimore. Wohl also saw him. Blaustein, though unable to become chairman, will be helpful in the campaign. He approves of the project wholeheartedly. NOTE...THIS IS PRIVATE AND CONFIDENTIAL.
- 4 - Gov. Herbert Lehman has agreed to serve as Honorary Chairman.

Wohl asked group's counsel re: Campaign chairmanship. Prospects mentioned: Henry Morgenthau Jr., Walter Rothschild, George Medalie, Samuel ZeMurray, Sidney Landsburgh. These men or other prospects will be approached after Mr. Sobeloff visits Cincinnati next week to go over campaign details.

Wohl distributed confidential memorandum "on the celebration of the 70th Anniversary of the Hebrew Union College." The items contained therein were explained and discussed. Memorandum is enclosed.

I - Committee to write Pronouncement consists of Mann, Silver and Freehof. Pronouncement will be signed by all Alumni of the H.U.C. and is to be used in every possible way as explained in memorandum to Dr. Morgenstern.

II - Volume of Essays: for lay readers...Anniversary Volume...to be edited and written by H.U.C. Alumni. This volume will serve two purposes: To commemorate the 70th Anniversary of H.U.C. and the 100th Anniversary of the coming of Isaac M. Wise to America (1946). Freehof suggested that the book contain essays on Reform Judaism and Jewish Law; Reform Judaism and World Jewry; Reform Judaism and Scripture; Reform Judaism and Tradition; and Reform Judaism and Education. This volume should represent Reform at its best. Dr. Morgenstern expressed his belief that this volume cannot be prepared until 1946. This was turned over to the Alumni Association. The President is to appoint an editor.

III - Commemorative Medal: Idea was approved.

IV - Publications: Idea was approved.

V - Paid advertisements in Anglo-Jewish Press - Silver suggested that this is not in keeping with the dignity of the College and the Anniversary. Decision: Pending.

VI - Anniversary celebrations; Feldman suggested that in his community, dinners are unpopular. The celebration should be planned in keeping with local situation. Freehof suggested that it be combined with Hannukah dinner. Decision: Make all recommendations and suggestions and leave final decision with local Anniversary Committee and rabbis.

Morgenstern suggested a Jewish melody rather than "America The Beautiful." Freehof suggested a choice of melodies in offering the prizes. Decision: Approved idea of using melody of "America the Beautiful."

VII - Regional H.U.C. Day

Wohl asked that VII words "Pronouncement written for Rosh Hashannah be added to last sentence following "message from the President of the United States and the President of the Hebrew Union College."

VIII - National Celebrations in Cincinnati or National observance at end of November. Freehof declared "the entire plan is one which is designed to awaken enthusiasm."

Minutes prepared by Abe Shusterman

BACKGROUND MATERIAL ON THE HEBREW UNION COLLEGE

HISTORY

The Hebrew Union College was founded in 1875, in Cincinnati, Ohio, by Isaac Mayer Wise, a Bohemian immigrant rabbi, who believed firmly that the salvation of Jewry lay in free America. Wise was a true liberal, who believed passionately in the right of men to live their own spiritual lives; and he was determined to make that liberalism real in Jewish life here in this new world. He had fled from the tyranny of Hapsburg Europe; and almost from the very first day that he set foot on these shores he attempted to create a united American Jewry, which would be both Jewish and American. He struggled with unflagging faith and devotion and tireless energy; and he succeeded. In 1873 he organized the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. Two years later, the Hebrew Union College was established.

This College, the oldest Jewish theological school in the Americas, is dedicated to the preservation of Judaism, its great historic ideals and its traditional institutions. It holds that Judaism is both in spirit and fact a continuously progressive religious discipline, and that it must be kept constantly liberal and spiritually alert. It believes that if Judaism is to live and expand here in America it must be open to every positive influence of modernism, must square itself with every advance in scientific thought, and must engender that type of religious devotion which will evoke the uncompromising loyalty of every Jew.

In accordance with these basic principles the Hebrew Union College has carried on its work. Its first sessions were held in the vestry rooms of Congregations B'nai Israel and B'nai Yeshurun. The original teaching staff consisted of Rabbi Wise and one assistant. Seventeen students responded to the first call. The Library in those days contained little more than a few Bibles and prayer-books hastily gathered from nondescript sources. From these modest beginnings the College has grown steadily under the leadership of its successive Presidents, Isaac M. Wise (1875-1900), Moses Mielziner (1900-1903), Gotthard Deutsch (February 1903-June 1903), and Kaufmann Kohler (1903-1921). Today its Faculty consists of one professor emeritus, eleven active professors, and nine special instructors. During the sixty-nine years of its existence it has graduated four hundred and seventy-five rabbis. Its Library, now one of the largest Jewish libraries in the world, contains approximately 100,000 volumes and 2,500 manuscripts. Its staff consists of a Librarian and six assistants. It has its own bindery and photostatic department. The College is housed in five stately buildings upon its own tract of land, consisting of approximately eighteen acres, situated on Clifton Avenue opposite beautiful Burnet Woods.

In 1909 the Teachers Institute of the Hebrew Union College was established. It was possible by a munificent gift of \$50,000 by the late Jacob H. Schiff of New York City. Its present primary activity is to provide instruction in Jewish subjects, by means of lectures by members of its Faculty before the religious school teachers and kindred groups of the Jewish congregations of the country. Under the terms of the Schiff gift the services of

members of the Faculty are available to congregations at a nominal fee.

In the fall of 1923 the Hebrew Union College School for Teachers in New York City was established with the cooperation of the Association of Reform Rabbis of New York City and Vicinity. The purpose of this School was to prepare teachers for the religious schools of the Reform Jewish congregations of New York City and vicinity. Owing, however, to economic circumstances the College was compelled to discontinue this School in 1932. During the nine years of its existence the School enrolled over three thousand students, of whom one hundred and seventy-six were graduated.

In the summer of 1925 a Summer School was inaugurated at the Hebrew Union College. Courses were offered of post-graduate character, leading to the degree of Doctor of Divinity. In the summer of 1926 a session of the Teachers Institute was introduced in conjunction with the Summer School. Economic circumstances have, however, necessitated the temporary suspension of this Summer School.

In the summer of 1941 a Summer Institute for Graduate Study, a rabbinic "Refresher Course," was inaugurated. It is open to graduates of the Hebrew Union College and of other approved theological seminaries. A wide range of lectures and seminars is offered for a period of one week. The purpose of the Institute is to stimulate the rabbis academically, to guide them in their graduate work, to keep them abreast of modern trends in Jewish studies, and to help them maintain their contact with the traditional religious literature and ideal of Judaism.

Today the Hebrew Union College is conscious that the greatest challenge in its history lies before it. Jewish life and scholarship in Europe have been crushed or rigidly circumscribed. The future of world Jewry, certainly for our generation, rests in America. No one at this hour can question this fact. American Jewry, and particularly the Hebrew Union College, is preparing itself to give to Jews, wherever they may be, the spiritual and religious leadership they must have, in order to survive.

This College has already reared three generations of American Jewish leaders who have gone into the communities of the United States, into Canada, Cuba, Panama, England, Palestine, South Africa, and have fought for the ideals of religion and social justice in accordance with Judaism's prophetic tradition. They have been a positive force for truth, justice and social betterment among Jews and non-Jews in every community where their voices have been heard.

Today during this crisis, created by the second World War, the College has anticipated its historic obligations by appointing to its staff eleven distinguished Jewish refugee scholars from all parts of the war-torn world, giving them the opportunity to carry on their scientific studies in the quiet and security of free America.

Jewish scholarship, communal leadership, and religious idealism have been the guiding principles of this College throughout the past and will be fostered with even more determined purpose in the future which is dawning for the Judaism and Jewry of tomorrow.

AFFILIATION WITH UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS

From its founding in 1875 until 1926 the Hebrew Union College was maintained by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, a federation of over three hundred congregations committed to the cause of Reform Judaism. In 1926 the Hebrew Union College was chartered separately under the laws of the State of Ohio, but with the Union of American Hebrew Congregations recognized as its patronizing body, and with the original close affiliation between the College and its parent organization still rigidly maintained.

The business of the Hebrew Union College is administered by a Board of Governors, consisting of thirty-one members. Nineteen of these are elected by the Alumni Association of the Hebrew College; the President of the College is ex-officio a member of the Board of Governors. These twenty-six members elect five additional members at large, who are, however, nominated by the Central Conference of American Rabbis. The Board of Governors holds three regular meetings annually, in October, January and May. During the interim between regular meetings an Executive Committee of nine members, elected by the Board of Governors, discharges all routine business.

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

CHAIRMAN
DR. STEPHEN S. WISE

Office of Dr. Wise
40 West 68th Street
New York 23, N.Y.

June 29, 1944

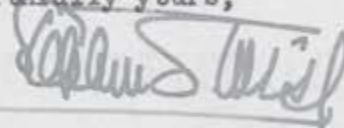
Dear Dr. Silver:

Your letter of June 28 is before me. You are quite right -- the Resolution is fine, but the last sentence is very bad, and I spoke of it at last night's dinner to Bloom, which it was agreed by Goldstein and Judith Epstein I should attend.

I am glad to think you have had such fine co-operation from Dewey. The inclusion of "Commonwealth" in the Resolution was very important, but I cannot help regretting that "Jewish" was omitted. You may be quite sure I shall take care of the matter as far as Chicago goes. It is not yet settled who is to be Chairman of the Democratic Committee on Resolutions, but it is not unlikely to be our friend, Bob Wagner. The platform will have to include a similar resolution and be still stiffer.

With cordial greetings,

Faithfully yours,



Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
East 105th Street and Ansel Road
Cleveland, Ohio

AIRMAIL

ssw:eh

June 29, 1944

Mr. Harry Levine
140 Adams Street
Leominster, Mass.

My dear Mr. Levine:

Your letter addressed to me in care of the New York Office was forwarded to me here in Cleveland. I am sorry that you have been troubled by the amount of duplication which has been going on in Zionist activities. I share with you the same dissatisfaction with the situation.

I think that you ought to be familiar with the facts as they apply to the radio project of the Emergency Council. We have felt right along that the weakest link in our chain of propaganda was the radio. We had very little access to it, and at frequent times, and subject to severe restrictions. We all felt that the next few months would be the decisive months for our Movement, first because our resolutions will come up for action in Congress, and secondly, that we were led to believe that sometime in the Fall important announcements concerning a new policy for Palestine would be forthcoming. We felt that we should have a dependable access to American public opinion during this critical period. Hence we discussed at a meeting of the Emergency Council, attended by all the leaders of the Zionist parties, including the President of the ZOA, the advisability of purchasing time on a national chain of radio stations for a period of thirteen weeks beginning in August, so that a systematic program covering the whys of Zionism, the achievements of our Movement, the justification for a Jewish Commonwealth, etc. etc. could be presented. No one at this meeting mentioned the fact that the ZOA was planning an extensive radio program or that it intended to appeal to the Zionist forces for contributions for such a program.

It was only after the Emergency Council had contacted its Community Contact groups throughout the country that the radio committee of the ZOA bestirred itself into intensive activity, and by so doing, confused our friends in many communities who saw in the two projects unwarranted duplication.

Actually there is no duplication. The ZOA contemplates a year-round educational program by placing records in radio stations throughout the country which will use them. The Emergency

Mr. Levine

-2-

June 29, 1944

Council plans an intensive thirteen-week national hook-up beginning in August as the most effective weapon in our political campaign in the Fall which, in the judgment of all of us, will probably be the most decisive period in our Movement.

My own thought is that the ZOA should wait with its own educational program until after the Emergency Council (which it cannot be emphasized too often is an arm of the ZOA) will have completed its program.

You must realize, my dear Mr. Levine, that we are working under the stress of an emergency situation where projects must frequently be improvised at a moment's notice to correspond with the shifting political scene. Disciplined Zionists should put up with a little embarrassment because our leaders are putting up with an awful lot of it. I am not opposed to rebellion. I am a little of a rebel myself. But if in the effective prosecution of our work in this historic hour I find it necessary to inconvenience some of our loyal Zionists, I assure you that I will have no hesitancy in doing so. I have more than inconvenienced myself in the last few years....

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

AHS:RK

[June 1944]

NOT FOR PUBLICATION

SUMMARY NOTE ON THE PRESENT POSITION
IN REGARD TO JEWISH IMMIGRATION

1. The White Paper provided for an annual quota of 10,000 immigrants for the five year period from April, 1939, subject to the economic absorptive capacity principle; in addition 25,000 refugees were to be admitted as soon as the High Commissioner was satisfied that adequate provision for their maintenance was ensured.
2. In practice the Palestine Administration made no distinction in the immigration quotas which it allocated from time to time between "refugee" and other immigrants. Thus in the letter of the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies to Mr. Shertok in London, dated April 5, 1944, (previously circulated to the Council) a statement of the immigration account is given which makes no distinction between the different categories of immigrants.
3. In terms of the Under-Secretary's letter, the balance of Jewish immigrants who could still enter Palestine as of January 1, 1944 against the White Paper figure of 75,000 was about 27,500. Assuming that some three or four thousand immigrants have entered since that date, the present balance would be about 24,000.
4. In the course of Mr. Shertok's conversations with the Under-Secretary he was informed that it was proposed to use the balance of these certificates almost exclusively for fugitives from enemy countries and that applications for would-be immigrants from "safe" countries would be considered only in respect of each individual applicant — that is to say no block grant would be made available for such prospective immigrants. Representations by Mr. Shertok in opposition to this ruling apparently succeeded in achieving only very minor modifications.
5. In accordance with a cablegram from Dr. Bernard Joseph to this office, dated April 18, 1944, the Jewish Agency in Jerusalem cabled London that they regarded the decision of the Colonial Office as meaning the virtual cessation of immigration from non-Nazi countries and that it was necessary urgently to obtain at least 6,000 certificates for refugees in Italy, Spain, Aden, Tangiers, Casablanca, and Turkey.
6. Confidential information received from the War Refugee Board indicates that the British have now agreed to make available certificates for all Jews reaching Turkey; the numbers at present arriving, however, are small. On the other hand there seems to be some possibility of rescuing Jews from Hungary by bringing them via Yugoslavia to southern Italy. The trouble here, however, is that there is already considerable refugee congestion and it would be necessary to remove at least several thousand refugees in order to get the military authorities to agree to the entry on any considerable scale of additional numbers from Yugoslavia. The failure of the British to make available Palestine certificates for these refugees at present in Italy is accordingly preventing the rescue of others. This situation accounts in part for the desire of the War Refugee Board to put through the idea of "free ports" so as to be in a position to drain off refugees from the immediate reception areas.

7. Following the receipt on April 26th of Dr. Bernard Joseph's cable of April 18th, a cable was sent him from this office enquiring as to whether any action was called for on our part at this time. Dr. Joseph replied merely that the cable had been sent us for the information of the Emergency Council.
8. Since the receipt of Dr. Joseph's cable the news agencies have reported that a vessel containing 570 refugees from southern Italy reached Palestine June 2nd and also that on that day 200 Yemonito Jews reached Palestine. These immigrants however may have come on the basis of certificates allocated prior to the new ruling of the Colonial Secretary. On the other hand a Palcor cable received today (6/12/44) reports that 600 immigration certificates "which have just been received from the Palestine Government were cabled by the Jewish Agency to its representatives in Lisbon for distribution among refugees in Portugal and Tangiers." This suggests a changed situation and may be the result of further action in London which was no doubt taken on the basis of Dr. Joseph's April cable. Additional information is being sought by cable.

* * * *

June 1944

