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American Zionist Emergency Council, 1944 July-October.

July 1, 1944

My dear Dr. Wise,

I received your letter of June 29th and your comment on the Resolution. I also read in the press your criticism of the last sentence in the Resolution, in which the President is condemned for his "failure to insist that the Mandatory of Palestine carry out the provision of the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate while he pretends to support them".

I can understand your natural impulse to answer what you regard as an unjust criticism and to defend the President. Tactically it would have been wiser for the defense to come from the official spokesman of the Democratic Party. The charges after all were made by the Republican Party, not by the Zionists or the Jews of America. The newspapers in reporting your criticism of the plank did not have a word of approval of the heart of the Resolution, which I am sure you must have made at the Bloom dinner. Nor to the best of my knowledge has any Zionist leader in New York expressed gratification with this fine Palestine plank which puts one of the two major parties of America squarely behind unrestricted Jewish immigration into Palestine and unrestricted land ownership and calls for the full implementation of the letter and the spirit of the

Balfour Declaration and the Mandate. This, as the boys say, is not phay". It is the first time in the history of the political platforms of both parties that a plank on Jewish Palestine is included. Certainly Zionist leaders should seize upon such an historic event and exploit it for the purposes of their movement to the utmost.

If you wish to have a strong pro-Palestine plank inserted in the Democratic platform, then surely the above is the proper method to pursue. While the Republican plank on Palestine will make it easier for a similar plank to be introduced in the Democratic platform, it will not be quite as easy as some people imagine. I am inclosing herewith an article from the "Christian Science Monitor", which unofficially gives the reaction of the State Department to the S.O.P. Palestine plank. It appeared within twenty-four hours after the plank was published. It is very significant, and from what we know, it is a true transcript of the mind of the State Department. The State Department will have something to say about all the foreign affairs planks in the coming Democratic platform. It will bring ^Fpressure to bear, as it did in the case of the Palestine Resolution in Congress, to have a watered-down, meaningless plank on Palestine. It will use such men as Senator Connolly and others to sabotage

a strong Palestine plank. Arab opposition, already reported from Cairo and likely to increase with proper stimulation, will be used as ^awar-time argument against a plank. Senator Wagner, even if he will be Chairman of the Resolution Committee, is not a strong man to rely upon. Our experience with him in the last few months has not been a very happy one. You might have to go to the very top to force through a strong resolution, and those at the very top will not consent unless they are made aware, between now and the time of the Democratic convention, that the Republican pro-Palestine plank has been very enthusiastically received by the Jews of America and that it is being widely acclaimed.

This is crystal clear to me and should be to everyone who is charged with the conduct of Zionist affairs at this time. Therefore instead of concentrating on the defense of the President, which defense he and the political leaders of the Democratic party can very well take care of in their own way, we should proceed to make maximum capital of the substance of the Palestine plank and use it as a lever to put through a similar and, if possible, a better plank in the Democratic Platform.

Very cordially yours,

AHS

July 2, 1944

Mr. Herman Shulman
39 Broadway
New York, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Shulman:

You may be interested in a copy of a letter which I sent yesterday to Dr. Wise. We are in a very advantageous position at the moment, and we ought not to pull any "boners."

For the first time, both major political parties need us and are prepared to listen to us very attentively. Our primary responsibility is the Zionist cause, and we should keep our eye on the ball.

We will need the Republicans to put through our resolutions in Congress. If we do not show any marked appreciation for what they have done in connection with the Palestine plank in their program, and if they are made to feel that there is no quid pro quo, they will pay no attention to us when we come to their leaders in Congress next month to urge the passage of our Resolution. Some of our Zionist leaders who are so wrapped up in their loyalty to the Democratic Party and Mr. Roosevelt unfortunately overlook this simple elementary fact.

I should like you and Dr. Wise to contact, as soon as possible, the Democratic leaders who will have a hand in the framing of the Democratic Platform. I understand that Senator Jackson has been selected to be the permanent chairman of the convention. He should be seen right-a-way; so also the chairmen of the Democratic National Committee and the Democratic Committeemen from New York State. We found the Republican Committeemen from New York State extremely helpful because of their eagerness to appeal to the Jewish voters in New York State which is likely to be one of the three or four critical states in the forthcoming election. Do not rely too much on Senator Wagner. I am afraid that he is a broken reed.

Some of our friends in New York suggested the name of Mr. Mark Eisner as likely to be helpful because of his influence in Democratic circles. I believe that you, Dr. Wise and Mr. Eisner could well handle the matter of a Democratic plank. The less people who will be drawn into this move of ours, and the less publicity given to it, the better. Our Republican friends cautioned us against public agitation. We followed their advice and it was good

Mr. Shulman

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July 2, 1944

advice. You will have in Chicago the same very efficient staff which I had during the Republican Convention -- Mr. Manson, Mr. Leo Sack and Mr. Elihu Stone.

You and Dr. Wise ought to arrange to be in Chicago during the meetings of the Resolutions Committee, which usually take place two or three days before the Convention, and you ought to plan on remaining for the duration of the Convention. Nothing is sure until final action is taken and the Resolution is voted on. I shall also be in Chicago for part of the time, but as you readily understand, behind the scenes. Our office is making reservations for hotel accommodations for all of us. Please keep me in touch, if necessary day by day, of the steps which you take in the matter.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:EK

Dictated but not read by Dr. Silver



July 2, 1944

The Honorable Nathaniel L. Goldstein
Attorney General State of New York
80 Centre Street
New York, N.Y.

My dear Friend:

I did not have a chance to see you before I left Chicago to tell you how grateful we all are for the splendid assistance which you rendered in Chicago in connection with the Palestine plank which was introduced in the platform of the Republican Party. I will make an official report to the Zionist Emergency Council next Monday at which time I will stress your significant contribution. I have already issued a public statement in praise of the Resolution which appeared in the Jewish Telegraphic Agency Bulletin on March 29. Another report, drafted by Mr. Manson praising the Resolution and the help which you and Governor Dewey gave, appeared in the Yiddish press.

I regretted, as I told you in Chicago, the inclusion of the last sentence in the Resolution which condemned the President so sharply. This forced the hand of some of the President's close friends in Zionist circles to jump to his defense. However, this is not a very grave matter.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

AHS:BK

P.S. I have written to Governor Dewey thanking him for his help.

UNITED PALESTINE APPEAL

PALESTINE FOUNDATION FUND (*Keren Hayesod*)

JEWISH NATIONAL FUND (*Keren Kayemeth*)

MIZRACHI PALESTINE FUND

41 EAST 42nd STREET, NEW YORK 17, N. Y. • Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-3320 • Cable Address—Palfund

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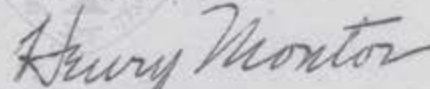
HENRY MONTOR

July 6, 1944

Dear Friend:

Attached hereto is a copy of the minutes of the meeting of the Executive Committee of the United Palestine Appeal held on June 30, 1944.

Cordially yours,



Henry Montor
Executive Director

HM:fe
Enc.

CONFIDENTIAL

MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF UNITED PALESTINE APPEAL
AT BILTMORE HOTEL, NEW YORK CITY, JUNE 20, 1944 AT 12:15 P.M.

PRESENT: Louis Lipsky presiding, Mendel N. Fisher, Abraham Goodman, Harold J. Goldenberg, Israel Goldstein, James G. Heller, Irving Miller, Charles Ress, Bernard A. Rosenblatt, Robert Silverman, Jacob Sincoff, Rudolf G. Sonneborn, Elihu D. Stone, David Wertheim, Stephen S. Wise.

Mrs. Israel Goldstein, Leo B. Kagan, Henry Montor, Martin Panzer, Martin Rosenbluth, Harry L. Shapiro, Meyer F. Steinglass.

PREVIOUS MINUTES

The Chairman noted that the minutes of the meeting of June 6, 1944 had been circulated. No corrections were suggested.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

Mr. Montor recalled to the Committee that at its last meeting on June 6th, it was voted that the officers of the United Palestine Appeal be authorized to communicate with the President's War Relief Control Board in accordance with a directive of that Board that information must be made available to the welfare funds of the country that, out of the funds of the Keren Hayesod and Keren Kayemeth, \$500,000 is being made available for the period of a year to the American Zionist Emergency Council. The text of the letter to be submitted to the President's War Relief Control Board was read on June 6th. With the exception of two votes, the letter was approved as read with certain minor changes. Those corrections, Mr. Montor said, were incorporated in a letter which was submitted on June 9th to Mr. Charles P. Taft, Acting Chairman of the Control Board, with a covering letter from Dr. Heller. That letter is to be approved by the Control Board in accordance with its own request, and subsequently is to be sent to all welfare funds and to all communities raising funds. He called attention to the following points which were the substance of the letter: (a) that it was in accordance with the approved policy of both the Keren Hayesod and Keren Kayemeth to include within their financing the purposes of the American Zionist Emergency Council and (b) that, in view of the fact that it was undesirable at this time to multiply the number of fund-raising efforts within the communities, it had been decided that the Emergency Council should not conduct an additional campaign but that the money should come from the Keren Hayesod and Keren Kayemeth.

Mr. Montor pointed out that on June 9th a letter was sent by the American Zionist Emergency Council to all of its constituent agencies or emergency committees throughout the country appealing for funds for a radio program. (Appendix A) Mr. Montor read the letter to the Committee and commented that, in view of the representations that have been made to the Control Board and the representations that are to be made to the welfare funds of the country, it is incongruous that money should come to the Emergency Council from the Keren Hayesod and Keren Kayemeth and the statement be made that this is essential so that no burden of fund-raising be placed on the Emergency Council. At the very same time communities will have before them requests for funds directly from the Emergency Council. He had no comment upon the program of the Emergency Council although he felt that the intention was very admirable. But there is a special situation which faces the United Palestine Appeal: and that is the integrity and the accuracy of representations which it has made, on the one hand, to the President's War Relief Control Board and, on the other, to the welfare funds of the country. He felt that, in the same way as the UPA submitted to the officers of the Emergency Council the texts of the various letters that were being prepared and requested their cooperation in visiting the War Relief Control

Board, the Emergency Council should have consulted with the UPA before taking action of this kind. He suggested that the Emergency Council be asked to reconsider the action.

Dr. Heller expressed regret that Dr. Silver was unable to attend this meeting. He agreed with all that Mr. Montor had said and read excerpts from a copy of a letter that Dr. Silver had addressed to Mr. Lipsky on the subject, this copy having been sent to him by Dr. Silver. () However, notwithstanding the representations in this letter, the letter that went to the emergency committees throughout the country did not sound them out, as Dr. Silver said was the decision of the Executive Committee of the Council, but definitely requested contributions. Before deciding that the UPA should send its letter to the welfare funds there was a full discussion, since there was indecision, Dr. Heller said, as to whether it was more advisable to do this or for the Emergency Council to make its own appeal. At that time Dr. Silver himself said that it was impossible for the Council to make its own appeal as it had no apparatus for the purpose; it would mean the creation of a new staff, etc.; secondly, it would be objectionable to welfare funds. These remarks were made by Dr. Silver, Dr. Heller declared, at the meeting of the Executive Committee of the UPA on June 6th, while the Emergency Council had already decided to do just the opposite at a meeting on June 5th. Therefore, Dr. Heller could not understand the entire procedure and asked the Executive Committee of the UPA to act decisively on the matter. Dr. Heller recalled that as soon as the first meeting with the War Relief Control Board was scheduled, he asked Dr. Silver whether he did not wish the Council to be represented at the meeting, and Dr. Silver replied that they had no interest in the matter whatsoever. However, Rabbi Feuer did represent the Council at that meeting. Since the UPA letter to the welfare funds states that the Emergency Council did not wish to make any appeal of its own, it will be necessary, unless the Council rescinds its appeal, Dr. Heller said, for the UPA to contact the Control Board and advise it that the letter sent it for approval is not to be considered, since it no longer represents the facts.

Dr. Wise commented that a number of the members present at the meeting of the Executive Committee on June 6th had also attended the meeting of the Emergency Council and therefore were acquainted with the facts. He declared that as far as he knew, Dr. Silver was authorized only to explore the situation and that was the decision of the Emergency Council. However, he said, Dr. Silver felt that the matter of the radio program was an emergency, and if time were expended in writing to the communities, awaiting their replies and then taking the matter up with the UPA, it would be too late to do anything in the matter, since the program must start by the middle of August. He felt that at this time \$100,000 was more or less a negligible amount as compared with total collections, and therefore did not feel that this appeal should be taken too seriously.

Mr. Shapiro advised that the Emergency Council itself will contribute \$25,000, and that \$23,000 in pledges had already been received.

Mr. Kagan stated that he was attending the meeting as a representative of the Lawyers Committee, headed by Mr. Mark Eisner, which had dealt with the tax exempt status of the UPA. Mr. Eisner regretted his inability to be present, but had asked Mr. Kagan to present his views. He could only give an opinion, Mr. Kagan said, with regard to the tax phase of the matter. It was very regrettable, he felt, that the letter was sent out by Dr. Silver. It was the opinion of Mr. Eisner and himself that the letter from the tax point of view is damaging to the tax status of contributions to the UPA. However, this being a fait accompli nothing could be done about it. They therefore suggested that the communities which have already contributed be asked to give permission to the Emergency Council to transmit the funds for

this special purpose to the United Palestine Appeal; and then the latter could in turn give the funds to the Emergency Council. They suggest, he said, that Dr. Silver now write a letter to the various communities asking permission to transmit funds to the UPA. This would meet the situation in regard to the tax status, Mr. Kagan said. He stressed the fact that the tax status is not a simple matter. He expressed surprise that the various Zionist organizations do not have standing lawyers committees. He suggested that each agency have such a committee not only for advice on legal questions but on a number of related matters.

Mr. Shapiro stated that Dr. Silver was asked at the meeting of the Emergency Council on June 5th to explore the financial possibilities of carrying on the radio program. It was suggested that there might be commercial sponsors or that the Emergency Council might approach its community contacts committees. It might also go to the Zionist bodies, since the money that was required for this program was not included in the budget. He declared that one cannot go to a community and explore -- one must ask for funds. However, he declared, no appeal was made to any welfare funds and no community was asked to hold a campaign. Only small sums were requested, he said.

Dr. Goldstein, who was present at the meeting of the Emergency Council on June 5th, stated that he understood that no definitive step was to be taken until the matter came back to the Emergency Council with all the information available on the basis of the exploration. Many things were involved, he said. For example, some of those who were present at the meeting on June 5th were aware of the fact that the ZOA had for months been preparing a radio program along similar lines to those of the Emergency Council. The Executive Committee of the ZOA sanctioned the program at a meeting six weeks ago, and six or seven programs have already been recorded. He said he mentioned these facts to Dr. Silver, who said that there would be no conflict, since the ZOA would not be ready to start its program before the Fall, by which time the Emergency Council's program would be finished. However, Dr. Goldstein said, the minutes of the Emergency Council state very specifically that there was no authorization to do anything beyond exploring and bringing back a report. He felt that the fact that the American Zionist Emergency Council is an emergency committee does not give it the authority to follow procedures different from the usual, and therefore the action taken by the Emergency Council was not warranted. He felt that the primary obligation of the UPA was to the President's War Relief Control Board, although, if it could be demonstrated how that obligation could be met and at the same time permit the Emergency Council to make its appeal, there would still be the necessity of considering the advisability of both the ZOA and the Council soliciting funds for similar purposes.

Judge Rosenblatt felt that the most serious question was the one of the tax status. Unfortunately, he said, Mr. Kagan's suggestion could not be followed. The money cannot be turned over to the UPA because the UPA in turn would be compelled to transmit it to the UJA.

Mr. Wertheim said that he could not understand why the whole subject was being discussed with such excitement. He did not feel that anything wrong had been done. The subject was being distorted out of all proportion. He could not understand why Mr. Montor seemed to feel so keenly on the subject. He doubted whether Mr. Montor would have felt the same way when he was connected with the Emergency Council seven months ago. Apparently Mr. Montor was not taking into account the fact that the Zionists all over the country were deeply stirred, and wanted to do something in relation to the Palestine situation. The Emergency Council's request for supplementary funds would be welcomed. He felt sure that there would be a fine response to it. No one would be hurt. As far as he was concerned, there was actually nothing before the Executive Committee of the United Palestine Appeal for

action. In effect, the Emergency Council was not even asking for money. What was being suggested was that local communities arrange their own programs and finance them. Surely no one could interfere with local autonomy if there was a desire in the communities to do something about furthering the Zionist political aims at this time.

Mr. Montor asserted that the issue facing the Executive Committee is the integrity of its membership. It was true that the name of Dr. James G. Heller was signed to the letter to go to the welfare funds which had been submitted to the War Relief Control Board. Actually every officer of the United Palestine Appeal was equally responsible with him for the accuracy of the statements contained in that letter. He did not understand the level of the discussion in the Executive Committee. It was being made to appear that if the Emergency Council only got a little bit of money, then its action was perfectly proper. The principle apparently did not count. As to Mr. Wertheim's observations of a personal nature, he thought he ought to remind Mr. Wertheim that when Mr. Montor was Executive Director of the Emergency Council he had taken the position that Mr. Wertheim was advocating, but apparently few people shared it. He had the conviction that American Zionists were deeply stirred about the Palestine situation and really wanted to do something about it. He had proposed -- and it was unanimously agreed by the members of the Finance Committee of the Emergency Council -- that the Emergency Council should not get its funds through the UPA agencies but should conduct a campaign of its own. He felt that American Zionists were prepared for it. However, the Emergency Council turned down the proposal that he had urged. It was also being asserted that the Emergency Council's action was of an emergency character, and time could not be taken for further organizational discussion. He wanted to remind Mr. Wertheim that as far back as October 18, 1943, Mr. Montor had proposed a budget of \$604,500 for the Emergency Council that included \$75,000 for a radio program. Apparently, therefore, he had thought about a radio program and it had been provided for in the budget, but the budget was slashed. It seemed to him, therefore, that it ill became Mr. Wertheim to discuss Mr. Montor's views on the basis of the record. Mr. Montor was not taking issue at all with the type of work which the Emergency Council wanted to do. On the contrary, he felt that the Emergency Council has been doing an excellent job and should be enabled to continue to function in every sphere. But there was a question as to how it should be financed. The War Relief Control Board is being told that the money is coming from the Keren Hayesod and the Keren Kayemeth. He did not think it proper that at the very same time the Emergency Council should go right back to the communities and raise additional funds, while the welfare funds were being told that the Emergency Council would conduct no campaign. If a radio program was desirable, then by all means the money should be obtained for it, but he felt that the proper place to go is to the Keren Hayesod and Keren Kayemeth which financed the rest of the Emergency Council's activities.

Mr. Sincoff agreed with the viewpoint of Mr. Montor. He suggested that the money that had already been raised by the Emergency Council in this effort should be returned to the communities with an explanation of the situation. He proposed that funds for the radio program should be applied for by the Emergency Council to the Keren Hayesod and Keren Kayemeth.

The Chairman felt that no action should be taken in haste. It was true that a resolution could be passed which would embarrass the Emergency Council. He did not think that any purpose could be served thereby. An attempt was being made to raise a modest sum of money. A case might be made out that a serious error had been made, but, after all, in the letter that had been sent to the President's War Relief Control Board the intention was to indicate that there was no plan to appeal to the welfare funds. What the Emergency Council was trying to do at the present

time was to obtain small sums from a limited group of people and not in any way to engage in a national campaign. These facts should be taken into consideration. He felt that a reasonable explanation could be offered to the War Relief Control Board if necessary, and to the communities. He felt that the only proper thing for the Executive Committee of the United Palestine Appeal to do at this time, since action had already been taken, was to discuss with the Emergency Council what it was felt proper or improper to do in the future. He did not think that any special action was called for on what had already been done by the Emergency Council.

Dr. Heller called attention to the fact that the letter that went out to the emergency committees did not ask for \$75,000, but for \$100,000. He said that the quotas that were assigned to the various emergency committees were on the basis of \$150,000. Every appeal of this kind, he said, ultimately reaches welfare funds.

Rabbi Miller was of the opinion that very little harm would be done by the issuance of Dr. Silver's letter, since other organizations and causes were continually asking individuals for small sums. However, he felt that the difficulty would be overcome if Dr. Silver would undertake to write to all communities, which have received his letter, the following: "I call attention very specifically to this fact: that no approach must be made to the welfare fund and no campaign must be carried on in the community, but this small sum of money must be raised by you among your own friends in a small circle".

Dr. Wise felt that no purpose would be served by any criticism of the Emergency Council. Action had been taken to meet an emergency situation, and certainly there was no ill intention. It was quite proper to suggest to the Emergency Council, if the Executive Committee wished to do so, that in the future funds should be requested from the Keren Hayesod and Keren Kayemeth if it appeared that the money at the disposal of the Emergency Council were not sufficient to carry out the program. Dr. Wise submitted a motion to that effect. This motion was elaborated upon during the subsequent discussion.

Dr. Heller was of the view that a supplementary explanation should be sent to the War Relief Control Board to forestall any questions.

Mr. Montor felt that special reference should be made to the existing situation whereby the Keren Hayesod and Keren Kayemeth provide the funds. He thought it possible that at some future time the Emergency Council would wish to go directly to the communities for its resources.

The Chairman, commenting on the necessity of informing the War Relief Control Board of a new development, suggested that the situation be watched and that such action be taken as might eventually be found desirable in the interests of the United Palestine Appeal.

Dr. Wise's suggestion was put in the form of a motion; it was seconded and carried, and read as follows:

The Executive Committee of the United Palestine Appeal, having heard a report on an appeal addressed to communities by the American Zionist Emergency Council for additional funds and having in mind the representations already made by the United Palestine Appeal to the President's War Relief Control Board with regard to the source from which the American Zionist Emergency Council receives its funds:

(1) earnestly requests that so long as the Keren Hayesod and Keren Kayemeth, constituent agencies of the United Palestine Appeal, continue to be the source of support of the American Zionist Emergency Council, the Council should address requests for funds only to the Keren Hayesod and Keren Kayemeth and should not, as long as that position remains, endeavor to raise funds through other sources;

(2) suggests to the American Zionist Emergency Council that a communication be promptly addressed to all those who received original request for funds, emphasizing that no campaigns are to be conducted within the community and that no applications are to be made to welfare funds; and also that this solicitation should be terminated promptly;

(3) asks that a joint committee representing the American Zionist Emergency Council and the United Palestine Appeal should meet as promptly as possible to resolve the problems arising out of this situation.

Messrs. Wertheim and Stone urged that no letter be sent to the War Relief Control Board advising of the new situation. Mr. Stone felt that if any question were raised, a proper answer could subsequently be given.

LEAGUE FOR RELIGIOUS LABOR IN PALESTINE

Dr. Heller recalled to the Committee that there had been protracted discussions between the United Palestine Appeal and the League for Religious Labor in Palestine, the former contending that the League was not warranted in holding a campaign for funds in the United States. Several conferences were held and finally the League agreed to send the UPA a letter explaining how its money was used. It contended that the largest part of its money did not go to the Hapoel Hamizrachi, which is a 40% beneficiary in the \$250,000 grant to the Mizrachi Palestine Fund for 1944. A statement provided by the League for Religious Labor as to how its funds were expended in Palestine did not, in Dr. Heller's view, disclose any new facts. It would appear that the Hapoel Hamizrachi was actually the chief beneficiary of such additional funds as the League made available. At a meeting on June 6th the representatives of the League for Religious Labor had again met with Dr. Heller and with Mr. Montor and had requested permission to appear before the Administrative Committee of the United Palestine Appeal to ask for reconsideration. Dr. Heller pointed out that the Administrative Committee had already agreed that a statement should be issued to the country advising the communities that no appeal for funds by the League is warranted.

It was moved, seconded and carried that all the facts involving the League for Religious Labor in Palestine had been adequately considered and that no purpose would be served by further representations to the Administrative Committee of the United Palestine Appeal by representatives of the League. It was confirmed that a statement should be issued to the communities advising that a campaign by the League for Religious Labor in Palestine is not warranted in view of the fact that funds for these same purposes are provided by the United Palestine Appeal in the grant to the Mizrachi Palestine Fund.

NATIONAL BUDGETING

Mr. Goldenberg reported on a meeting held on June 12th, 1944 to discuss the attitude of the United Palestine Appeal on national budgeting. (Appendix D).

Following a discussion, motion was made and carried that the statement on National Budgeting be referred to the Administrative Committee of the UPA for a full discussion of the entire problem.

INDEPENDENT JEWISH PRESS SERVICE

Mr. Goodman stated that a letter had been addressed by Dr. Silver and himself, as Co-Chairmen of the Independent Jewish Press Service, requesting the United Palestine Appeal to make available a sum of \$1,000 to the Press Service. The letter had been addressed to Dr. Heller who had not yet had an opportunity of reading it since it had just been forwarded the previous day.

During a discussion Mr. Fisher stated that an effort was being made to establish an Advisory Council of the Independent Jewish Press Service, in which the various institutions would be represented.

In response to Dr. Heller's question, the Chairman stated that application for funds for the Independent Jewish Press Service were now being addressed to welfare funds.

It was moved, seconded and carried that \$1,000 be appropriated to the Independent Jewish Press Service.

Meeting adjourned at 2:50 P. M.



Submitted by Florence Eitelberg



AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
342 Madison Avenue
New York, 17, New York

Chairman of Executive Committee
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

June 9, 1944

SENT TO CHAIRMEN OF LOCAL EMERGENCY COMMITTEES

As Allied armies push forward to victory in Europe, a decision on the future of the Jewish National Home is brought closer. Historic pronouncements may be made before too many months have passed, and it is, therefore, imperative that we accelerate our propaganda activity. Beginning with the late summer and continuing through the fall, we must carry out the most intensive educational campaign in the history of the Zionist movement.

In our forthcoming drive we plan to employ the different media of propaganda and information as never before. We intend to use the radio extensively in our work for the first time, and a series of programs to be broadcast coast-to-coast is now being prepared.

For thirteen successive weeks America will hear our case presented by the country's outstanding public figures and artists, both Jewish and non-Jewish, over more than 100 radio stations. One of these stations will be in or near your city, and the people of your community will thus be provided with a systematic and interestingly-presented campaign of education on Palestine and Zionism.

When the budget of the American Zionist Emergency Council was formulated, no provision was made for such a program, the cost of which will be in excess of \$100,000. While it is not the policy of the Emergency Council to call on any community for financial help, I am, nevertheless, turning to you with the extraordinary request that you, with the cooperation of the Zionist groups in your community, raise the sum of \$ for this essential project. This amount should be collected by July 15.

I am deeply grateful to you for the cooperation which you and your associates have given to the Zionist movement in these critical times.

May I hear from you within the next two weeks, so that we may complete the necessary arrangements and launch our radio project as speedily as possible.

Very cordially yours,

(signed)
Abba Hillel Silver

AHS:HH

MINUTE OF A MEETING TO DISCUSS THE U. P. A. ATTITUDE ON NATIONAL BUDGETING

Monday, June 12, 1944, Biltmore Hotel, 12:30 P.M.

PRESENT: Harold J. Goldenberg, Minneapolis, presiding, Chairman of a sub-committee of the United Palestine Appeal, and Louis Lipsky and Rudolf G. Sonneborn, members of the committee. Also: Henry Montor and Robert Silverman.

In accordance with the action taken by the Administrative Committee of the United Palestine Appeal, Dr. Heller had appointed a sub-committee of three to explore further the question of national budgeting, which is now being reconsidered by the Board of Directors of the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds. The committee is to submit to the Administrative Committee its view of the attitude which the United Palestine Appeal should take toward the problem.

It was pointed out that in 1942 a compromise agreement was reached on the subject of national budgeting. It barred introduction by the Council of national budgeting for three years. That agreement expires January 1, 1945. The Council then hopes to introduce national budgeting in some form.

The question arose whether, as was the case three years ago, the United Palestine Appeal should oppose national budgeting. The opinion was in the negative.

However, the United Palestine Appeal should state its position on the subject when it meets with Mr. Jacob Blaustein, chairman of the sub-committee of the Board of Directors of the Council dealing with budget research. Mr. Blaustein has been authorized by the Board to consult with national agencies as well as member agencies of the Council.

Also the U. P. A. should clarify its position to the country by publicizing the attitude it will adopt, for the benefit of leaders in welfare funds who, three years ago, joined with the U. P. A. in opposing national budgeting. The reasons should be given for the change in attitude of the U. P. A. It should be pointed out that the more sympathetic attitude of the U. P. A. is based on certain conditions, as outlined below.

Following an extended discussion, in which the consensus was that some form of national budgeting seems inevitable, a series of proposals was formulated as the basis for the U. P. A. thinking on the subject.

(1) The establishment of some form of budgeting procedure is in itself commendable.

(2) To attempt to introduce budgeting in all its implications at this time would be inappropriate. It is a period of change, when the fixing of permanent standards is impossible.

(3) For the present, a makeshift system of budgeting should be adopted. In view of the more or less stable situation there, the home front services should be the first to which the budgeting procedure should be applied. The home front agencies are not faced with the same chaotic conditions as apply overseas.

(4) Inasmuch as the United Palestine Appeal (and Joint Distribution Committee) is affected by so many changeable factors at this time, it (and the J.D.C.) and the United Jewish Appeal (including its various agencies) should be excluded from the consideration of the budgeting process for two years.

(5) The budgeting process to be established might take into consideration these suggestions:

(a) No attempt should be made to pass judgment on ideologies.

(b) A budgeting committee should be set up for a three-year term, with one-third of the number being replaced each year.

(c) The committee should consist of at least twenty-five members to be selected as follows: (1) Each Region of the Council should be entitled to two representatives; (2) There shall be one representative each of the United Palestine Appeal and the Joint Distribution Committee, these being the two bodies with the most general appeal to the community; the other members shall be selected at large.

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Additional suggestions emerged out of the discussions:

(1) The Committee on National Budgeting of the U.P.A. should be transformed into a Committee on Contact with Welfare Funds. It is recognized that the Welfare funds will have increasing influence. The interest of friends of Palestine should be maintained.

(2) Representatives of some 15 or 20 communities might be called together to discuss national budgeting and the particular attitude toward it of the U. P. A.

(3) Cooperation should be extended to ensure a broadening democratic character for the National Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds: through participation in Regional meetings as well as local welfare funds; and through interest in the composition of the Board of Directors of the Council.

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REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

EXHIBIT
HARRISON E. SPANGLER

~~XXXXX CONNOR STREET AVENUE X~~
~~WASHINGTON D.C. X~~

45 East 45th Street
New York City
July 7, 1944

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
East 105th and Ansel Road
Cleveland, Ohio

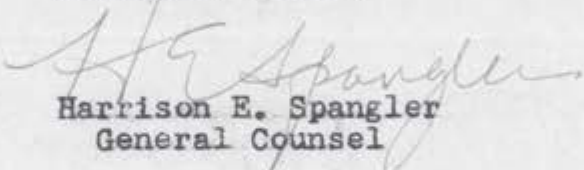
Dear Rabbi Silver:

I want to extend to you not only the thanks of the Republican Party but my sincere personal thanks as well for your part in the Republican National Convention. You added a great deal to its deliberations.

If there was ever a time when the country as a whole, and we, as a political party, needed Divine Guidance it is now and I hope we may have your continued prayers.

Sincerely yours,

hes.ew


Harrison E. Spangler
General Counsel

July 7, 1944

The Editor
Christian Science Monitor
Boston, Mass.

Dear Sir:

Your Washington correspondent in his dispatch of June 28th states that the plank in the Republican platform in support of Jewish claims to Palestine on the basis of the Balfour Declaration "totally disregards the equally binding treaty which the British signed during World War I with King Hussein of the Hejaz."

This statement is singularly inaccurate and misleading. The so-called treaty with King Hussein was in fact not a treaty, but an interchange of correspondence in 1915 between Sir Henry McMahon and Hussein, who was at that time not King of the Hejaz but the Sherif of Mecca. Unlike the Balfour Declaration which was approved by the British War Cabinet after very full discussion and was given the utmost publicity, and subsequently received the endorsement of fifty-two nations of the League as well as the approval by unanimous Resolution of the United States Congress, the text of the McMahon correspondence was kept secret for years. It was not officially disclosed until 1939. It is implied in your correspondent's note that the McMahon pledge applied also to Palestine and that to that extent it detracted from the effect of the Balfour Declaration. This suggestion was contradicted by the following facts:

1. Sir Henry McMahon himself in a letter to the "Times" of July 23, 1939, declared: "I feel it my duty to state, and I do so definitely and emphatically, that it was not intended by me in giving this pledge to King Hussein to include Palestine in the area in which Arab independence was promised. I also had every reason to believe at the time that the fact that Palestine was not included in my pledge was well understood by King Hussein."

2. Colonel C. E. Vickery, a master of Arabic, was sent from Cairo in 1920 on an official mission to inspect the original text of the letter as actually received by the Sherif. In referring to this visit he wrote: "I read the letter through very slowly...it was quite evident that Palestine was not included in the proposals to the King...I can say most definitely that the whole of the King's demands were centered around Syria, and only Syria. He stated most emphatically that he did not concern himself at all with Palestine and had no desire to have suzerainty over it or for successors."

3. The late King Feisal of Iraq, son of Hussein, who was the Arab spokesman at the Peace Conference, specifically excluded Palestine from the territories in respect of which he demanded Arab independence.

Although Arab propagandists have long sought on the basis of the McMahon pledge to establish a claim to Palestine in addition to the vast territories where their right to independence has now been recognized, a long series of British official statements starting with that of Mr. Winston Churchill in 1922, has made it emphatically clear that the British Government considers these claims to be entirely without substance. This stand was confirmed as a result of a full investigation conducted by the Lord Chancellor in 1939 when he held that "the correspondence as a whole...not only did exclude Palestine, but should have been understood to do so."

It is in these circumstances a little astonishing, to put it mildly, that the State Department, as suggested by your correspondent, should adduce this correspondence as a basis on which to seek to weaken the effect of the promise of the Balfour Declaration; a promise which, as testified by Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Winston Churchill and others, was intended to give to the Jews the opportunity of establishing in Palestine a Jewish Commonwealth.

Yours very truly



July 10, 1944

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

LOUISIANA IS NINETEENTH STATE TO URGE
UNRESTRICTED JEWISH IMMIGRATION INTO PALESTINE

- - - - -

JOINS IN DEMAND FOR JEWISH COMMONWEALTH

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New York — Louisiana is the nineteenth state to demand that the gates of Palestine be opened for the "unrestricted entry and settlement of Jewish refugees, and to their unrestricted rights as promised in the Balfour Declaration," it was announced today by the American Zionist Emergency Council, which is leading the drive to repeal the British White Paper of 1939 and to reconstitute Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth.

The Council disclosed that the House of Representatives of the Louisiana Legislature has unanimously adopted a resolution declaring that "in pursuance of the underlying intent and purpose of the Balfour Declaration, and of the solemn compact between the Governments of the United States and His Majesty's Government, there be established such political, economic and administrative conditions as will insure the development of Palestine into a self-governing Commonwealth, which shall be an integral part of a new democratic world order in accordance with the principles for which we now fight."

Similar resolutions have been passed by the states of Alabama, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Maryland, Massachusetts, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Texas, Virginia and Washington.

(more)

The text of the Louisiana resolution follows:

"WHEREAS, on November 2, 1917, the Government of Great Britain issued the Balfour Declaration, promising the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people; and

"WHEREAS, the policy thus outlined was concurred in by unanimous vote of the two Houses of the Congress of the United States in a joint resolution adopted June 30, 1922, and implemented by the Anglo-American Treaty of December 3, 1924, wherein the Governments of the United States and of Great Britain, respectively, contracted and agreed for the putting into effect of the

'declaration originally made on the 2nd November, 1917, by the Government of His Britannic Majesty, and adopted by the said Powers, in favour of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing should be done which might 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;'

"WHEREAS, the sufferings of the Jews in Europe under the heel of the Nazis cry out to the enlightened conscience of the United Nations, and the need for the full implementation of the promise of a Homeland of their own for the stricken and persecuted Jewish masses has become not merely a matter of justice but a dire necessity; now, therefore,

"RESOLVED by the House of Representatives of the Legislature of the State of Louisiana that it express its profound sympathy to the victims of Nazi religious persecution and racial hatred; and

"BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that we respectfully urge that the gates of Palestine be opened for the unrestricted entry and settlement of Jewish refugees, and to their unrestricted rights as promised in the Balfour Declaration; and that in pursuance of the underlying intent and purpose of the Balfour Declaration, and of the solemn compact between the Governments of the United States and His Majesty's Government, there be established such political, economic, and administrative conditions as will insure the development of Palestine into a self-governing Commonwealth, which

(more)

shall be an integral part of a new democratic world order in accordance with the principles for which we now fight; and

"BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that this resolution be spread upon the records of this House, and the Clerk of the House be and he is hereby directed to send copies thereof to the President of the United States and to the Secretary of State, and to the two Senators from Louisiana and to each of the Representatives of Louisiana in the National House of Representatives."

#87 - 7/10/44



7.11.44.

(a) I believe that you ought to set up a powerful Committee to promote - if possible with Government help - Lowdermilk's plan, or something very like it. If this plan is sponsored by the President, it might easily become an important instrument which would help us to avoid partition, because it is so obvious that both Jews and Arabs would benefit by it, and that it would serve as a model for the development of the whole of the Middle East, and thus establish our claim to consideration even in the eyes of those who are at present opposed to us.

It may be that on my return from Palestine I should come over and see you all, but of course that must be left for the future to decide, and for you to think over in the meantime. I am also toying with the idea of going to see Smuts, if I can possibly manage it, and if my health permits.

But I am most anxious that some practical sign should be given by the U.S. Government that they are willing to take a hand in the actual shaping of Palestine's future: otherwise American support is merely platonic, and the British have some excuse for saying that the Americans are ready enough to criticise, but do not want to help.

I was so much impressed by what I heard yesterday that I am anxious to put to you with all the strength at my command my conviction that this is the only line leading to success, namely:

- (a) To secure the active participation of America, and
- (b) To work out a great practical project on Lowdermilk's lines, with the assistance and participation of Lowdermilk himself, and of other great American authorities in this field. If such a project were to be presented under Presidential auspices, it would give us an unanswerable case.

Well, I have indicated a line of action. We on our side shall do all we can here and in Palestine, and I am confident that in the next six months we can so prepare the ground as to ensure success.

The new High Commissioner, Lord Gort, went out a few days ago

ago, and, as the Prime Minister mentioned, he is fully informed of the stand which the P.M. himself is taking in these matters. I believe Lord Gort to be benevolently disposed, courageous, honourable, and without prejudices: I believe we shall be able to work with him. The Prime Minister urged me most strongly to keep in close touch with Lord Gort while I am in Palestine. The P.M. is naturally much worried by the terrorist outbreaks. I did my best to explain, but as you will understand, it was none too easy.

Do please remember about Baruch, and the others of his category. I am sure Mr. Morgenthau could help a great deal.

Wishing you all every good luck in your work, and with kind regards to all friends, I remain

Affectionately yours,

Chd

But I am sure that some practical sign should be given by the U.S. Government that they are willing to take a hand in the actual working of the Jewish Agency, otherwise American support is merely platonic, and the British have some excuse for saying that the Americans are really anxious to criticize, but do not want to help.

I was so much impressed by what I heard yesterday that I am anxious to put to you with all the strength at my command my conviction that this is the only line leading to success, namely:

To secure the active participation of America, and

To work out a great practical project on Jewish-Arab lines, with the assistance and participation of Jewish, Arab, and other great Jewish authorities in this field. If such a project were to be presented under Presidential auspices, it would give us an unanswerable case.

Well, I have indicated a line of action. We on our side shall do all we can here and in Palestine, and I am confident that in the next six months we can so prepare the ground as to ensure success.

The new High Commissioner, Lord Gort, went out a few days ago

[July 13, 1944]

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American Jewish Trade Union Committee for Palestine

Room 2500 • 245 Fifth Avenue
MUrray Hill 3-1881 New York 16, N. Y.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

AMERICAN LABOR'S ATTITUDE TOWARD PALESTINE

by

VINCENT J. MURPHY
MAYOR, NEWARK, N. J.
SECRETARY-TREASURER NEW JERSEY STATE FEDERATION
OF LABOR, A.F. OF L.

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The recent organization of a nation-wide committee of trade union leaders, calling itself the American Jewish Trade Union Committee for Palestine, brings sharply into focus the attitude which organized labor in America has long entertained toward Palestine.

This attitude is not based solely on moral or humanitarian grounds, although a very strong case may be made for it along these lines. Certainly moral justice demands that the doors of Palestine be opened to the unrestricted entry of the harried and homeless refugee Jews who have suffered untold and untellable hardships since the advent of the Hitler regime in Germany and Europe. No one can read about the terror through which they have lived, or about the millions whose lives have been cruelly snuffed out, without wanting to shout a demand for a place of refuge for these helpless people.

They were promised that place. The Balfour Declaration of 1917 and the British Mandate of 1922, backed by the pledged word of the civilized nations of the world, were that promise. To close the doors of Palestine at a time when they represent perhaps the only safe and constructive refuge is not only immoral but inhuman.

(more)

Yet these are not the only grounds for American labor's insistence on the keeping of the pledge. There is also the feeling of close unity between organized labor in America and the labor movement in Palestine. For it is with deep admiration and respect that all thinking labor leaders view the achievements of the organized Jewish workers of Palestine.

No nation in the world has made such magnificent progress in so short a time as have the Jews in Palestine. Swamps, wastelands, barren rocks and soil have been given life, and from their newly-created fertility life has been drawn to feed and clothe and house 600,000 Jewish men, women and children. It is indeed a miracle, but it took the toil and sweat and blood of labor pioneers to accomplish it.

Palestine's General Federation of Jewish Labor has a record of public service which is unequalled anywhere in the world. It has earned the enviable position which it holds in the world of labor. It has been the spark plug in the struggle to redeem the wasteland, to build the factories and the cities which are today producing so many of the products which meet the needs of the Allied Forces in the Near East.

It is because these things are not generally known that the organization of the American Jewish Trade Union Committee for Palestine takes on such great import. It is the responsibility of this Committee to bring to the attention of organized labor the facts about Palestine and the background of the struggle to create there a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth. To the few millions who have escaped the ghastly slaughter of the innocents which has marked Hitler's war, Palestine represents not only a refuge but a divine hope. It represents the only spot on earth in which the refugee Jew may build a new future for himself, for his children, and for his people. Only here can he build with relative security for his future and for the future of the generations to follow. Only the zeal and devotion which the Jewish pioneers manifested in Palestine could have built the wondrous things which have been accomplished in so few years in Jewish Palestine.

(more)

With the establishment of the American Jewish Trade Union Committee for Palestine, American labor has created a voice through which to herald these achievements, not only to Americans, but to thinking people the world over. That the Committee is doing this with marked success is indicated by the large numbers of trade union leaders who have joined its ranks. Among its sponsors are the presidents of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, William Green and Philip Murray, who serve in the capacity of Honorary Chairmen. Honorary Vice-Chairmen include Irving Abramsen, State Chairman, C.I.O. Industrial Council of New Jersey; James B. Carey, Secretary-Treasurer, Congress of Industrial Organizations; William Collins, New York State Representative, American Federation of Labor; Edward Flore, Vice-President, American Federation of Labor; George M. Harrison, Grand President, Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks; James McDevitt, President, Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor; George Meany, Secretary-Treasurer, American Federation of Labor; Thomas Murray, President, New York State Federation of Labor; Thomas Murtha, President, New York City Central Trades and Labor Council; R. J. Thomas, International President, United Automobile Workers, C.I.O.; Mathew Woll, Vice-President, American Federation of Labor. The present writer, too, is one of those who has accepted service on this Committee, and who feels that through such constructive work great headway can be made towards better understanding and wider tolerance among all people.

MEMO TO DR. WISE SATURDAY, July 15, 1944

It would be a great blunder to have a debate on the Palestine plank before the Resolutions Committee.

1) Public attention will certainly be drawn to it by the press. It will dramatize the sharp division among the Jews of America on the subject of Palestine. It will give the minority an important sounding board which it craves.

2) As a result of press reports our opposition throughout the country may be stirred into action and will flood McCormick and his committee with telegrams against the resolution.

3) In order to satisfy the opposition and to satisfy everyone the resolutions committee will be inclined to pass a whittled down and washed out Palestine plank which would be acceptable to American Jewish Committee and to the American Council for Judaism, the kind of a plank which, from what has been reported, is in the mind of Mr. Rosenman.

4) It was a mistake to have asked for a hearing before the committee. It is not too late to withdraw the request especially if Lazaron's request was based on the assumption that our side would have a hearing before the committee.

5) McCormick should be seen at once, the situation explained to him, and he should be urged to advise Rabbi Lazaron at once that inasmuch as the Zionists will not be heard by his committee, there is no occasion for the anti-Zionists to be heard. This should also be explained to the Baltimore representative who presented Lazaron's request.

Lazaron has probably not yet left Baltimore and if a telegram is sent to him today he will probably not come on.

What Dr. Wise has told me about the constituency of the committee, is very favorable to us. You can work with the members individually as I am sure you have done. A public appearance is the last thing we want, nor do I believe will the Resolutions Committee be happy over the spectacle of a sharp class of opinion among the Jews over this issue at a public hearing. It will only embarrass them.

If the Palestine plank is not included following your appearance it will be a public repudiation of our representatives.

KIM-FENG FARM
OTIS, MASS.

*Received
Aug 3*

TELEPHONE OTIS 16

July 17, 1944

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
East 105 Street and Ansel Road
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Abba:

I want to tell you what I have already told Lipsky and others, that you handled yourself with real statesmanship and ability at the Republican Convention at Chicago and that you have done a first-rate job for our people. I was rather disgusted with Wise's response to your work. Were he possessed of a tenth of your ability, he would have utilized your efforts to gain an equal victory at the Democratic Convention. Instead he and Henry Monsky acted with characteristic stupidity. I cannot understand what they think they accomplish by giving everything away in advance.

I think that you ought to pursue your course further with the object of keeping this question before the public. You ought to organize your publicity so that Zionism becomes a living issue in American life until there is an assumption of responsibility for this question among the political parties of this country. I think you need to make it clear to conservative Americans that the habit that the Communists have of labelling everything anti-Semitic is their propaganda and is unassociated with anything Jewish. This is a terrific job but it can be done if you are organized properly for the purpose of doing it.

I think that you need to strike out constantly at such organizations as The American League for a Free Palestine. Most Americans cannot distinguish between one Jewish organization and another and if you do not disassociate yourself from this money gathering agency of wild men, the whole Jewish world will be identified with them. I think you need to be aggressively antagonistic to them.

It has been delightful to me to renew this friendship of my childhood and I sincerely hope that it will not again be permitted to lapse.

Faithfully yours,

George E. Sokolsky
George E. Sokolsky

GES:HP

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

[July 18, 1944]

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

WISE PLEADS FOR PALESTINE PLANK IN DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM

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Chicago — Rabbi Stephen S. Wise of New York, co-chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council, which includes all major Zionist bodies, and one of the three co-chairmen of the American Jewish Conference representing some 3 million Jews, president of the American and World Jewish Congress founded by Justice Brandeis, made the following statement on Monday evening, July 17, at the Hotel Stevens, Chicago, Ill., before the Resolutions Committee of the Democratic National Convention.

Text of Resolution

"From the days of Woodrow Wilson and throughout the administration of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, it has been the policy of the Democratic Party to support the full implementation of the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate over Palestine. In the light of that historic policy and the uprooting and homelessness of millions of Jews in European lands, we call for the opening of Palestine to unrestricted Jewish immigration and colonization; and, in accordance with the full intent and purpose of the said covenant made with the Jewish people, the establishment of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth, in which all the inhabitants shall have equal civic, religious, and cultural rights, and in which the Holy places of all faiths shall be fully safeguarded."

After reading the above Resolution, submitted by the American Zionist Emergency Council, which Dr. Wise represents, he said:

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"I speak for what has become a great tradition of the Democratic Party, initiated by Woodrow Wilson and continued through the years by Franklin Delano Roosevelt. This is a precious and historic policy which dare not be abandoned at a time when it has become virtually the only hope of European Jews facing extermination. Our Secretary of State, the Honorable Cordell Hull, declared on Friday: 'Reliable reports from Hungary have confirmed news of mass killing of Jews by the Nazis and their Quislings. The entire Jewish community in Hungary, which number nearly 1 million souls, is threatened with extermination' - extermination in the hideous and hellish Nazi gas chambers in Poland to which these are being deported.

"I speak not only for a vastly overwhelming majority of the 5 million Jews of America, but in addition, for many millions of Christians of all churches who wish Jews to have a national home in Palestine. The National Conference on Palestine, made up altogether of Christian men and women, recently declared in Washington: 'We join with millions of other American Christians in expressing our horror that the appalling assault against the Jewish people continues unabated. In a decade scarred by the sadism of Hitler, the mass destruction of the Jewish people has gone on unflinchingly We therefore reaffirm our faith in the spirit as well as the letter of the Balfour Declaration, and ask for maximum Jewish immigration into Palestine and full opportunity for colonization and economic development. We reaffirm the traditional policy of our Government and ask for all effective measures, to the end that Palestine may be reconstituted by the Jewish people as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth.'

"The Democratic Party and the Administration have through the War Refugee Board set out to save the endangered refugees. The President has called for the creation of a Free Port for Refugees, 1000 in all, but many hundreds of thousands still remain in Hitler's Europe to be saved. Only Palestine, the Jewish National Home, can save them -- little Palestine, which since 1939 has given shelter and abiding home to tens of thousands.

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"Members of the Resolutions Committee, one wishes at a time like this to speak well within the limits of moderation. And yet I cannot help or avoid saying to you that the Convention resolutions without such a plank as we have asked would be regarded as another White Paper, and would bring grimaced disappointment and heartbreaking disillusionment to Jews throughout the world. These have only the democratic countries in which to live and Palestine in which to rebuild their shattered but unconquered lives.

"Members of the Resolutions Committee, may I be forgiven a moment's personal reference. I was a member of the Republican Party until 1911, when I became the follower of Woodrow Wilson, as I have remained a follower of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. For a whole generation and more, I have labored for the honor of your great Party. I ask of you now, who am resolved to continue the support of the Party of Wilson and Roosevelt, that I be not disarmed. It is our Party, which through Wilson, helped to make the Balfour Declaration possible. It is our Party, which under Wilson and Roosevelt alike, always favored fullest implementation thereof. I have never asked aught for myself. I ask nothing even for my fellow Jews. But for the honor of the Democratic Party, and in order that it may be true to its great tradition of democratic service to all peoples, I beseech you to include within your resolutions the plank on Palestine which I have read to you.

"For some years I have earnestly and, alas, in vain, pleaded with the Christian world -- its people and its nation -- to let my people go. Even as Moses pleaded with King Pharaoh. For my fellow Jews were caught and trapped and all but exterminated, and millions of them -- civilians -- have perished. Tonight, I beseech you, trustees and guardians of the Democratic Party, as did the Hebrew Prophet of old -- the Prophet whose words will be read in every undestroyed synagogue next Sabbath morning: Comfort ye, comfort ye, my people, they who live and have not died will again take heart and courage -- and great shall be your reward."

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Following Dr. Wise's statement, Dr. Israel Goldstein, president of the Zionist Organization of America, made a brief plea for the inclusion of a Palestine plank in the Democratic platform. Dr. Goldstein emphasized that the Palestine plank included in the 1944 Republican platform had made a strong impression among American Jews, and urged the Democratic Party to equal, if not surpass, the Republican declaration on Palestine.

Also appearing with Dr. Wise in behalf of the Resolution were Herman Shulman of New York, Congressman Sabath of Illinois, Judge Louis E. Levinthal of Philadelphia, and Judge Harry M. Fisher of Chicago.

#90 - 7/18/44



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

[July 20, 1944]

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

DR. SILVER HAILS PALESTINE PLANK IN DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM

~ ~ ~ ~ ~

Cleveland -- Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council, today hailed the Palestine plank included in the platform of the Democratic National Convention which favors "the opening of Palestine to unrestricted Jewish immigration and colonization, and such a policy as to result in the establishment there of a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth" and declared that "it will be specially welcomed by the Jews of America who will be greatly heartened by this magnificent expression of friendship and helpfulness at a time of deep crisis and tragedy for Israel."

In a statement issued here, Dr. Silver expressed his gratification that "the Democratic Party, under the leadership of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, now reaffirms its loyal support of the Zionist movement which more than a quarter of a century ago was so eloquently championed by another great Democratic President, Woodrow Wilson."

Pointing to the similar action taken by the Republicans at their convention last month, Dr. Silver asserted that "it is now the declared purpose not of one political party or another but of the entire American people which has come to regard this constructive solution of the basic Jewish problem in the world today as one of the important objectives of a just world peace which is to follow this War."

The text of Dr. Silver's statement follows;

"The whole-hearted endorsement by the Democratic Party at its convention in Chicago of the rights of the Jewish people to unrestricted immigration and land

(more)

acquisition in Palestine -- rights which have been denied by the current White Paper policy of the Mandatory -- and the recognition of the historic aspiration of our people to build in Palestine a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth, is an act of greatest political significance and statesmanship. It will be warmly welcomed by all sections of the American people which have always manifested profound sympathy for the efforts of the Jewish people to re-build their national life in their ancient home. It will be especially welcomed by the Jews of America who will be greatly heartened by this magnificent expression of friendship and helpfulness at a time of deep crisis and tragedy for Israel.

"The Democratic Party, under the leadership of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, now reaffirms its loyal support of the Zionist movement which more than a quarter of a century ago was so eloquently championed by another great Democratic President, Woodrow Wilson.

"The action of the Democratic Party following the similar notable action of the Republican Party at its convention in Chicago last month, now puts both major parties squarely behind the ideal of a Jewish Palestine. It is now the declared purpose not of one political party or another but of the entire American people which has come to regard this constructive solution of the basic Jewish problem in the world today as one of the important objectives of a just world peace which is to follow this War."

PRESS RELEASE from

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

20/7/44
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

DR. SILVER HAILS PALESTINE PLANK IN DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM

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Cleveland -- Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council, today hailed the Palestine plank included in the platform of the Democratic National Convention which favors "the opening of Palestine to unrestricted Jewish immigration and colonization, and such a policy as to result in the establishment there of a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth" and declared that "it will be specially welcomed by the Jews of America who will be greatly heartened by this magnificent expression of friendship and helpfulness at a time of deep crisis and tragedy for Israel."

In a statement issued here, Dr. Silver expressed his gratification that "the Democratic Party, under the leadership of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, now reaffirms its loyal support of the Zionist movement which more than a quarter of a century ago was so eloquently championed by another great Democratic President, Woodrow Wilson."

Pointing to the similar action taken by the Republicans at their convention last month, Dr. Silver asserted that "it is now the declared purpose not of one political party or another but of the entire American people which has come to regard this constructive solution of the basic Jewish problem in the world today as one of the important objectives of a just world peace which is to follow this War."

The text of Dr. Silver's statement follows:

"The whole-hearted endorsement by the Democratic Party at its convention in Chicago of the rights of the Jewish people to unrestricted immigration and land

(more)

acquisition in Palestine -- rights which have been denied by the current White Paper policy of the Mandatory -- and the recognition of the historic aspiration of our people to build in Palestine a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth, is an act of greatest political significance and statesmanship. It will be warmly welcomed by all sections of the American people which have always manifested profound sympathy for the efforts of the Jewish people to re-build their national life in their ancient home. It will be especially welcomed by the Jews of America who will be greatly heartened by this magnificent expression of friendship and helpfulness at a time of deep crisis and tragedy for Israel.

"The Democratic Party, under the leadership of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, now reaffirms its loyal support of the Zionist movement which more than a quarter of a century ago was so eloquently championed by another great Democratic President, Woodrow Wilson.

התאחדות הציונית של ארצות הברית

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA



1720 - 16TH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C.

July 21st, 1944

*Please convey
this communication
to your entire membership*

To All Z.O.A. Regional and District
Presidents, Secretaries and Chairmen
of the Public Relations Committees

Dear Friends:

The officers and members of the Zionist Organization of America throughout the country deserve special congratulations upon the adoption of a very satisfactory plank by the Democratic National Convention and the earlier adoption of a similar plank by the Republican convention.

This commitment by both major political parties is a tremendous step forward in the realization of our aims. The members of the ZOA who in every community have taken the lead and have assumed the major burdens of the public relations program and have worked so hard to win public opinion for our cause, are entitled to take deep satisfaction in the knowledge that their devoted labors have borne fruit.

Our struggle is not yet over. We go forward step by step until our goal will be completely attained - Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth.

With regards and Zion's greetings,

Sincerely yours,

Israel Goldstein
Israel Goldstein



- DR. ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN
President
- DR. HARRY FRIEDENWALD
Hon. Vice President
- DR. SOLOMON GOLDMAN
EDMUND I. KAUFMAN
JUDGE LOUIS E. LEVINTHAL
LOUIS LIPSKY
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DR. ABRA HILLEL SILVER
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✓ DANIEL FRECH
ABRAHAM GOLDSTEIN
RABBI SIMON GREENBERG
✓ JOEL GROSS
✓ RABBI ISRAEL H. LEVINTHAL
✓ IRVING D. LIPKOWITZ
✓ RABBI IRVING MILLER
✓ EMANUEL NEUMANN
✓ HARRY A. PINE
✓ LOUIS P. ROCKER
✓ CHARLES J. ROSENBLUM
EZRA Z. SHAPIRO
BERNARD SHULMAN
HERMAN SHULMAN
LOUIS E. SPIEGEL
✓ RABBI MILTON STEINBERG
✓ DEWEY D. STONE
✓ ELIHU D. STONE
✓ HERMAN L. WEISMAN

Noting to note

[July 1947]

I heartily endorse the Palestine plank in the Republican party platform. Again I repeat what I previously stated to the great leader of the American Zionist movement and distinguished American Dr. Abba Hillel Silver that I am for the re-constitution of Palestine as a free and democratic ^{Jewish} commonwealth in accordance with the Balfour Declaration of 1917 and the Resolution of the Republican Congress in 1922. I have also stated to Dr. Silver that in order to give refuge to millions of distressed Jews driven from their homes by tyranny I favor the opening of Palestine to their unlimited immigration and land ownership.

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

^{As President} ^{would}
~~if elected~~ I will use my best offices to have our ^{working together with Great Britain, to}
~~government work~~ ^{achieve} this great objective for a people that have suffered so much and deserve so much at the hands of mankind.

[July 1944]

(A)

RESOLUTION ON PALESTINE

WHEREAS, the 67th Congress of the United States on June 30th, 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 recognition having thus been given by such resolution to the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and to the grounds for reconstituting their National Home in that country, and

WHEREAS, the tragic homelessness of the Jewish people intensified by the ruthless persecution of the Axis powers clearly demonstrates 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 and the House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that the United States of America shall use its good offices to the end that the doors of Palestine may be opened for free entry of Jews into that country, that there shall be unlimited opportunity for land purchase and colonization so that the Jewish people may ultimately reconstitute the Jewish Commonwealth in its ancestral home.

[July 1944]

1944 DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN PLATFORMS AGREE ON PALESTINE

THE REPUBLICANS SAID:

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 in accordance with the full intent and purpose of the Balfour Declaration of 1917 and the resolution of a Republican Congress in 1922, Palestine may be reconstituted as a free and democratic commonwealth.

From the Platform of the
REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION
Adopted at Chicago,
June 27, 1944.

THE DEMOCRATS SAID:

We favor the opening of Palestine to unrestricted Jewish immigration and colonization, and such a policy as to result in the establishment there of a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth.

From the Platform of the
DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION
Adopted at Chicago,
July 24, 1944.

I FAVOR THE OPENING OF PALESTINE TO UNRESTRICTED
JEWISH IMMIGRATION AND COLONIZATION AND ITS ESTABLISHMENT
AS A FREE AND DEMOCRATIC JEWISH COMMONWEALTH AND WILL DO
EVERYTHING IN MY POWER TO FACILITATE THE FINAL EXECUTION
OF THE INTENT AND PURPOSE OF THE WORLD WAR ONE PLEDGE OF
THE ALLIED NATIONS TO THE JEWISH PEOPLE.

Signature _____
CANDIDATE FOR THE UNITED STATES SENATE

State _____

(SUGGESTED LETTER TO EVERY CANDIDATE FOR THE
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AND THE UNITED STATES SENATE)

Dear Candidate:

As you are aware, the Republican and Democratic National Conventions, each without a dissenting vote, adopted platforms favoring the establishment in Palestine of a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth.

This action pledges both major political parties to the execution of the intent and purpose of the Balfour Declaration, promulgated during World War One, with the approval of the United States, Great Britain, and forty-nine other allied and associated nations, for the purpose of finding a solution to the tragic problem of the Jewish people of Europe. Because the Jew has been the greatest victim of Hitler's savagery, the need for this solution is greater today than ever.

The unanimous action of the two major political parties in adopting almost identical platform pledges is proof that the American people have come to regard this constructive solution of the basic Jewish problem of the world today as one of the important objectives of a just world peace which, all of us are agreed, should follow this war.

Because we are confident that you too are in accord with these party pledges of elemental justice to the Jewish people, we are requesting your signature to the attached statement.

Very sincerely yours,

August 14, 1944

Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Executive Secretary
Mizrachi Organization of America
1133 Broadway
New York 10, New York

My dear Rabbi Kirshblum:

I read your letter of August 8 with great interest and I of course share with you many of your reactions to the election jamboree in Palestine. It is too bad that the Yishuv seems to be following the discredited and bankrupt political techniques and party fragmentations which characterized pre-war France and Weimar Germany before their collapse instead of the far more sober and effective political procedures of the Anglo-Saxon world.

One Perhaps it is too much to ask from a community so new and of such varied origins and backgrounds. It might take years and quieter years which the Yishuv has experienced to sober up the parties and factions and lower the temperature of their political fanaticism and ideologies. One can only wait and hope.

However, we should not be lecturing the Yishuv so much. We are by way of running it a close second in the United States. Here the principal cause of fragmentation is not so much ideology as a pathological competitive spirit among groups and leaders ~~that~~ *and* a craving for prestige and publicity.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

Abba Hillel Silver

AHS:RG

OUR GOAL
50,000
MEMBERS in תש"ד
1943-1944

הסתדרות המזרחי באמריקה
MIZRACHI ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

Victory MEMBERSHIP CAMPAIGN



*The Land of Israel, for the People of Israel,
according to the Torah of Israel.*

1133 BROADWAY
NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

WATKINS 9-4686-7-8

CABLE ADDRESS
"MIZORIENT"

August 8, 1944

בעזרת השם
השוכן בציון

HONORARY PRESIDENTS
RABBI MEYER BERLIN
GEDALIA SUBLICK
RABBI WOLF GOLD

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

HONORARY VICE-PRESIDENT
RABBI A. M. ASHINSKY

Dear Dr. Silver:

PRESIDENT
LEON GELLMAN

As a humble, young and inexperienced member of the American Zionist Emergency Council -- who usually lacks the daring to promulgate his views at official meetings of that significant body -- I wish to take these means of registering the aching disturbance of mind that I as well as the average Jew on the street feels at the atmosphere created around the election in Palestine for the "Asafat Hanivcharim!"

VICE-PRESIDENTS
SAMUEL L. SAR
JOSEPH ROLNICK

HONORARY SECRETARY
RABBI HARRY I. WOHLBERG

Everyone who was privileged to have a personal glimpse of the glorious Yishuv in Palestine will naturally hesitate to subject it to any severe criticism, for isn't it the Yishuv that has served as the answer to our hearty supplications on the High Holidays, 'אני מן המצוינים' (I am one of the chosen ones).

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
RABBI MAX KIRSHBLUM

TREASURER
MAX NADLER

CHAIRMAN, VAAD L'CHIZUK
HATORAH VEHAADUT
RABBI JACOB LEVINSON

CHAIRMAN, BETH DIN HACOVED
RABBI DR. JACOB HOFFMAN

CHAIRMAN, VAAD HAPOEL
HERMAN HOLLANDER

CHAIRMAN, VAAD HAROSHI
RABBI DR. J. B. SOLOVEITCHIK

Yet, one cannot but feel a sense of shrinking faith in the ability of the Yishuv to rise to the urgent need of overlooking at present all possible differences and unite into one homogeneous body for the achievement of our historic aim, an independent and free Jewish State under the Jewish flag and permeated by historic Jewish ideals.

REHABILITATION FUND
HENRY L. KRAUSHAR
CHAIRMAN

Without going into the facts as to who is responsible for the heart-breaking situation -- offhand it would seem that the group in power could have postponed the election in the hope of achieving unity -- the sad fact remains that at a time when all efforts are directed to the securing for the Jewish people the right to conduct themselves as a nation and when the terminology of Jewish Commonwealth and all that goes with it has been indoctrinated in different circles, the Yishuv itself, the only possible nucleus for the commonwealth to be, goes and lays bare its incapacity for self-control and self-government.

ANDREW N. MILLER
CO-CHAIRMAN

FINANCE AND BUDGET
ROBERT G. HOROWITZ
CHAIRMAN

IS. EICHLER
CO-CHAIRMAN

HELP BUILD PALESTINE AS A JEWISH COMMONWEALTH IN THE SPIRIT OF TORAH!

שאיפה המזרחי - מדינת יהודית בארץ ישראל כרוח התורה והמסורה

-8-

August 8, 1944

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver:-

This deplorable situation becomes even more serious in view of the expected arrival in Palestine of a new High-Commissioner, who should have found a united body of Jews, pulling together in one and the same direction, rather than a community absorbed in inner strife, some of whom may even take undelayed occasion to educate the High Commissioner in the existing divisions and how he must deal in order to satisfy all Jews.

I surely am not hopeless about or despondant of the situation. ^{The} magnificent, dynamic and inspiring reality of "binyan haaretz" is bound to heal many wounds. Yet, it is my conviction that something must be done to avoid any repetition of such irresponsible and dangerous action.

What can be done? In my humble opinion the following:

1) We must begin a campaign right here in America for the education of the masses in regard to the importance of united Zionist action through recognized agencies and the danger of being irresponsibly good-hearted by supporting all and any group that claims to rescue Jews, strengthen Torah, or build a future for our people in Palestine. That includes the Bergson group, the Agudath Israel, etc. Too little is known about the tragedies of "pirud" in Palestine and the United States, sponsored by groups that fail to see anything but their own clique interests.

2) It is of utmost importance that you or Dr. Wise fly to Palestine in order to transmit to the responsible heads of all groups the disservice they are rendering to the cause which is so dear to them by allowing such spectacles as recently offered by the elections. I believe that the voice of American Zionism, which has of late become, thank G-d, a cheerful and encouraging voice, would carry much weight with the entire Yishuv.

I know that this letter introduces no new thought to any extent and am consequently grateful for allowing me the expression that I considered vital to my disturbed spirit.

With kindest regards and best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Max Kirshblum

Rabbi Max Kirshblum
Executive Secretary

MK: BK

August 14, 1944

Mr. I. L. Kenen
American Jewish Conference
521 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

My dear Mr. Kenen:

Thank you for your letter of August 7. I am glad to get your reaction. However, I should like to remind you again that I have asked Mr. Lipsky to ascertain among the non-Zionist bodies within the Conference whether they will raise any objections should the American Jewish Conference officially assume the responsibility for piloting through the Jewish Commonwealth resolutions in Congress. I have as yet received no reply to this request.

You must realize of course that your own personal assurances are not enough. In this connection may I call your attention to the "Digest of the Press" which you sent me along with your letter containing a lengthy statement by Dr. Maurice H. Eisendrath on the function of the American Jewish Conference. If his viewpoint is that of the Union, then it should give you grave concern. I refer particularly to the following statements by Dr. Eisendrath:

"The American Jewish Conference first went astray because amid the mass emotionalism of the first session it completely forgot its prime and only purpose. The American Jewish Conference was not convoked to proclaim a policy or program with regard to Palestine.....It was coconvoked to 'formulate a program of common action with regard to Palestine'.....It might still not be too late to return to its original purpose--to formulate the program of common action--even with regard to Palestine.....The Conference must determine just what it really is. Is the Conference a day by day functional organization, or is it, as many presume it to be, the tribune or voice of a united American Jewry?.....Much of the Conference work has been stymied because of this apprehension that the Conference will seek to preempt for itself areas of action that are already effectively occupied by long established institutions. The Conference should unequivocally renounce any aspiration to take over the daily functional activity of satisfactory existent organizations and return to its original purpose; to be the clearing house and mouthpiece of a united American Jewry."

August 14, 1944

I think upon inquiry you will find that Mendrath's point of view is not an isolated one and is probably shared by many "non-Zionist" bodies within the Conference and by others. Anyhow, it would be the height of folly for responsible Zionist leadership to turn over as critical a project as that of the congressional resolutions with which the Zionist Emergency Council, representing all the Zionist parties in America, has already been prominently identified in the minds of the public, without first ascertaining whether the American Jewish Conference will really be united in action.

The Conference in its eagerness to do something to build up its prestige--a very laudable purpose, I am sure--may be endangering the success of the entire project by forcing its non-Zionist constituent organizations in deference to their own resolutions which their bodies have passed on the subject of their neutrality to the Jewish Commonwealth proposal to make public pronouncements disassociating themselves from the congressional resolutions.

Regardless of other considerations which are important in discussing the proposal made by the Administrative Committee of the American Jewish Conference, the American Zionist Emergency Council cannot even begin a discussion without first obtaining the assurances for which I asked.

With all good wishes, I remain



Cordially yours,

Abba Hillel Silver

AHS:RG

August 15, 1944

Dr. Solomon B. Freehof
4905 Fifth Avenue
Pittsburgh, Pa.

My dear Sol:

Thank you for your letter of August 10th. You have raised an interesting question but the timing of it is, I believe, rather unfortunate. I have looked a bit into the matter and this is the information which I have been able to obtain.

According to the Order in Council of 1922, which serves as the basic constitution of Palestine, marriage is considered a religious affair and comes under the jurisdiction of the religious dignitaries of the various churches who have sole authority. This applies to Moslems, the Christian communities as well as to the Jews.

For the Jews the government recognizes the decisions of the Rabbinical Courts which are subject to a Rabbinical Council as finally authoritative. The Rabbinical Council is composed of two Rabbis, one for the Sephardic community and one for the Ashkenazic - and six rabbinical members. The Rabbinical Courts have:

- (1) exclusive jurisdiction in matters of marriage and divorce, alimony, execution and confirmation of wills of Jewish Palestinian subjects;
- (2) jurisdiction in any other matter of personal status of Jewish persons, where all the parties to the action consent to their jurisdiction;
- (3) exclusive jurisdiction over any case as to the constitution or internal administration of a wagf constituted before the Rabbinical Court according to Jewish Law.

From the above it will be seen that all marriages must be performed in accordance with Orthodox Jewish law. It is not a case of depriving liberal

2. Dr. Freehof; Aug. 15, 1944

Rabbis of any rights. The system in Palestine is inherent in the whole conception of religious law at present in vogue in Palestine. It could not be changed without implying a radical transformation of conceptions. Of course, all this applies only to marriages performed in Palestine. It has nothing to do whatsoever with the right of Reformed Rabbis to perform marriages in the United States, or the validity of such marriages.

It should be noted also that there are many Jews in Palestine that dislike this system which gives control of marriage and divorce to the Rabbinical Courts.

Some day the whole matter will have to be taken up, but I do not believe that war time is the right time for pressing this matter. Furthermore, it may well be that at the conclusion of the war, Palestine will have a completely new political setup which will necessitate a redefinition of status of many things, including this one. I would therefore counsel that further action in this regard be postponed until after the war.

With all good wishes, I remain,

Very cordially yours,

AHS:DR

Enc.

August 18, 1944

Dr. Stephen S. Wise
Camp Willamette
Lake Placid, New York

My dear Dr. Wise:

I received your letter of August 16th but you failed to enclose the report of which you spoke. You did enclose a copy of the letter which you addressed to Stettinius. It were better if you had not suggested a date so far off as August 29th for the meeting. This would encourage him, if he decides to see us at all, to suggest an even later date. In the meantime, all the preliminaries necessary to prepare for action on the Resolution in Congress are stymied, as well as most of our propaganda work.

You have probably been informed that I sent in my resignation a few days ago. I find it impossible to carry on under existing conditions. Two separate agencies doing Zionist political work in the United States in the name of organized Zionism is stupid and dangerous. I have called attention to the situation time and again. As early as last February Nahum Goldmann injected himself in the prolonged negotiations which we were carrying on with Judge Rosenman touching a meeting with the President, and while we were insisting on a meeting of an exclusively Zionist delegation with the President, Nahum Goldmann was agreeing with Rosenman to a joint delegation which would include Proscauer, Blaustein, Held, and so forth. The situation proved terribly embarrassing and led to considerable unpleasantness but nothing was done about the matter.

When Goldmann returned from England recently he immediately rushed to the War Department to discuss the question of a Jewish Army and got in touch with American oil interests and officials in governmental departments to discuss the delicate oil question -- all on his own without consulting the Emergency Council, as if these matters were none of our business.

I appointed a special committee with Judge Rothenberg as chairman to handle this matter; the committee never met. I again referred the subject to the program committee, and on May 25th I wrote to Shulman urging him to take the matter up with his committee. I am enclosing herewith a paragraph of the letter which I wrote to Shulman. Nothing was done. At the meeting of the program committee last week I again urged that the matter be taken up. It was again postponed on the slim excuse that the hour was late.

August 18, 1944

And then at the meeting on Monday I was confronted with this outrageous business of Goldmann calling on Stettinius on some phoney excuse and upsetting the apple-cart. (He pulled a similar excuse in horning in on the discussions with Rosenman. The many organizations with which he is identified offer him ample opportunities for acting as a sort of a roving ambassador in Washington for the Jews of America, the Jews of Palestine and world Jewry). You must have seen the shocked expression of everyone at the meeting. The only one who tried to defend Goldmann was yourself.

I am prepared to put up with a lot of things and much aggravation to serve the cause, but it would be the height of folly for me to spend my time and energies day and day in behalf of the cause and then see carefully laid plans frustrated and out-manuevered by a gentleman who presumes to speak in the name of a superseding body and whose actions are not subject to the control of the American Zionist Emergency Council which is charged with the responsibility to carry on the work in the United States.

This is not an issue between Dr. Goldmann and myself and it should not be put on that plane. This is a matter for the American Zionist Emergency Council to determine whether it has the authority and possesses the competence to carry on the full Zionist political program in the United States vis-a-vis our own government and the British Embassy or whether it requires the intervention of another Bureau.

I had assumed that the purpose of the Bureau of the Agency in this country was to look after its Latin American interests and the economic projects which Dr. Weizmann in the name of the Agency had initiated here.

With all good wishes, I remain,

Very cordially yours,

P. S. I received the enclosed telegram this afternoon from the Revisionists. What answer should I give them?

AHS:DR
Enc.

August 21, 1944

Mr. J. L. Teller, Editor
Independent Jewish Press Service, Inc.
207 Fourth Avenue
New York, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Teller:

The Jewish Review and Observer of Cleveland has been exploited in the last few months by the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People and its stooge, a certain Mr. I. Taslitt. Mr. Taslitt is, I believe, on the payroll of the Emergency Committee. He has been providing the Review and Observer with editorials and has also been arranging their front page for very little compensation, if any. The local Community Council has protested against the editorials and propaganda of Mr. Taslitt as a result of which it is now prepared to use another service. I would suggest that you send the Review and Observer all the releases of the Independent Press Service, and begin right away. They may not be in a position to pay your customary rates, or to pay anything. Nevertheless it is important that we keep the Bergson boys out of Cleveland. Even if they are not prepared to pay you anything now, they may do so later on when the value of the service impresses itself on the owners who are not particularly public spirited, and who do not really know what is going on in Jewish life. I shall be glad to receive word from you that you have established contact with the Jewish Review and Observer and are providing them with your material.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

ANS:RK

Minute of Meeting of the Program Committee
August 22, 1944.

Present: Mr. Shulman (in the Chair); Mr. Gellman, Dr. Goldmann, Mrs. Halprin, Mr. Lipsky, Mr. Neumann, Judge Rothenberg, Mr. Weisgal, Mr. Wertheim, Dr. Wise, Mr. Shapiro, Mr. Lourie.

The meeting was called to consider a letter from Dr. Silver, dated August 16, 1944, tendering his resignation in view of matters which had arisen in connection with the political activities of the Washington office of the Jewish Agency, headed by Dr. Goldmann.

Judge Rothenberg, as Chairman of a Sub-Committee which had been appointed by the Council to settle the respective spheres of the Emergency Council and of the Jewish Agency office, was invited to be present at this meeting.

Dr. Silver's letter was read. Dr. Goldmann said that at the last meeting of the Program Committee he had stated that he was going to see Stettinius and was to discuss with him certain matters which, however, had no relevance to the issues with which the Emergency Council was concerned. In addition, Dr. Goldmann said that he had been asked to assist in obtaining a priority for Mr. Chaim Greenberg's proposed trip abroad. In this connection he had asked Mr. Shapiro to inform Dr. Silver that he would take the matter up when he saw Stettinius, and he had been advised that Dr. Silver agreed that he should do so. Dr. Goldmann had seen Mr. Stettinius and had spoken to him with regard to the efforts of the International Red Cross in the Hungarian situation. Dr. Goldmann had said to Mr. Stettinius that he brought him regards from Dr. Wise, who was away on vacation. Normally Dr. Wise would have accompanied Dr. Goldmann at such an interview, but Dr. Goldmann had suggested to him that it was not necessary to interrupt his vacation to be present on this occasion. Mr. Stettinius had said that he was glad that Dr. Wise had not interrupted his vacation to come to Washington at this time and he went on to say that so far as the Zionist issue was concerned and the suggestion that he might have something to tell them in the middle of August, the fact was that there was nothing at present which he could say. Moreover, so far as the position of the Administration was concerned, that matter had been settled by the acceptance of the Palestine Plank in the Democratic Platform. Dr. Goldmann replied that we were, nevertheless, interested in a statement by the President. Mr. Stettinius had said that he did not think that any statement would be forthcoming until the end of the war. Dr. Goldmann then asked how it was that Mr. Stettinius had previously suggested that a statement might be forthcoming in August. The reply to this was that he had thought by then the war might virtually be over. Dr. Goldmann then said that he felt that it would not be right for him to be a messenger in this matter so far as Dr. Wise and Dr. Silver were concerned, but that Mr. Stettinius should see them personally. He had reported to Dr. Wise on the interview, and if normal relations had

existed between himself and Dr. Silver, would have been only too glad to communicate with him. It was at his request that Dr. Wise had informed the Committee. He saw nothing wrong in what he had done thus:

1. He had not raised the matter himself.
2. There had been no word between Mr. Stettinius and himself about the Congressional Resolution.
3. It could not conceivably be suggested that he had done anything to spoil the situation so far as the Emergency Council was concerned.

Mr. Gellman felt that it was very unhealthy to discuss the matter in the absence of Dr. Silver and might well be a waste of time. The Chairman pointed out, however, that a duty devolved upon the Program Committee which must reach some conclusion.

Replying to a question by Judge Rothenberg, Dr. Goldmann said that he went to Mr. Stettinius in regard to the Hungarian matter as a representative both of the Agency and of the Congress. The appointment was made for Dr. Goldmann as such and Mr. Stettinius did not inquire in what capacity he came.

Dr. Wise said that he had received a letter from Dr. Silver. Unfortunately he did not have the letter with him, but he felt that it should be before the Committee. Mr. Neumann said that he had a copy of the letter and this was produced and read. Mr. Neumann said that Dr. Silver's position is that it is impossible for political work to be carried on in this country by two agencies claiming to be representative and acting independently. If the Jewish Agency wished to take political action here, it should do so through the duly constituted Emergency Council. A distinction was recognized in the case of activities of the Agency outside the American sphere, e.g. South America and matters affecting other governments.

Mr. Neumann felt that the constitutional question as to rights of the Jewish Agency in the matter were not involved. The only question was whether the work can be done effectively in that way. Responsibility must rest with one body or the other.

Judge Rothenberg, referring to a suggestion that he had been appointed Chairman of a Sub-Committee to straighten out relations between the two offices, which had failed to act, said that that did not reflect the true position. As Chairman of the Sub-Committee he had been prepared to deal with the matter even though it was not a task which he found congenial. He had, however, been asked by Mr. Shapiro to convene a meeting of the Committee at noon on a day when he was sitting in court, and when he informed Mr. Shapiro that it was not possible for him to attend, had been told that Dr. Silver would preside and in the result the meeting did not take place because of the absence of a quorum.

Dr. Goldmann, referring to the letter from Dr. Silver to Dr. Wise, said it contained certain statements which he could not accept. Thus:

1. He had never agreed with Judge Rosenman that a joint delegation should go to the President. On the contrary, he had had two lengthy arguments in which he opposed that proposal. In the end he had informed R. that he could do no more than report the latter's objections to two delegations. Dr. Goldmann objected to the reference in the letter to "phony occasions". He had gone to see R. because the latter had called him as he had received a very important report for Dr. Goldmann from Dr. Weizmann.

2. Dr. Goldmann denied that he had ever injected himself into the oil matter. He had seen no one in the State Department with regard to this question. Some months previously he had been asked by Judge Fisher of Chicago, who in turn had been asked by Dr. Silver to follow this matter up, to see Mr. Ickes. In addition to that, in order to inform himself on the situation, he had spoken to Mr. Feis who was an oil expert, and finally at the request of Edmund Kaufmann, he had had an interview with an executive of one of the oil companies. Beyond that he had seen no one on the oil question.

3. Dr. Goldmann said it was for the committee to judge whether in going to see Mr. Stettinius about the rescue of the 600,000 Jews in Hungary he was availing himself of a "phony excuse".

The Jewish Agency office had been set up by Dr. Weizmann and the Zionist Executive. It was not for him (Dr. Goldmann) to say that it be dissolved or that the Agency will give up its right to deal with Zionist political problems on the American scene. So far as rights are concerned, the Agency unquestionably had the right to deal with any government, and on principle the Executive would not give up that right and duty in this country just as it was not prepared to leave it to British Zionists, as such, to deal on their own with the British Government.

Dr. Goldmann referred to objections which had at one time been taken by the Z.O.A. to the establishment of the Jewish Agency office. It had then been agreed that all matters concerning public opinion, including approaches to Senate and Congress, should be within the jurisdiction of the American Zionist Emergency Council. So far as talks with Government representatives were concerned, there should be coordination. Accordingly it had been proposed that once a week or a fortnight, whenever the persons concerned were available, there should be a meeting of Dr. Silver, Dr. Wise, Mr. Lipsky and Mr. Montor (at that time Executive Director), and himself. The purpose of these meetings was to discuss the daily work, not matters of policy. It had worked twice and then the arrangement stopped. Dr. Goldmann said that he was ready to recognize the Program Committee as a central coordinating committee, if Dr. Silver was likewise prepared so

to regard it. He could not, however, agree to a situation in which he was obliged to consult Dr. Silver without any reciprocal obligation on Dr. Silver's part. Dr. Goldmann said that he was not a difficult person to get on with and he saw no reason why that arrangement or some similar one should not be feasible. There was certainly no desire on his part to assume any arbitrary role in the matter.

Mr. Shulman reported briefly on previous discussions within the Program Committee aiming at a settlement of the question. These had reached a point where Dr. Goldmann and Dr. Silver were to have been present for further consideration of proposals made, but on one occasion Dr. Goldmann had not been able to attend, and on another, Dr. Silver likewise, and such a meeting had not been held.

Mr. Gellman again deploring the absence of Dr. Silver expressed doubts as to the validity of Dr. Goldmann's position, but thought that it was necessary to find a formula.

Mrs. Halprin remarked that apparently the difficulty lay rather in the *modus operandi* than in determining the area of function.

The Chairman said that in Dr. Silver's view it was within the province of the Emergency Council to decide when and what steps should be taken vis-a-vis our government.

Mr. Wertheim said that he viewed the establishment of an Agency Bureau as a misfortune. It was not a question of personalities, but by its very existence in present conditions such a bureau is bound to create difficulties. The English position was different. We needed no chaperones on the American scene and ~~he~~ had been entrusted with responsibility for the conduct of the political work here. Naturally when a member of the Political Department of the Executive of the Agency was here he would join in the work. The talk of equality as between the two bureaus, however, was not appropriate. Dr. Silver had been chosen by us as our representative for the American scene and Dr. Goldmann could not be regarded in the same position so far as the American Government was concerned. As a matter of usefulness and common sense, advantage must be taken of the presence here of members of the Executive, but the underlying basis is that formally all contacts with the American Government are in the hands of the American Zionist leadership. In answer to Judge Rothenberg's inquiry as to whether Dr. Weizmann would have to accept orders from the Council when in this country, Mr. Wertheim said that the Council must not be side-tracked. Dr. Goldmann should work with the Council in the most intimate way, but formally the Council is supreme here.

Judge Rothenberg said that he thought we will be making a mistake if we attempt to deal with the issue on a constitutional basis. He could conceive the Jewish Agency Executive having to exercise its authority in spite of the contrary view of the Council. He recalled that more than twenty years ago that issue had arisen in acute form. The Executive had been obliged to assert its position. Such an issue, however, was not involved here and should not be raised. Dr. Goldmann was ready to

work with a committee composed of the two-Co-Chairmen, the representatives of the Jewish Agency, with perhaps one or two other persons. What more did they want. If such a committee were functioning, he could not conceive of Dr. Goldmann's going to Washington without bringing the matter up in such a body. With good will on both sides, the functioning of such a committee would present no difficulties. This committee should be set up. Dr. Silver is making a great contribution and we want him to stay at his post.

Mr. Lipsky said that an intimate relationship between Dr. Silver and Dr. Goldmann would have avoided these difficulties. Dr. Silver preferred, however, that the responsible coordinating body should be the Executive Committee of the Council. In the circumstances it would be best to devise a smaller functioning body which would deal with matters of adjustment. In any event, however, he thought it most desirable that someone should undertake to reestablish cordial relations, otherwise it was impossible to have any working arrangement.

Mr. Neumann said that the question of the appointment of such a sub-committee by the Executive is a separate matter, but that previous discussions in the Program Committee seemed to him to offer a basis. Thus it was important that responsibility for all approaches to the Government should be regarded as primarily that of the Emergency Council. Who should go should be determinable by the Council. In any committee dealing with a determination of policy and procedure, Dr. Goldmann should participate. He would advise, however, against the appointment at this state of a political sub-committee which experience has shown immediately tends to become indistinguishable from the Executive Committee. Once we decide on the question of basic principle then either the Executive Committee can be appointed to deal with questions arising, or there may be reference to the Program Committee, or matters can be settled by informal consultations between the Chairmen and the Agency representatives.

Dr. Wise said that he could not help feeling that his original proposal that he, Dr. Silver and Dr. Goldmann meet to discuss the matter, had been the best one. He warned against the danger of American Zionists becoming "nationalists" in a way which would ignore the unifying Zionist factor. He conceived that anyone delegated by the Agency had the same right of political access as the American Zionist leadership. He moved that Dr. Silver be most earnestly requested to hold his resignation in abeyance until after we had had the opportunity of discussing the matter in full with him.

Mr. Weisgal said that most of us were trying to evade the issue in our desire to find a formula which would be as painless as possible. If we overlook the question of principle, we shall not come to an agreement which will be permanent. The same question had been raised at a meeting with Dr. Silver last year when Dr. Silver had accepted the rights of the Jewish Agency.

Mrs. Halprin said that it was better to leave the constitutional question out of consideration. A temporary solution might be adequate

for our purposes in view of the war and the world situation. The fact was that the question now before the committee was one which had bothered American Zionists at different times during the war. There had been the episode with Mr. Ben-Gurion, again later Mr. Shertok had informed the Emergency Council before his departure that he was going to seek authority from the Executive for the opening of a Washington office. The Council had not raised any objections, but it was inherent in our situation that it is impossible for two offices to function effectively on the American scene. She felt that there was agreement:

1. That two independent political activities were impossible.
2. That Congress was exclusively a matter for the Council.
3. That Dr. Goldmann should not undertake political activity on his own authority and independently of coordination with the representatives of the Council.

Dr. Goldmann had said that he would be ready to consult with a committee, if Dr. Silver did likewise. She believed the real difficulty was the question of a smaller committee. The Executive Council met twice a month for a couple of hours at a time. Unless you provide a workable, consultative body, you must seek some other arrangement.

The Chairman said that he disagreed thoroughly with Mr. Weisgal and that the constitutional issue should be no part of our deliberations. When the Washington office was opened the matter had been discussed with Dr. Weizmann and it had been agreed from the beginning that a Panel should come into being representing the Emergency Council and the Agency. That arrangement was part and parcel of the opening of the office. The effort to bring about joint action today was really a return to the original position. In present circumstances it was impossible to over-estimate the importance for the Palestine question of American Zionism, and it was essential to have an active Zionist political body speaking here for the totality of American Zionism. It is axiomatic that that must be a primary responsibility of the Zionist movement in this country. Dr. Goldmann had made some good friends in Washington, but his work must be part of an integrated whole. We should leave the matter as to whether there should be a small committee, and if so, in what form for discussion with Dr. Silver. A political committee was not proposed, but he did think there was need for a small body to which questions of procedure could be submitted.

Mr. Wertheim wished to make it clear that in saying what he had he was not coming out against the authority of the Agency, but in America the Emergency Council was the arm of the Agency because they had been appointed as such.

Judge Rothenberg read a draft formula which he had prepared for acceptance by the Committee. After a discussion, in the course of which Dr. Goldmann said that he wished to make it clear that he considered political contacts in Washington (apart from contacts with Congress) had to be regarded as a joint area, further proposals were made by Mr. Neumann and Mrs. Halprin. It was finally agreed that the wording be left to a Drafting Committee. #

The text of the Resolution as formulated by the Drafting Committee, which thereupon met, reads as follows:

- 1) It has been agreed by the Program Committee that all approaches to the American Government, or its officials, on matters related to the program of political activities of the Emergency Council shall be undertaken by representatives of the Movement only with the approval of the Executive Committee of the Council or of such sub-committee as may be designated by it.
- 2) Dr. Goldmann, as member of the Executive of the Jewish Agency, has expressed his assent to this view and his desire to act in conformity therewith and in fullest cooperation with the Emergency Council.
- 3) It is proposed that the Co-Chairmen of the Council alone, or with additional persons designated by them, confer with Dr. Goldmann regarding the procedural implementation of these decisions.

In addition, the Program Committee resolved that a communication be addressed to Dr. Silver informing him that in view of the above action, the Council expressed the earnest hope that Dr. Silver will withdraw the resignation that he has tendered, which should not be a matter of record.

August 24, 1944

Rabbi Wolf Gold
2 West 86th Street
New York 24, N.Y.

My dear Rabbi Gold:

Thank you for your kind letter and the enclosure "50 Facts About the Middle East." This booklet was brought to my attention a week ago. I immediately communicated with Mr. Lourie and I expect to hear a report from him within a day or two. Fact No. 30 is certainly a subtle and dangerous piece of anti-Zionist propaganda.

I am glad that you feel the way I do about the endless interference with my work as chairman of the executive committee which has been going on almost since the beginning. The latest affair with Stettinius brought the issue to a climax and forced me to make a decision. As you probably know, I have sent in my resignation, convinced that under present conditions it is impossible for me to carry the responsibility of the office. The program committee met last Tuesday and adopted certain resolutions which are not satisfactory. I have so indicated to the chairman of the committee. I received a report, which I trust is incorrect, that Mr. Gellman did not take as strong a position at the program committee meeting as he might have. I understand there is to be another meeting tomorrow. I have suggested to Mr. Shulman, the chairman of the program committee, the adoption of the enclosed set of resolutions. If Dr. Goldmann agrees to them, well and good. If not, paragraph 2 should be omitted and the resolutions be presented anyhow for adoption by the executive committee at its meeting next Monday. It will then be up to Dr. Goldmann to balk the Emergency Council if he chooses, or take the matter up with the authorities in London and Jerusalem. The Emergency Committee, by the adoption of these resolutions, will at least have its own position clearly stated and will have informed London and Jerusalem of its position.

I will not attend the Monday meeting unless there is a prior agreement with Goldmann. I do not wish to engage in another unseemly controversy and I do not wish this issue to be put on the plane of a conflict between me and Goldmann. It is the issue of the Emergency Council. The political affairs in Washington cannot be successfully conducted by two parallel bodies working independently and even secretly, a position which is even further aggravated by the craving of Goldmann for what newspapermen call "scooping", and for getting credit and increasing his prestige.

With all good wishes, I remain

ahs;bk

Most cordially yours,

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

August 28, 1944.

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Monday, August 28th, at 4:00 p.m., at 342 Madison Avenue, N.Y.C.

PRESENT

Dr. Wise (presiding), Rabbi Philip Bernstein, Philip Oruso, Mrs. Judith Leon Gellman, Epstein, / Rabbi Wolf Gold, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Rabbi Max Rabbi Irving Miller, Louis Segal, Kirshblum, Louis Lipsky, / Emanuel Neumann, Judge Morris Rothenberg, / Herman Shulman, Mrs. Rebecca Shulman, Samuel Rothstein, David Wertheim, Meyer W. Weisgal.

Rabbi Leon I. Feuer, Arnold K. Isreeli, Arthur Lourie, Harold P. Manson, Harry L. Shapiro. Dr. Nahum Goldman, Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt. Dr. Joseph Cohn, ~~Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt~~, Robert Silverman.

Shulman

Mr. ~~Shulman~~ reported that ~~Mr. Lourie~~ had received a letter requesting him to present to the next meeting of the Emergency Council from Dr. Silver ~~tendering his resignation from the Executive Committee~~ as its co-chairman and as chairman of the Executive Committee. In this letter Dr. Silver stated that there was no need for him to elaborate on the reasons which forced him to take this step, since he had pointed them out as forcibly as he could at the last meeting of the Executive Committee.

Following the receipt of this letter Mr. Shulman, as chairman of the Program Committee, called a meeting of that Committee. It seemed clear from this letter that the resignation was due to the failure of the Program Committee to come to a satisfactory solution of the ~~difficulties~~ problem of the Jewish Agency office.

The Program Committee met on August 22nd. In addition ~~to~~ the members of the Committee, Dr. Wise and ~~Brook~~ Judge Rothenberg were invited to this meeting, ^{by the Chairman} and attended. When Dr. Silver's letter was received, it was suggested that there be an informal meeting between Dr. Silver, Dr. Wise and Dr. Goldman to see whether

the matter could ~~not~~ be disposed of.

Following the discussions at that meeting the following Resolution was adopted:

- " 1) It has been agreed by the Program Committee that all approaches to the American Government, or its officials, on ~~xxx~~ matters related to the program of political activities of the Emergency Council shall be undertaken by representatives of the Movement only with the approval of the Executive Committee of the Council or of such sub-committee as may be designated by it.
- 2) Dr. Goldmann, as member of the Executive of the Jewish Agency, has expressed his assent to this view and his desire to act in conformity therewith and in fullest cooperation with the Emergency Council.
- 3) It is proposed that the Co-Chairmen of the Council alone, or with additional persons designated by them, confer with Dr. Goldmann regarding the procedural implementation of these decisions.

~~It was agreed by the Program Committee~~ Another resolution adopted by the Program Committee at that meeting was as follows:

~~The Program Committee resolved that a communication be addressed to Dr. Silver informing him that in view of the above action, the~~
~~Emergency Council expressed the earnest hope that Dr. Silver~~
will withdraw the resignation that he had tendered, which should not be a matter of record.

This Resolution was then taken up with Dr. Goldmann and Dr. Silver. It was acceptable to Dr. Goldmann, but not to Dr. Silver. The latter dictated to Mr. Shulman's secretary another Resolution, reading as follows:

See p. 2 A.

The Program Committee recommends to the Executive Committee ~~for~~ favorable action the following:

1) All approaches to the American Government or its officials on matters relating to the program of political activities of the American Zionist Emergency Council shall be undertaken by representatives of the movement only with the prior approval of the Executive Committee of the Council.

2) Dr. Goldmann, as a member of the Executive of the Jewish Agency, has assented with this view and has expressed his desire to act in conformity therewith and in fullest cooperation with the Emergency Council.

3) Whenever matters related to the program of the political activities of the Emergency Council are brought to the attention of Dr. Goldmann in his capacity as a member of the Executive of the Jewish Agency, between meetings of the Executive of the Emergency Council, which call for an immediate approach to the American Government or its officials, Dr. Goldmann shall consult with the co-chairmen of the Emergency Council and together they shall decide on procedure as to who shall make the approach and in what manner.

4) The officers of the Jewish Agency in London and in Jerusalem shall be informed of this action of the American Zionist Emergency Council and shall be requested to communicate in the future directly with the American Zionist Emergency Council on all matters which relate to the political activities of the Council.

This resolution was taken up at a subsequent meeting of the Program Committee, held August 24th, which was attended by Mrs. Epstein, Mr. Gellman, Mr. Neumann, Mr. Lipsky, Judge Rothenberg, Mr. Wertheim, Mr. Shulman and Mr. Shapiro. At this second meeting, in addition to reading this Resolution, Mr. Shulman made clear what he understood was Dr. Silver's position, namely, that he and Dr. Wise, as co-chairmen of the Council, receive their instructions from the Council and are responsible to it alone. As far as they are concerned, there should be no corresponding obligation on their part to consult with Dr. Goldmann. On matters within the scope of the Emergency Council Dr. Goldmann must consult with the co-chairmen, though not on anything relating to rescue. Dr. Silver pointed out further that Dr. Goldmann attends all meetings of the Executive Committee and the Council, voices his opinion there, etc., and therefore has the same degree of information as have the other members, and that rarely is any action taken without the prior approval of the Executive. Further, that Dr. Goldmann, as head of the Washington office, receives communications from the Jewish Agency, which are not addressed to the Council; obviously there is need for him to consult with the co-chairmen before taking action on these matters.

At the meeting of the Program Committee held August 24th, in an effort to meet the situation, the following resolution was proposed:

"The Program Committee recommends to the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council for favorable action the following:

1) All approaches to the American Government or its officials on matters relating to the program of political activities of the American Zionist Emergency Council shall be undertaken by representatives of the movement only with the prior approval of the Executive Committee of the Council.

2) Dr. Goldmann, as a member of the Executive of the Jewish Agency, has assented to this view and has agreed to act in conformity therewith and in fullest cooperation with the Emergency Council; and agrees that he will consult with the co-chairmen of the Emergency Council on such matters as appear to call for an immediate approach to the American Government or its officials.

draft
A.
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- 3) It is proposed that the co-chairmen of the Emergency Council confer with Dr. Goldmann between meetings of the Executive Committee of the Council with the view of carrying out the purposes of this understanding.

Following our agreement that we should try to get both Dr. Silver and Dr. Goldmann to accept this formula, we called Dr. Goldmann in to the meeting and discussed the matter with him. This formulation was not agreeable to him, because of the provision in the latter part of Par. 2) calling for him to consult the co-chairmen of the Council whereas there is no provision made for the latter consulting with him. Dr. Goldmann's position is that he would be glad to consult with Dr. Silver and Dr. Wise if there is a corresponding obligation on their part to consult with him on matters requiring ~~immediate~~ action.

We then worked out another formula, which has the approval of Dr. Goldmann and which reads as follows:

The Program Committee recommends to the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council for favorable action the following:

- 1) All approaches to the American Government or its officials on ~~xxx~~ matters relating to the program of political activities of the American Zionist Emergency Council shall be undertaken by representatives of the movement only with the prior approval of the Executive Committee of the Council.

- 2) Dr. Goldmann, as a member of the Executive of the Jewish Agency, has assented to this view and has agreed to act in conformity therewith and in fullest cooperation with the Emergency Council and its co-chairmen.

- 3) It is agreed that the co-chairmen of the Emergency Council and Dr. Goldmann confer between meetings of the Executive Committee of the Council with the view of carrying out the purposes of this understanding and achieving the fullest measure of cooperation between the representative of the Jewish Agency in the United States and the Zionist Emergency Council.

The Chairman of the Program Committee asked the members of the Committee

individually how they felt about this formulation, and they all were in favor of it with the exception of Mr. Wertheim, who voted against it, and Mr. Neumann, who preferred the first formulation worked out at/
/this meeting but did not vote against it, but indicated that he/~~was not~~ did not object to trying to get Dr. Silver to accept it. Mr. Wertheim also indicated that he had/~~no~~ no objection to trying to get Dr. Silver to accept this formulation.

After this meeting Mr. Shulman called Dr. Silver in Cleveland and presented the formulation to him, but he did not accept it.

Mr. Shulman stated that there had been other conversations since the last meeting of the Program Committee and asked Mr. Neumann on the further conversations he had had.

Mr. Neumann said that the only concrete suggestion made that would be acceptable to Dr. Silver was that we adopt only Paragraph 1, namely, a clear expression of the thought contained in Paragraph 1, which does not mean a ~~bi-lateral~~ bi-lateral agreement, but would be an expression of the opinion of the Committee. This coupled with the suggestion that this be communicated to the officers of the Jewish Agency abroad in the hope that this would help to clarify the situation. The formulation would thus be something like this:

"In the view of the Executive Committee, vital interests of the movement at this time require concentration of Zionist political effort in this country and that it therefore be resolved that approaches to the American Government by American Zionists or representatives of the Jewish Agency be made only with the prior approval of the Executive Committee of the Emergency Council."

Mr. Shulman asked Mr. Neumann whether, if that suggestion is approved, it could read: "... only after prior consultation with", instead of "...only with the prior approval of..."

Mr. Neumann said that assuming that after all the attempts have been made and we cannot have a bi-lateral agreement which will be ~~binding~~ binding on Dr. Goldmann or the Jewish Agency, therefore it is proposed to have a unilateral ~~resolution.~~ understanding.

Dr. Goldmann thought he should make a few things clear. He wished to eliminate from the minds of the members the thought that this was a matter between Dr. Silver and himself. There is no issue between Dr. Silver and him and he did not raise any question. The Zionist Emergency Council was originally established as a small committee ~~of part of~~ ^{by} ^{Zionist} the Executive of the Agency. Then later the Emergency Committee decided that it was no longer an arm of the Executive and changed its

name American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs. Then Dr. Weizmann came to this country. According to the constitution of the Jewish Agency he is the only one entitled to carry on political discussions. An agreement was reached between him and the Emergency Committee which stipulated that all matters of public relations were under the jurisdiction of the Emergency Committee; negotiations with foreign embassies were the jurisdiction of the Agency; and all approaches to the American Government were to be a joint responsibility of the Committee and the Agency. When Dr. Silver became chairman of the Executive he accepted this agreement. He (Dr. Goldmann) suggested that they should have regular meetings. "We had two such meetings, together with Mr. Montor, who was Executive Director of the Council at the time. Then there were no more meetings. I did not do things on my own. There were many things done by Dr. Silver without telling me; I do not think that my last talk with Mr. Stettinius was incorrect. I participated in a meeting of the Program Committee where it was decided that Dr. Wise and Dr. Silver should take up again with Mr. Stettinius the question of an approach to the President, which was foreseen for the middle of August and also the matter of getting the "green light" with regard to the Resolution before Congress. I told the Program Committee at that meeting that I was going to see Mr. Stettinius on matters connected with the Hungarian Jews, and I also informed Mr. Shapiro over the telephone that I was going to see him and would take up the matter of a priority for Chaim Greenberg, if Dr. Silver had not already done so or was planning to do so, as well as the matter of a priority to Palestine for myself. When I arrived at Mr. Stettinius's office, I apologized for Dr. Wise's absence, since Dr. Wise usually accompanies me on such visits, indicating that he was on vacation. Mr. Stettinius then said to me: Please tell Dr. Wise that there is no need for us to meet in the middle of August since there was nothing that he could say at present and that the plank on Palestine adopted by the Democratic Party makes it unnecessary for the President to make a statement at

this time. I told Mr. Stettinius that since he had spoken to Dr. Wise and Dr. Silver on this matter, he ought to take it up with them again and not with me. I also told him that I was not discussing the electoral issue, but that the President should independently of that say something about the future of Palestine. Mr. Stettinius said that they would have to wait until the end of the war for further discussion on that. When I asked why he had mentioned August 15th previously, he said that at that time he thought the war would be over by August 15th. I did not discuss the question of the Congress Resolution with Mr. Stettinius at all."

Dr. Goldmann said that the Hungarian question, the specific matter on which he went to see Mr. Stettinius, had had to do with the allocation of \$10,000,000. for which the International Red Cross was asking.

It is not a matter between Dr. Silver and himself, said Dr. Goldmann. It is a matter between the Executive of the Jewish Agency and the American Zionists. He, (Dr. Goldmann) expected to go to Palestine very soon, and immediately after the war to London. This is a very important question. If every country would take the position that their representatives alone must consult their Governments, then the World Zionist Organization will be split into groups of individual Federations. To his mind, Dr. Goldmann stated, giving each country the right to carry on the political discussions in that country would mean breaking the unity of the Zionist Movement.

He could not yield on this matter in principle, said Dr. Goldmann. He personally was not interested whether he saw Mr. Stettinius or not, but he could not yield on this matter unless the Zionist Executive agreed to it. If the American Zionists will adopt the line that negotiations with the American Government must be carried on only with the agreement of the Emergency Council ... if the Zionist Executive yields on this point, he would yield, otherwise he could not. If he appeared stubborn, it was because he could not give away the rights of the Executive of the Agency. Nevertheless, in order not to create a breach, which would be most undesirable, he was willing to go very far. He had

X said he was willing to concentrate everything in the Emergency Council, that the Council should approve of all projects - but there was one condition, namely, that he, representing the Executive of the Agency, should know everything that is going on. Coming to these meetings once in two weeks is not sufficient, in his opinion. Things happen between meetings. And after all, we are looking forward to a time when much will happen. The question of who is to be seen, who is to go to see him, etc. are not matters which can be discussed by 20 people.

The Jewish Agency Executive had been considering sending a second representative to the United States, Dr. Goldmann pointed out. The Resolution adopted by the Executive, therefore, should not mention him specifically.

A If the member of the Executive of the Agency will be kept informed of the work and regular consultations will take place, then nothing shall be done independently by him. If we sit down once or twice a week and decide on who is to be seen, who is to go to him, etc. there will be no difficulties. But if a formula is adopted which obliges ^{Dr. Goldmann} ~~us~~ to consult Dr. Silver but does not oblige ~~himself~~ Dr. Silver to consult Dr. Goldmann, he could not accept it.

T Equality of status is the ^a last that should be had. Constitutionally the Executive of the Agency has the right to carry on the political negotiations.

Dr. Goldmann pointed out that he had agreed to the formulation adopted by the Program Committee at its meeting on August 22. The ~~not~~ whole thing hinges on mutual obligation. If the Emergency Council feels that they should adopt, without any bilateral agreement, the principle that everything has to be done by the Council, then that decision must be communicated to the Agency Executive. And Dr. Goldmann need not abide by it, ^{unless directed by the Agency} But if Dr. Silver agrees to a bilateral agreement, Dr. Goldmann will adhere to this agreement. If there were good will there would be no need of a formal agreement.

2 X If Dr. Silver does not agree and requests for himself a status of priority, then Dr. Goldmann could not agree on behalf of the Executive and the Council must decide and convey its decision to the Agency Executive and Dr. Goldmann need not consider anything as binding until the Executive of the Agency decides.

(Geneva)

Rabbi Gold recalled that on the last day the last Congress was in session, at a meeting of the Permanenz Ausschuss a proposal was adopted to the effect that in view of the approaching war something should be done to enable the American Zionists to do political work in Washington, since it might not be possible for members of the Agency Executive to work there. Thus representatives of the in America W.Z.O./were to be designated to act for the Executive in Washington. This was the origin of the creation of the American Zionist Emergency Council.

Rabbi Gold said he was under the impression that the A.Z.E.C. was acting not for the Zionists of America but was an agency of the W.Z.O. and because the American Zionists are in a better position to deal with the American Government and Washington would be the center for world affairs, the committee in Washington could act on behalf of the Executive. Later on, when certain changes were made in the constitution of the Emergency Committee, ~~that~~ that was done because of certain circumstances here, which had to do with registering as a foreign agent. The change was only in name, but the Committee was to continue to act for the W.Z.O. Rabbi Gold could not understand, therefore, why Dr. Goldmann said that it will cause a breach of unity in the Zionist movement. When there is a member of the Jewish Agency in this country, it is only right that he should be present at all meetings of the Emergency Council, that his advice should be reckoned with. The question raised by Dr. Silver was that Dr. Goldmann went to Washington and acted independently without consulting the Executive of the Council, and was thus acting for the W.Z.O. Since there has been no Congress since 1939, no change has been made in the arrangement made in Geneva.

Dr. Goldmann said it was never decided by the Zionist Congress to set up an arm of the Agency Executive in Washington. The Permanenz Ausschuss is not able to make decisions. What happened was that in the last days of the Congress people ~~asked~~ asked what would happen during the war, .. we would lose contact with the movement. Dr. Solomon Goldman suggested that the Executive set up a small committee, to act in the U.S. He, (Dr. Nahum Goldmann) was the one who made the motion that a small committee be named to represent the Executive as long as the

Executive could not act in America. The same Executive that decided to appoint you decided to set up an office in Washington. X

2) You say there was a change of name. It was more than that. There were discussions here for weeks concerning it. You decided in your Constitution that you would not represent the Executive any longer. You changed the whole Constitution and you made it clear that you are representatives of the American Zionists. But in any case the Council denied its authority from the Executive which is in a position to determine the extent of that authority.

With regard to the agreement reached with Dr. Weizmann when he was in this country, Dr. Silver agreed to this in the beginning. If, without consulting the Agency Executive and without the consent of the Executive, you will adopt the principle that only you can approach the American Government, it will be a breach of unity in the Zionist movement. X

Mr. Lourie read from the minutes of the Emergency Committee a Palcor cable dated September 1, 1939, reporting the establishment by the Executive of the Emergency Committee.

Mr. Wertheim recalled that there had been a great deal of confusion at that time in Geneva. The Executive, however, had appointed the committee and he assumed the Executive had also organized the Jewish Agency Bureau here. Why should not we as American Zionists, act here? But when we discuss formulas, it is Dr. Goldmann who should yield. The organizations were here first. He X had been opposed to the establishment of the Jewish Agency Bureau here. If a member of the Executive comes here on a mission, there is no difficulty. They will also consult us. But the difficulty arose because there is a resident member of the Agency here. The principle is one thing, but the technique is another. Our co-chairmen must see the American Government officials, not Dr. Goldmann. Therefore I feel that Dr. Silver is justified in his demands and we American Zionists should make our position clear. We should appeal to Dr.

Goldmann to accept that position. This is not only my position, but the position of the Central Committee of the Poale Zion.

Mrs. Epstein remembered the whole discussion in Geneva. Mrs. Epstein considered that if Mr. Ben-Gurion came here he would have a constitutional right to do political work.

But there is an issue that has been legitimately raised. There must be integration. We were right in pointing out the difficulties to Dr. Goldmann. She felt he had met us in this situation. We have to make up our minds as to the status of the Jewish Agency. Mrs. Epstein thought that the analysis of Dr. Goldmann was correct. It is essential, even from the point of view of Dr. Silver, that there be consultations.

Dr. Goldstein said it seemed to him that the origin of the Emergency Committee was an enigma wrapped in a riddle. It was established on the assumption that communication would be impossible between Jerusalem, London and New York. Dr. Weizmann, Mr. Ben-Gurion, Dr. Joseph, etc. have all been here. The conditions for this formula have not existed.

We have to bear in mind certain facts. It is a fact that Dr. Weizmann was here and established an office of the Jewish Agency. He did not establish it not to function. He intended this office to be an integral part of the political work in Washington. There is a logic in the situation and a psychologic!

Logically Dr. Goldmann's position cannot be contradicted. If, however, that position is going to create difficulties in American Zionism, there is a question whether we can afford to create that kind of rift.

In the meantime, Dr. Goldstein felt that it might be wise to consult with the Agency Executive and apprise them of these discussions and at least get ~~some~~ some reaction from them. Perhaps the reaction will be such that Dr. Goldmann will be convinced that he is right in yielding to Dr. Silver. The matter does not have to be decided this week or next.

Mr. Segal did not think that anyone was ~~xxxx~~ challenging the authority of the ~~Executive~~ Zionist Executive. Some of us are laboring to take a logical position and do something that will ~~xxxxxx~~ have the opposite result. The position is that we have a centralized body in Zionism here to conduct political work, consisting of all Zionist bodies in America. This body recognizes the authority of the Executive. If the Executive ~~xxxx~~ ^{uses} this authority to reduce the status of the Emergency Council, there is something wrong. If, on the other hand, the Executive states that we are cognizant of the fact that this is a centralized body and entrusts it with political work, and furthermore that they will join in and work with us, there is no quarrel. If, however, they will take the position that this body must ~~xxxxxx~~ remember that there is a representative of the Zionist Executive in this country which is superior in status to it, either in ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ action or by implication, then we should go out of business. Why have a centralized body which does not feel secure in its actions? The Zionist Executive has a perfect right to say that they have the right to do all the political work in the U.S. If they are not going to do this, ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ they must accept ~~xxxxxx~~ the situation existing in the U.S.

Mr. Segal said that his formula was that as long as the W.Z. Executive will not make a statement to the Zionist bodies in America that political activities in America rest with the Zionist Executive, the Zionist bodies have an organ, the Z.E. Council, conducting the Zionist activities, and this organ recognizes the

fact that whoever is in this country representing the Zionist Executive is to work with this body, ~~Members of the Zionist Executive in the U.S.~~

Mr. Segal did not believe that at this time we are ready to disturb our working possibilities. Dr. Silver has to see it; Dr. Goldmann has to see it. Dr. Silver must see that Dr. Goldmann is psychologically satisfied. Dr. Goldmann has to see that the Z.E.O. is the body to conduct political activities in the U.S. until the Zionist Executive takes over.

Judge Rosenblatt was glad that Dr. Goldmann had placed the matter on an impersonal basis. ~~Historically~~ During the last war, when Dr. Schmaryahu Levin was in the U.S. he worked with the Provisional Committee. We ~~worked~~ represented then 3 million Jews; and now we represent 5 million Jews. It is more important to us if Dr. Wise does the talking in Washington and not someone who is not an American.

Judge Rosenblatt agreed with Mr. Segal that the Executive may take that authority away from us. But there cannot be two bodies/ working. There must be one body and a body ^{has} speaks for ^{the} 5 million Jews of America.

Mr. Neumann, speaking of the character of the Emergency Committee, believed that this committee did not spring into being of its own. It was constituted definitely under the authority of the W.Z.O. He remembered when Dr. Goldstein had ~~insisted~~ insisted that his membership in the Emergency Committee was under the authority of the W.Z.O. (Dr. Goldstein denied that this was so - that he considered his membership under the authority of the W.Z. Executive). When there were discussions about changing the name, Mr. Neumann continued, it was on the basis of the question of registering as a foreign agent. ~~It was only to make this legal~~ But assurances were given that it was not intended to cut loose from the W.Z.O., that we were going to carry on as trustees for the W.Z.O. While we made these by-laws and made provision for the organizations to participate, we did not do away with the original membership designated by the W.Z. Executive. It was never intended that we regard ourselves ~~as~~ only as representatives of local Zionists.

We are a ^{quasi-}~~legal~~ legal body set up to meet a war situation. Essentially the situation has not changed.

It is true, said Mr. Neumann, that all these years there has been no Congress, nor no full meeting of the Actions Committee. It has not ~~even~~ even been possible to have a full meeting of the entire Zionist Executive. Members of the Actions Committee ~~in America~~ ^{apart from the smaller body in Jerusalem} have not been able to function. That proves that we are in the midst of an emergency situation caused by the war, and we have extra-legal functions that are recognized.

The main great distinction ^{is} between questions of policy and the matter of tactics. When it comes to questions of policy, if we find ourselves in disagreement with the ~~existing~~ policies of the W.Z. Executive and cannot follow them, then we are breaking the unity of the movement. But on the question of tactics, when it comes to deciding who shall see somebody in the American Government, we are not doing so.

Mr. Neumann said he was strongly opposed to Ben-Gurion setting up a political Bureau. If Dr. Joseph were here, ^{would} ~~we~~ we have to take the position that Dr. Wise and Dr. Silver cannot see people without asking Dr. Joseph? With regard to Dr. Weizmann, he occupies a unique position, ~~which~~ he has charged with the responsibility of carrying on the activities between Congresses.

The situation is complicated by personalities. But ^{clearly to} ~~inherent in~~ ^e having two political agencies functioning at the same time ~~is~~ is inherently impossible. The Agency decided to establish that office at a particular moment, when there was a vacuum in Washington. The moment the Emergency Council became active, you had a situation which invited clashes.

Mr. Neumann understood Dr. Goldmann's reservation that he cannot and will not ~~intend~~ bind the Executive to the Resolution that we may adopt here. But certainly if we feel that it is necessary to have centralization of Zionist political effort in this country, then we cannot possibly have such centralization except through such a body as we have here. This is the place through which all

proposed action should be decided. We cannot go beyond that at the present moment. The question of procedure is another thing. Therefore we should divide the problem, take it in two stages. We should make provision that all approaches to the American Government should clear through this Committee, by whomever they are made. That does not dispose of questions that may arise with regard to procedure. One thing we should not do, and that is temporize indefinitely.

Dr. Goldmann has said he does not object to the principle embodied in Paragraph 1 provided we work out a modus operandi which is acceptable to him and the co-chairmen. But at least we can state the position. The position at present is as follows: The Chairman of the Executive has resigned. It is indicated that he will not withdraw his resignation unless the Executive Committee makes its position clear on the central point, namely, that all approaches to the Government shall be cleared through here. Clarify that and the chairman of the Executive returns. The question of deciding on procedure will require further action.

Dr. Wise, who had to leave the meeting at this point, read the letter he had received from Mr. Stettinius from Dumbarton Oaks.

Dr. Wise said he could not help feeling we were making a mountain out of a molehill. There is the World Zionist Organization, the Executive, which has its representatives here, and there is this Emergency Council. Can we not come to an agreement which recognizes that the Emergency Council has one status and the Agency Executive a parallel status. Why cannot we make an agreement that in all matters of approach to the American Government there shall be previous consultation between the co-chairmen of the Emergency Council and the representative of the Executive. He was sure that if Dr. Silver sat down with them they would reach an agreement.

Dr. Wise suggested that a small Committee be named, consisting of Mr.

Shulman, Judge Rothenberg and Mr. Lipsky, to work out something and submit it to Dr. Silver and request that he meet with us in the nearest future and discuss the whole thing with us. We are laboring together for a common cause. After all, Dr. Goldmann is the American representative of the Agency. All approaches to the American Government should be made by this body in consultation with representatives of the Agency. That is reasonable.

Mrs. Halprin pointed out that the discussion heretofore had not been to the issue. Dr. Goldmann has accepted the point to which everybody was talking, that he not entitled to act independently. There is, further, no use talking on the point that the Emergency Council is entitled to make representations to the American Government since Dr. Goldmann acknowledges that. What Dr. Goldmann asks is that between meetings of the Executive there shall be thinking in common between the leaders of the movement here.

Mrs. Halprin said she would consider it the greatest catastrophe if Dr. Silver resigned at this time. But for the effectiveness of the work it was necessary that he and Dr. Goldmann work together.

Judge Rothenberg agreed that the argument had been proceeding as if a constitutional question was at issue. But Dr. Goldmann says he is willing to work with and through the Emergency Council and it would be a mistake to deal with it on the constitutional basis. If Dr. Goldmann ever takes the position that he has the right to act independently, we will discuss it then. But he has not said that. We have not succeeded in convincing Dr. Silver. The issue he raised, however, that there should not be independent action on the part of Dr. Goldmann has been met, and is acknowledged by all.

Judge Rothenberg said it would be desirable if Dr. Silver could sit down and talk with Dr. Goldmann. However, he did not think that we ought to force any resolution. We ought to try to convince Dr. Silver to withdraw his resignation on the basis of the general acceptance of the principle contained in Paragraph 1 of the resolution of the Program Committee.

Mr. Lipsky agreed absolutely with Judge Rothenberg. In essence there is absolute agreement here. Mr. Lipsky was surprised when Dr. Goldmann, without consulting the Agency Executive, accepted the principle of Paragraph 1. Any agreement that makes Emergency Council and Agency activities together possible should be accepted, especially when everyone is sincere in asking for the withdrawal of Dr. Silver's resignation. It is not a matter on which we can afford to get into a controversy.

Mr. Gellman agreed with Judge Rothenberg. In order to satisfy both sides we should adopt the principle in Paragraph 1. As far as Paragraph 3 is concerned, we should appoint a committee to talk it over with Dr. Silver.

Judge Rothenberg moved that we ask Dr. Silver to withdraw his resignation; and that a sub-committee be appointed to confer with Dr. Silver and arrive at an understanding on the basis of the discussion this afternoon. This motion was seconded by Mr. Rothstein.

Mr. Neumann proposed that a vote be taken on the intent and purpose of Paragraph 1 and then have a sub-committee confer with Dr. Silver and Dr. Goldmann.

Mr. Rothstein thought it inadvisable to adopt anything piecemeal. We are interested in having Dr. Silver withdraw his resignation. If the Committee sits down with him and he hears the expression of views here, the position will be clear. Why have anybody feel that there has to be precipitous action on our part?

Mr. Neumann said he was not opposed to Judge Rothenberg's motion, but it is simply because he believes that unless we at least act on the principle, we will not get very far.

Mr. Shulman then proposed the attached formulation. (see p. 20)

X Dr. Goldmann stated he wanted to make it clear that his agreement depended on an agreement being worked out as to how the principle would be implemented. Neither the representative of the Jewish Agency or the members of the Emergency Council find anything wrong with Par. 1. There is a difference of opinion as to X how it can be worked out.

Rabbi Feuer said he saw Dr. Silver last night, when he discussed the matter thoroughly with him. He thought Dr. Goldmann had made himself clear. However, some statements were made which were unfair, namely, that Dr. Silver has refused to talk things over with Dr. Goldmann. That is not correct. Dr. Silver believes he has worked within the framework of the ~~Sanctity~~ principle embodied in Par. 1, that he has not made contacts with important people until these things were thrashed out by the Executive. Rightly or wrongly, he does not think that Dr. Goldmann has been operating in that way. He therefore thought it ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ essential that there be a reaffirmation of that principle by this body.

Rabbi Feuer said he got the feeling when he left Dr. Silver last night that unless there is a clear affirmation of the principle in Par. 1, within the framework of which he has operated and ^{within} which he believes Dr. Goldmann has not operated, he will not change his mind. He, Rabbi Feuer, would make every effort to persuade him to do so, and he knew that Dr. Neumann would do the same, but it would be easier if there is a clear affirmation of this principle.

Mr. Lipsky said it is quite ~~possible~~ possible that the adoption of the

principle does not settle the question. Later we may have to settle the question of the procedure. There has got to be an implementation of the principle.

Mr. Shulman's motion was then voted on affirmatively. Mr. Neumann wished to be recorded as not voting.



Executive Comm.

Executive Comm. August 28

The following motion was adopted by the affirmative vote of all the members present at the meeting with the exception of Mr. Neumann who wished to be recorded as not voting:

The Executive Committee finds it impossible to accept the resignation tendered by Dr. Silver as its chairman and earnestly requests him to withdraw said resignation which should not be made a matter of record.

In view of the situation which has arisen the Executive Committee expresses its approval of the principle embodied in paragraph one of the resolution drafted by the program committee which reads as follows: "Any approach to the American Government or its officials on matters relating to the program of political activities of the American Zionist Emergency Council shall be undertaken by representatives of the Movement only with the prior approval of the Executive Committee of the Council."

It urges Dr. Silver to confer with a sub-committee of the Executive Committee to discuss how this principle can best be put into effect in order to insure the maximum amount of coordination in the political work.



Dictated by Mr. Neumann on August 29, 1944

[Aug. 30, 1944]

*Dr. Silver: These are the rough notes -
Shapiro*

1

Mr. Shulman reported following the action of the Executive Committee at the meeting of August 28th, when the attached ~~motion~~ ^{meet with Dr. Silver} was adopted, a sub-committee had been appointed to ~~consider and report on the resignation of Dr. Silver~~ ^{consider and report on the resignation of Dr. Silver}. ~~Record of the Emergency Committee's resolution could be sent out in effect~~ ^{Record of the Emergency Committee's resolution could be sent out in effect}. ~~This committee consisted of Judge Rothenberg, Mr. Lipsky and Mr. Shulman.~~ The action of the meeting was communicated to Dr. Silver, and Rabbi Feuer, also who was in Cleveland immediately after ~~the~~ meeting, gave him the gist of the discussion and the action taken, and expressed to him the earnest hope of the Executive that he agree to the action and withdraw his resignation. He heard yesterday, Mr. Shulman continued, that Dr. Silver feels that on the basis of the information given to him, he is not in a position to withdraw his resignation. He dictated the following:

(See attached A.)

H Dr. Wise stated that he had come to feel that inasmuch as Dr. Silver has resigned the chairmanship of the Emergency Council that resignation must be referred to the entire body and the Executive Committee has not the power to reach any decision as to the resignation. ~~He said~~ In answer to Mr. Segal's question he said he believed this body could make a recommendation to the full Council.

Mr. Neumann pointed out that Dr. Silver has also resigned as chairman of the Executive Committee, and it therefore ~~properly~~ ^{properly} lies within the scope of the Executive to deal with. ¹ He did not see any reason for postponing the matter. There is work to be done.

Dr. Wise agreed there were things to be done, and that was why he suggested postponing referring the matter to the full Council and proceeding with the important agenda before us this afternoon.

Mr. Gellman suggested that this Committee make a recommendation to the Council.

Dr. Goldstein pointed out that the Z.O.A. Executive Committee is scheduled to meet September 12th, and the Z.O.A. should be in a position to instruct its representatives on the Council.

2

Mr. Wertheim thought it was not usual to shift the responsibility to the full Council without a recommendation, ~~but Dr. Goldstein's statement was.~~
~~Dr. Silver~~ The other organizations have discussed it.

Mr. Neumann urged that the matter be disposed of as soon as possible. It was conceivable that the ZOA could hold a special meeting before the 12th. He did not think it desirable to have this thing drawn out. He agreed that it was necessary that the Executive Committee come to the Council with a recommendation.

Dr. Wise asked whether we could do so when people like Dr. Goldstein feel that they must have instructions from their organizations.

Mr. Neumann pointed out that we have been dealing with this matter for some time now and all those here expressed their opinion on the matter. ~~Mr. Goldstein~~
~~was asked to bring the matter to the Council and the Executive Committee had been arranged~~
~~to meet~~ Dr. Wise pointed out that the decision reached by the Executive in the ~~matter~~
~~with the~~ matter has been annulled by Dr. Silver's refusal to withdraw his resignation.

Mr. Shulman pointed out that the action taken at the meeting was subject to the approval of the full Emergency Council. The action of the Executive adopted a principle and provided ~~for~~ means by which an agreement could be reached. Had the sub-committee met with Dr. Silver, by the time the full Council would have met, there could have been presented to it not only the principle, but the procedure. Dr. Silver makes it clear that only ^{with} the adoption of the two principles laid down by him will he withdraw his resignation. The Executive Committee must now decide whether it wants to go further. A question of this kind involving major question of policy as well as the resignation of an officer, rests with the full ~~Council~~ COUNCIL.

Mrs. Epstein moved that a full meeting of the Council be called for Thursday, September 14th, unless in the meantime Dr. Goldstein has been able to arrange for an earlier meeting of the ZOA Executive.

~~Mr. Neumann~~ ~~pointed out that this matter was broached three~~
~~weeks ago. It seemed to him that if a matter as important as this, requiring~~

Mr. Gellman stated that in the ~~last~~^{last} few weeks we tried to settle the matter, but could not find a formula acceptable to both parties. We must realize that we cannot afford under any circumstances to lose Dr. Silver. He ~~recommended~~^{moved} that we adopt the formula which was presented by Dr. Silver. This motion was seconded by Mr. Wertheim.

Dr. Goldstein raised the question of having to get instructions from the ZOA in order to vote on this motion.

Mr. Wertheim pointed out that some of us can agree to the recommendation in our own name.

Mrs. Shulman stated that the Executive Committee had gone as far as it could in trying to settle the matter. The rest must be referred to the larger body. It should go to the full Council without a recommendation from this committee.

Mr. Neumann pointed out that this matter was broached ~~fourteen~~ three weeks ago today. It seemed to him that on a matter ~~xxx~~ as important as this, requiring

A

consideration by the ZOA Executive, some steps might have been taken before this to get action. The Constitution of the ZOA calls for meetings of the Executive between regular meetings, for consultations. He was put out, Mr. Neumann said, by the suggestion that we let the matter ride until Sept. 14th. This is a very urgent matter, for the ZOA as well. If consultations were indicated, some steps might have been taken before this to get instructions.

Dr. Wise pointed out that it had been our hope that Dr. Silver would accept our request that he withdraw his resignation. It was unanimously decided at the last meeting that we ask him to do so. When it seemed that the situation might be settled there was no need to get instructions.

Mr. Neumann stated that the Executive Committee has acted on matters requiring final action before. He urged that a recommendation be made to the Council.

Mr. Shulman suggested that Dr. Silver be asked to hold his resignation in abeyance pending action by the Emergency Council. This was agreed.

Mr. Boukstein moved that Mr. Gellman's motion be tabled. Seconded.

Mr. Segal pointed out that we will gain very little by sustaining Gellman's motion, but we can lose much. He appealed to Mr. Gellman to withdraw his motion, and Mr. G. agreed.

Mr. Shulman suggested that Dr. Silver be asked to hold his resignation in abeyance pending action by the Emergency Council. Agreed.

*Statement read by Robt. Foner over the phone
to Herman Rudman, Aug. 30-1944.*

In order to carry through effectively the intent of principle No. 1 which was adopted unanimously by the Executive Committee, and the only possible way in which that principle can be put into practice is as was suggested by Dr. Silver in the proposals he made to the Program Committee that

1) Between meetings of the Executive, matters requiring urgent and immediate action which are brought to the attention of the representative of the Jewish Agency shall be discussed with the ~~off~~-chairmen of the Council by Dr. Goldmann, and together they shall agree on the procedure to be followed.

2) The officials of the Jewish Agency in London and Jerusalem shall be apprised of the above action of the Executive Committee and shall be requested hereafter to communicate on all matters which relate to Zionist political work in America directly with the American Zionist Emergency Council.

Dr. Silver is not averse to meeting with any committee, but he feels that such meetings are unnecessary inasmuch as the subject has so thoroughly been discussed by him, by the Program Committee and by the Executive Committee. Further discussion in committee is not likely to shed any more light on the subject.

H. C. Davis
May I suggest two very simple procedures to implement the principle which was adopted by the Executive Committee? He feels that these two proposals are indispensable to the successful operation of the Emergency Council and to his own effective service.

not necessary
He feels that the right of the Jewish Agency to establish political bureaus is not involved. No one has questioned that right. It is a question of efficient operation and practical necessity. The Emergency Council should make its position clear and put itself on record as doing what it regards as necessary for the successful prosecution of the political work of the Zionist Movement in this country. It will then be up to the Agency to indicate its own position if it so chooses. The Agency might come to feel that as a result of the re-organization of the Emergency Council, and the far more efficient work which it has been doing since its re-organization, that the continued existence in this country of a political bureau which was established by it last year is no longer necessary or that its functions should be limited to Latin-American interests. In any case, this is a matter for the Jewish Agency to determine. What the Emergency Council is called upon to do is to make its own position very clear not alone with regard to principle, but with regard to procedure.

PROPOSALS

1) For the purpose of promoting effective coordination of Zionist political efforts in this country, the Co-Chairmen of the American Zionist Emergency Council are to be invited to serve together with Dr. Goldmann and Mr. Lipsky *on the* as *answerable by* a political committee representing the World Executive in charge of political activities of the Jewish Agency in this country. (It is to meet periodically, preferably between meetings of the Executive Committee of the Emergency Council.) *to consider such matters as come to the attention of the Bureau but which the Exec. Council and*

2) Note is taken of the unanimous action of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council affirming the principle that "all approaches to the American Government or its officials on matters relating to the program of political activities of the American Zionist Emergency Council shall be undertaken by representatives of the movement only with the prior approval of the Executive Committee of the Council." This is accepted as a guide for future action. *in the future*

3) The enlarged committee of the Political Bureau of the Agency will deal inter alia with:

- a) communications from the World Executive and other sources, and
- b) proposals to approach Government officials in Washington on matters of immediate urgency, always giving due consideration to the plans and current activities of the American Zionist Emergency Council.

The Committee will reach agreement regarding the steps to be taken, by whom and in what manner.

4) The Committee will be guided on questions of broad policy and basic principle by the views of the World Executive, and on matters of method and procedure by the views of the American Zionist Emergency Council.

5) Existing arrangements for the exchange of information between the Council and the Agency Bureau are to be extended so that each may have knowledge of the plans and activities of the other, as well as of information in the possession of both.

*Earlier
Blowup
Background*

A-2-62

W/10 280-12312 12001

Excerpts from remarks by E. N. at Meeting of the Executive Committee
of the Zionist Emergency Council, Thursday, August 31, 1944

I wish in the first place to repeat my warning at the last meeting against attempting to inflate this problem into an issue of cosmic proportions as if this were a revolt against the authority of prerogatives of the World Zionist Executive. Quite definitely it is not. The situation is simple and clear. Both the Emergency Council and the Political Bureau directed by Dr. Goldmann have been set up under the authority of the World Executive. The Council is technically an American body but actually it is acting as the custodian and trustee of the interests of world Zionism as originally intended, and to the same degree as Dr. Goldmann's Bureau. No major policies or major principles are involved. The sole issue is whether or not the day to day activities vis-a-vis the American Government shall be carried on by and through the Council and its constituent ^{Ted} representatives.

It should be carefully noted for the record that Dr. Silver has not demanded, is not demanding the abolition of the Political Bureau of the Agency. He has not demanded, is not demanding that Dr. Goldmann cease all his political activities in his various capacities. There are large areas of those activities in which Dr. Silver neither claims nor desires any participation. There is the World Jewish Congress; there is the field of contacts with the representatives of foreign governments in Washington; there is Canada, Mexico, South America. There are economic problems and activities with which the Jewish Agency is concerned. All of these and other matters with which Dr. Goldmann is concerned, Dr. Silver does not attempt to interfere with. He only asks that in the one field with which the Emergency Council is concerned, namely, political action on the American scene and vis-a-vis the American Government, should be regarded as the responsibility for the time being of the Council.

We all recall the attempt ^h Ben Gurion who, as Chairman of the Jewish Agency Executive, occupies a higher position than Dr. Goldmann, ~~made~~ to establish a Political Bureau of the Agency in Washington and the sharp reaction to that attempt on the part of the Emergency Council at that time. I vividly recall the scene in one of the rooms of the Emergency Committee's offices at that time. Mr. Ben Gurion called me in as well as Dr. Goldmann and informed us a few minutes before a meeting of the Emergency Committee was to open, that he had decided to establish an office in Washington. He had not consulted the Executive in Palestine; he had not consulted Dr. Weizmann; he had not consulted his colleagues who were on the spot here in America, neither Mr. Lipaky nor even Dr. Goldmann, who first heard of it at the moment when I heard it. Dr. Goldmann suggested the propriety of presenting the matter at the meeting of the Emergency Committee for consideration; but Mr. Ben Gurion replied "I will not discuss it with the Emergency Committee..I will inform them of my decision."

Ben Gurion was Chairman of the Agency Executive. Did he have the right to take such action? Did he carry with him the full authority of the Executive wherever he went in the course of his travels? Would he have been sustained by the Executive Committee? These questions remained unanswered because Mr. Ben Gurion ended up by declaring that irrespective of the prerogatives of the Agency Executive or of his own prerogatives as its Chairman, he would not undertake any steps of a political nature in this country without the approval of the Emergency Committee and its leadership.

Now we are told that for us to adopt a resolution expressing our wishes regarding the procedure, regarding the manner in which the practical day to day work shall be carried on would constitute a serious breach between us and the World Executive. Clearly that is Dr. Goldmann's

own interpretation of such action. Surely he does not have the authorization of the Agency Executive to place such a construction upon the resolutions urged by Dr. Silver. Dr. Goldmann does not even claim to have such expressed authorization to so interpret these proposals.

Actually, therefore, such an issue has not arisen and may never arise between us and the Executive. We are perfectly within our rights as loyal Zionists to point out to the Executive the vital importance of centralizing Zionist political action in this country through our Council and to approve our stand and to act in agreement with us on this matter. We cannot anticipate what position the Agency Executive will take. I can conceive of a variety of decisions it might take to meet the situation. Certainly at this moment there is absolutely no ground for assuming that they will regard this matter as of such cardinal importance that they will prefer to ~~assert that they will support~~ Dr. Goldmann's position even if it involves the resignation of Dr. Silver and the consequences which that may entail. If we take this action and it is *subsequently* challenged by the World Executive after careful consideration and after hearing both sides of the argument, that is a bridge we shall cross when we get to it.

I cannot help being struck by the circumstance that our Poalei Zion friends agree with Dr. Silver's position 100% after full consideration of the question. They have done so unanimously. Surely no one believes that the Poalei Zion are less loyal to the World Executive, in which their party has a working majority, than is anyone else in this room. They and the Mizrahi support Dr. Silver. The unwillingness to support him appears rather in the circles of the ZOA and Hadassah.

Only a few weeks ago we had another, though ^aless ^a"crisis." It was shortly after the adoption of the Palestine plank in the platform of the Republican party. Dr. Silver proposed the adoption of a resolution expressing our satisfaction with that section of the plank which endorsed

Zionist aspirations. Again there was a sharp division. That does not matter, but I was shocked to learn upon my return to the city how the members of this Committee divided. Again it was the Poalei Zion and Mizrahi who supported Dr. Silver solidly while such opposition as there was to the resolution ^{he proposed} came from other groups. That hardly points to an objective consideration of the question by individuals acting in accordance with their own best judgment and conscience. Those who opposed it claimed that such a resolution would be regarded as an unfriendly act towards the President and the Democratic party. Were the Poalei Zion less loyal to President Roosevelt or less committed to his support in the forthcoming elections? Yet they voted with Silver without a qualm, as they are supporting him today.

The pattern which emerges from this is clear. It is the pattern of partisanship in which persons and groups react to situations largely in accordance with their basic attitude towards Dr. Silver and his leadership. There are those who give Silver their complete confidence and are anxious to give him full support, and there are those who do not share that attitude. We have had many divisions before on various issues with much the same lineup. We had it at the very beginning in connection with ~~purely~~ purely technical questions such as the internal reorganization of our work. We had it on the issue of an aggressive attitude towards the Roosevelt Administration. We had it on the question of appointing a Political Committee with which Dr. Silver was to confer. We had it in connection with the Congress Resolution, and we had it even with so minor a matter as the proposed radio program.

Of course, we may expect differences of opinion and it is a healthy thing to have such differences expressed. What is unhealthy about it is the pattern of partisanship to which I have referred, the inevitable lineup, almost automatic, between those who start with a predisposition to support Silver and those who don't. There have been of course exceptions on

both sides of the line on various occasions. I know that Judge Rothenberg has on the whole supported Silver, and personally I regret that he does not see eye to eye with me on this particular question. There were also occasions when Mr. Cruso, for instance, did not go along with his colleagues of the Poalei Zion but voted with representatives of Hadassah and the ZOA. But on the whole it remains an incontestable fact on the record that this partisan lineup has existed throughout the year and from the very first moment of Silver's Chairmanship. This is a most unhealthy situation which bodes the movement no good. If at this critical moment in Zionist affairs, we cannot sink our partisanship, our cause may suffer irretrievable harm.

What is to happen now? Dr. Silver feels very deeply on this question. He is planted like a rock, unyielding and immovable. We have been told repeatedly that his inflexibility is a great fault. If that is so, it is, as the French say, the fault of his qualities; ~~that is~~, *his inflexibility* the counterpart of that massive and towering strength which we all admire and seek to exploit for the benefit of our movement. You cannot have the one without the other. Silver is a human monolith without cracks or fissures. He cannot compromise, but we must remember that if he were by nature inclined to compromise, flexible and easy-going, he could not have served the movement, so uncompromisingly vis-a-vis the outside world. He would not be that militant champion of our cause, that powerful battering ram that he is today. We cannot have it both ways.

What is to happen now that Silver is withdrawing? What is to happen with the Emergency Council and its work? You will forgive me if I speak with some feeling on the matter. I have lived with the Emergency Committee all these years and have given of my best to its service, and I passed through an experience not ~~un~~^{dis}similar to what Silver is passing through. I had flung myself into the work without any reservations. I organized the American Palestine Committee; I initiated the Christian Council for Palestine;

I was responsible for the Lowdermilk book and the tremendous propaganda which it developed; and I organized the engineering research for the Jordan Valley Authority. But I felt deeply the fatal weakness of our Emergency Committee, the lack of close coordination, of strong centralized direction of its affairs. But the Committee was quite willing to let me go and lose my services because I "aspired to the ^{august of executive director} position which was later given to Mr. Montor and which is now occupied by Harry Shapiro. I was told to my face, though not ⁱⁿ by the Committee, that if I were made Executive Director, we would have a dictatorship. I, a dictator!

I mention all this only by way of background. A year ago the cry went up throughout the country, a cry for aggressive leadership and strong centralized direction of our political efforts. The Emergency Council had become the laughing stock of our own Zionist following. It suffered deeply by comparison with the energetic activity of the Bergson group, who had walked into the vacuum left by our Emergency Committee.

That cry resulted in Silver's being called to leadership in our work. He responded by divesting himself of all other Zionist responsibilities. As Weizmann had done, he put on blinders and devoted himself solely and exclusively to our political effort. He wanted no other presidencies, no other chairmanships. There was no division of his energies, but a superb and overwhelming concentration upon one job.

We had not had that sort of thing before Silver. All our other leaders - including Dr. Goldmann - were heavily burdened with multiple duties and responsibilities. They brought to our meetings and our work the fagged end of a tired mind. It was not even possible to point to anyone and pin upon him responsibility for our failures.

From the moment Silver assumed office, he gave himself with utter devotion and in complete loyalty to the movement and its highest

instances. There has never been any question about his political line. Silver has what may be regarded as the naive belief that a straight line still ^{makes} ~~marks~~ the shortest distance between two points. He knows no deviation, no compromise, no detour, but pursues his objective - our objective - in a perfectly straight line. When we decided to hold the American Jewish Conference, he took it as a decision and refused to agree to a postponement on the suggestion of the State Department. When the Conference met, he insisted upon our carrying through the Commonwealth resolution, which was our chief purpose in convening it, even though ^{other} ~~Zionist~~ leaders, speaking from ^{that} ~~their~~ rostrum, could not bring themselves to plead for the Jewish Commonwealth because they hoped for a compromise with anti-Zionist forces. He began great political propaganda last fall, and the Executive Director wanted to concentrate on the White Paper and avoid the Commonwealth issue. Dr. Silver broke with him and with others of his personal friends on that issue and carried on. He organized the fight for the Jewish Commonwealth resolution in Congress as well as the pressure upon President Roosevelt which resulted in the statement of March 9th. Following that, he took up the effort to secure the adoption of Zionist planks in the platforms of both parties. And you know of his further plans. It is no exaggeration to say that under his able and aggressive direction, we have made more progress in this single year than in the four years which preceded it.

Now we are to let him go because he demands complete centralization of the political work in the critical and delicate period which lies before us. We are to let him go because he is a 'dictator' and an 'autocrat,' or because he seeks to 'breach the authority of the Jewish Agency.' For him and for myself I vehemently repudiate any such interpretation of the proposed action. I do not believe for a moment it would be so regarded by the Executive of the Jewish Agency. I deny the right of any member of the Agency Executive

to speak ex cathedra, to give a binding interpretation of such resolutions as we are considering. Only the Pope of the Roman Church can speak ex cathedra. That interpretation is Dr. Goldmann's personal interpretation.

The vista that now opens before us is a dismal one; not only the loss of Silver's leadership and service but all the consequences that are likely to flow from it. Instead of going forward at this critical moment with the pressing tasks ahead, we shall be confronted with problems of internal reorganization. Moreover, there is every likelihood that the matter will not rest there. It will become a subject for discussion and controversy throughout the length and breadth of the land, and the rift within the Zionist Organization widened and deepened.

What are the alternatives? If we refuse to adopt these resolutions, Silver withdraws. If we do adopt them, he remains and carries on, and Dr. Goldmann will carry the issue to the World Executive, and we shall probably hear from them in time. I urge the latter course which disposes of the problem at least for the time being. If and when we hear from the Executive, we may then consider the situation afresh. That is reasonable; that is the course dictated by the needs of the hour. I plead with you to follow it.

E. Neumann

September 1, 1944

Mr. Arthur Lourie, Secretary
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Lourie:

I have read the report of the action taken by the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council, August 28, on the resignation which I submitted; also the report of the meeting on August 31. I wish I could comply with the request of the Committee to withdraw my resignation, but regretfully, I must insist upon its acceptance.

I note that the Executive approved the principle that "all approaches to the American Government or its officials on matters related to the program of political activities of the American Zionist Emergency Council shall be undertaken by representatives of the Movement only with the prior approval of the Executive Committee of the Council." This principle is sound.

In pursuance of this principle, and in order to implement it and thus obviate the embarrassments and interferences which have in the past made my position as Chairman of the Executive quite impossible, I suggested to the Program Committee, last week, the following two additional clauses:

1. "Whenever matters related to the program of the political activities of the Emergency Council are brought to the attention of Dr. Goldmann in his capacity as director of the Bureau of the Agency between meetings of the Executive of the Emergency Council which call for an immediate approach to the American Government or to its officials, Dr. Goldmann shall consult with the Co-chairmen of the Emergency Council, and together they shall agree on procedure as to who shall make the approach and in what manner."

2. "That the officers of the Jewish Agency in London and in Jerusalem shall be informed of this action of the American Zionist Emergency Council and shall be requested to communicate in the future directly with the American Zionist Emergency Council on matters which relate to the political activities of the Council."

The purpose of the first clause is to meet the point which Dr. Goldmann makes that at times, between meetings of our Executive,

September 1, 1944

he receives
urgent communications from abroad which call for immediate action. It indicates to him how such immediate action ^{can} be had, i.e., simply by bringing his communications to the attention of the Co-chairmen of our Executive so that together they may agree on the proper method of procedure.

The purpose of the second clause is to correct an intolerable condition which has existed ever since the Agency Bureau came into existence in May of last year whereby our Council has been held practically incommunicado by London and by Jerusalem, and the important Zionist Movement of America has had to content itself with dribblets of information conveyed to it from time to time by the director of the Agency Bureau or his secretary, Mr. Weisgal.

I regret that both of these clauses, on the basis of which I would have felt free to continue in my post, in spite of other difficulties, were not adopted by the Executive Committee. Instead of which a motion was adopted requesting me to confer with a sub-committee of the Executive Committee to discuss how the principle which it had adopted could best be put into effect in order to insure the maximum amount of coordination in the political work. I have no objection to conferences, but the ground has been already thoroughly covered by me and by others. This matter has been the subject of prolonged discussions as a number of meetings of the Program Committee. I spoke of it at the meeting of the Executive Committee on August 14. At the August 28 meeting of the Executive the subject was again thoroughly considered. I have no new arguments and no new ideas to present on the subject, and no new ideas seem to have emerged from all the meetings. The suggestions which I made are simple, clear, and as far as I am concerned, indispensable, and I cannot see the purpose of another conference.

At the meeting of the Executive Committee on the 31st, you referred the matter of my resignation to a meeting of the full Council on September 14. Dr. Goldstein wishes to consult the Executive of the Z.O.A. about it. In the meantime, I presume, both London and Jerusalem will have been approached by various people. The subject is likely to develop into an unfortunate public controversy which our Movement cannot afford at this time. I must therefore repeat that my resignation is final and that, as of today, I have relinquished my office in the Council. I shall issue no public statement on my resignation unless misrepresentations provoke it. There should be no difficulty in filling my post. There are some already waiting for it with baited breath.

In taking leave of the Emergency Council, may I be permitted, because of my profound interest in the success of the grave and difficult tasks which lie ahead for our Movement, and because of my experience with the work of the Council during the past year, to make

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the following suggestions:

1. The Emergency Council should request the Jewish Agency immediately to close down its political bureau in Washington or to have its activities sharply restricted to Latin-American countries or to such economic projects which the Agency is fostering in this country. The Bureau was set up in May of last year because Dr. Weizmann had despaired of re-organizing the Emergency Committee into an efficient, functioning body. This was also the explanation which Shertok gave in Jerusalem for the setting up of the Bureau, namely that: "the public in the United States knew little concerning Jewish aspirations and achievements in Palestine and there was need for better presentation of the Zionist cause before the United States Government." But an effective re-organization of the Emergency Council did take place last September, and since that time the Emergency Council has, by common agreement, done a quite satisfactory job. There is no need at present for another Bureau in Washington to do what the Emergency Council is quite able to do by itself. This is not a question of authority of the Jewish Agency. The Agency has the authority to establish as many bureaus as it wishes, and those who raise this issue know that it is a spurious one. It is a question of efficiency of operation, and practical administration facility in times of an emergency. The Jewish Agency has an effective and well-equipped political arm in our Emergency Council and should use it. It needs no other. Two agencies, claiming as Dr. Goldmann does, "equality of Status", trying to do the same work in the same country can only lead to frustration, hindrance and conflict.

2. I suggest, furthermore, that the Emergency Council should do away with the office of Co-chairmen. You cannot have at the head of a dynamic political actions committee two chairmen, unless one clearly regards his position as honorary. Dr. Wise, who had given me the definite understanding, when he appealed to me twice to take over the active leadership of our political work, that he intended to retire to the position of an elder statesman in the movement, changed his mind somewhere along the way and has since insisted on doing everything that I as active chairman was supposed to be doing. The agreement signed in Dr. Wise's study on August 6 of last year specifically stated that Dr. Silver "will be summoned to leadership in the sphere of political affairs" and also referred to the Emergency Council as "the body responsible for the centralized direction of our political efforts." The spirit of this agreement has not been lived up to. This has led to serious friction which is inherent in an unsound administrative set-up which should be immediately corrected.

The Emergency Council and its Executive should have one and the same chairman who should be given full authority to carry on the political work of our movement subject, of course, to constant surveillance and control by the Council. This chairman should be one who

September 1, 1944

is free to devote himself maximally to the work and is not otherwise engaged in the active leadership of a number of other national organizations. The presence of two chairmen at the head of the Council tends to encourage certain politically-minded members of the Council to play off one chairman against the other and to fish in troubled waters. I opposed the system of co-chairmen a year ago, before I took office, but I was persuaded by friends, and against my will, to go into such an arrangement. It did not work. It cannot work.

In spite of the physical hardships of the past year, and the heavy burden of work which I carried and which was not made any easier by some of the internal difficulties to which I have referred, I am grateful for having had the opportunity to work with the American Zionist Emergency Council and I hope that my work has not been altogether without merit.

With all good wishes and with unshaken faith in the ultimate triumph of our historic cause, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:DK



September 7, 1944

The Hon. Robert A. Taft
United States Senate
Washington, D.C.

My dear Senator Taft:

I am happy that you are making inquiries in the War Department concerning its present attitude towards the Taft-Wagner Resolution. It would be amazing if it would maintain the same attitude which it held last February now that the war in Europe is entering upon its last stages. It is of utmost importance that the Resolution be acted on before November. Our definite impression, both here and in London, is that a decisive pronouncement will be made on the subject of Palestine before November. It is important that the voice of America should be heard before the decision is made and announced. I am hoping that you will take the initiative in piloting the Resolution through as you did in securing the introduction of the Palestine Plank in the Republican Platform.

You may recall that I invited you, last Spring, to address a public meeting under the auspices of the Cleveland Zionist Society. You were not free to come at the time. I note that you are scheduled to address the City Club on Saturday, October 21. Could you arrange to stay over for Sunday evening, October 22? It would give the Jewish community of Cleveland an opportunity to welcome you and to hear you.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

ARS:BK

C
O
P
Y

Sep 8, 1944

NLT NAHUM GOLDMANN
1720 SIXTEENTH STREET NORTHWEST WASHINGTON DC

VIEW CHANGED SITUATION APPROACHING SOVIET AMBASSADOR REGARDING
FIRST CONTINUED IMMIGRATION FROM RUMANIA SECOND RELIEF FROM
PALESTINE TO NEEDY JEWS IN NEWLY CONQUERED OCCUPIED TERRITORIES
THIRD EMISSARIES TO BUCAREST OTHER CENTRES FOR RESCUE ACTIVITIES
FURTHER AFIELD STOP SOLICITING FOREIGN OFFICE SUPPORT STOP PLEASE
ACT LIKEWISE VISAVIS SOVIET EMBASSY STATE DEPARTMENT STOP WE
REOPENING COLONIAL WHOLE QUESTION IMMIGRATION FROM LIBERATED OTHER
COUNTRIES STOP PLEASE ACT ACCORDANCE MY IMMIGRATION STATEMENT
TRANSMITTED PALCOR ITA STOP YOUR ADDITIONAL INFORMATION ISTANBUL
REPORTS NO DIFFICULTIES REGARDING SHIPPING BLACKSEA STOP TURKISH
BOAT NOW ANCHORING CONSTANZA TWO BULGARIAN BOATS READY BURGAS YOUTH
EXHAUSTED IN LABOUR CAMPS INSISTS PALESTINE STOP POSITION NUMBERS
REFUGEES INCLUDING TRANSNISTRIAN ORPHANS HOPELESS UNLESS EMIGRATE
STOP CABLE STEPS PROSPECTS



MOSHE SHERTOK

September 8, 1944

Honorable Elbert D. Thomas
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator Thomas:

We are writing to you with regard to the Resolution recently introduced into the Senate and the House, calling for the immediate establishment of "emergency rescue shelters in Palestine for all Hebrews who can get there" and in regard to which, as co-Chairmen of the American Zionist Emergency Council representing the organized Zionist Movement in this country, we venture to address to you the following observations.

The Congressmen and Senators who have sponsored this Resolution are moved by the noblest humanitarian sentiments and their sympathetic efforts deserve the thanks and gratitude of Jews everywhere. It is obviously necessary, however, to consider whether the Resolution in fact promotes the object which it seeks to serve. So far as any practical results are concerned, in present circumstances unfortunately, particularly in view of the state of war existing between Rumania and Hungary, the passage of such a resolution will do nothing to promote actual rescue. On the other hand, its introduction serves to obscure certain immediate needs of the refugee situation and to prevent action in that regard.

The immediate question with regard to the Jews of Hungary is not that of providing camps for their reception abroad but of securing their exit from Axis-controlled territory. Thus several thousand Jews in Hungary are at present actually in possession of immigration visas to Palestine, but the Nazis have hitherto succeeded in preventing their escape.

Even under the Palestine White Paper there are still some 14,000 immigration certificates into Palestine available for distribution. But on the pretext that these certificates should be ear-marked for Jews in Hungary and other Axis countries, the British Government has virtually put a stop to all Jewish immigration into Palestine. For while the prospects of any bulk transfer of Jews from Axis occupied territories are at present small, thousands of Jewish refugees who have reached Italy and other "safe" areas and wish to begin their lives afresh in Palestine, are precluded from doing so because the certificates are reserved for persons in enemy territory. These other

September 8, 1944.

refugees are in fact physically safe but morally and materially they are deteriorating. Moreover, their removal from southern Italy in particular, by making room for others, would greatly improve the prospects of rescue from Hungary and elsewhere via Yugoslavia. Accordingly, what is necessary is not the creation of temporary refugee camps in Palestine for Jews in Hungary, but the opening of Palestine to Jewish refugees wherever they be.

The Resolution as it stands, therefore, is inadequate and ineffective, but in addition it is objectionable on two other grounds. In the first place it is premised on the condition that Jews shall be brought to Palestine for temporary internment in refugee camps, but subject to ultimate removal elsewhere. This is in diametrical opposition to the internationally recognized claim of Jews to come to Palestine "as of right and not on sufferance." And secondly, the terminology of the Resolution embodies a conception which is utterly alien to and resented by the great mass of Jews everywhere. It is the terminology of Mr. Peter Bergson and his handful of associates of the so-called "Hebrew Committee of National Liberation." These self-appointed spokesmen of the "Hebrew" nation draw a distinction between the Jews of America and those of Palestine and Europe. The latter are stated to be not Jews but "Hobrows", and it is these "Hobrows" that Mr. Bergson and his friends claim to represent. The fact that the democratically elected representatives of the Jews of Palestine and the entire Jewish press of Palestine from extreme right to extreme left ridicule the representation which has thus been thrust on Palestine Jewry and have described it as a fake and a fraud, troubles Mr. Bergson not at all. It is sufficient for his purposes if well-meaning Christians can be led to believe that he has in fact a mandate on behalf of Jewry and if with their support he is enabled to indulge in one publicity stunt after another and to travel under the false colors of one who speaks as the authorized representative of his people.

The net result of a resolution such as that now submitted to Congress will be:

- (a) That nothing practical whatsoever emerges.
- (b) That the offensive terminology of the Hebrew Committee, which cuts off from the Jewish people a great faction of its numbers, will find official recognition in a resolution of the Congress of the United States, and
- (c) That instead of affirming the right of Jews freely to enter their National Home in Palestine, it is proposed to put that country on the same basis as say the camp at Oswego -- a temporary shelter from which they will be subjected to ultimate removal.

It is earnestly to be hoped that this effort by a tiny splinter group in Jewish life to mislead unsuspecting well-wishers of the Jewish people and to impose through them its own peculiar ideology, will be seen for what it is.

September 8, 1944.

We desire again, in conclusion, to express appreciation of the motives which animate the sponsors of the resolution before Congress. We would most earnestly urge them, however, in the interest of the cause which they so sincerely desire to help, to concentrate on the one real measure of Jewish salvation, namely, the opening of the gates of Palestine to all Jews who may wish to go there, wherever they may be, and the re-establishment there of a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth.

With kindest regards, we are

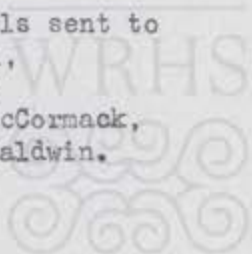
Sincerely yours,

Abba Hillel Silver

AHS:SSW:LBI

Stephen S. Wise

Duplicate originals sent to
Senators Ferguson,
Taft, Murray; and
Representatives McCormack,
Lane, Scott and Baldwin.



WALTER F. GEORGE, GA., CHAIRMAN
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EUGENE D. MILLIKIN, COLO.

CHRISTIE B. KENNEDY, CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FINANCE

September 11, 1944

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver,
Chairman - Executive Committee,
American Zionist Emergency Council,
The Temple - East 105th St. at Ansel Road,
Cleveland, Ohio.

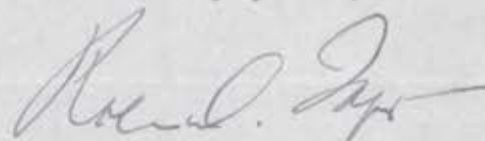
Dear Rabbi Silver:

I have your letter of September 7th. I talked to Senator Connally about the Palestine Resolution. I understand he has called up Stimson and talked to him but has had no definite reply. I have also written Stimson with the same result up to date.

As you suggest, I am planning to be in Cleveland on Saturday, October 21st and I should be glad to stay over on the 22nd if you care to arrange a meeting for that night. It would give me a good opportunity to set forth my views on foreign policy.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely yours,



RT/pr

CONFIDENTIAL

PALESTINE COMMISSION

of the

AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE

Minutes of Meeting held Sept. 11, 1944

PRESENT: Louis Lipsky, Presiding; Jacob Alson, Mrs. Samuel W. Halprin, Herman P. Kopplemann, Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt, Max J. Schneider, Mrs. Albert P. Schoolman, Carl Sherman, Dr. Benjamin Shwadran, William I. Siegal, Robert Silverman, Mrs. Simon E. Sobeloff, David Wertheim, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, and I. L. Kenen, secretary.

MINUTES: Approved.

THE POLITICAL CONVENTIONS:

A report on the activities which have been carried on by the American Zionist Emergency Council to win the adoption of Palestine planks by the Republican and Democratic Parties was submitted by the secretary.

Motion made and seconded to approve report, copy of which is available in files.

COOPERATION BETWEEN CONFERENCE AND AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL:

Following discussion, it was agreed that it was the sense of the Commission that in the future work of the American Zionist Emergency Council, greater emphasis and scope should be given to the American Jewish Conference, within the area of the resolutions adopted by the Conference.

FREE PORT RESOLUTIONS:

The Commission considered legislation introduced by Senator Thomas of Utah and sponsored by the Hebrew Committee of National Liberation, calling for the establishment of emergency refugee shelters in Palestine similar to the free port in Oswego. Because such shelters are inconsistent with the conception of Palestine as a Jewish National Home and contrary to the Rescue Resolution adopted by the American Jewish Conference, which provides that Jewish refugees reaching Palestine shall have a right to establish their permanent home in that country, the Commission voted to record its opposition to these resolutions. It recommended to the Interim Committee that the Congressional sponsors be so notified by the Conference and that they be urged instead to support the Wagner-Taft and Wright-Compton resolutions.

PALESTINE RESOLUTIONS IN CONGRESS:

The Chairman stated that the American Zionist Emergency Council was endeavoring to secure the approval of the Administration at Washington in advance of any action with regard to the Palestine resolutions in Congress. This procedure was approved by the Palestine Commission, which passed a motion by Dr. Wise to the effect that:

Should the Administration decline to give clearance for the resolutions, the question should be considered anew by the Commission before any further action is taken by the American Zionist Emergency Council.

There being no further business, the meeting was adjourned.



Charge to the account of AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL, 342 MADISON AVE. \$

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED	
DOMESTIC	CABLE
TELEGRAM	ORDINARY
DAY LETTER	URGENT RATE
SERIAL	DEFERRED
NIGHT LETTER	NIGHT LETTER

Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise the message will be transmitted as a telegram or ordinary cablegram.

WESTERN UNION

1206

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

CHECK

ACCOUNTING INFORMATION

TIME FILED

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

SEPTEMBER 12, 1944

DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER
19,810 SHAKER HEIGHTS
CLEVELAND, OHIO

FOR VICTORY
BUY
WAR BONDS
TODAY

THE UNDERSIGNED MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE STAFF, MEETING IN A CRUCIAL MOMENT IN AMERICAN ZIONIST HISTORY, JOIN IN EXPRESSING COMPLETE DEVOTION TO YOUR EFFECTIVE PROGRAM. CONVINCED THAT OUR WORK WILL SUFFER IRREPARABLE INJURY IF YOUR ENERGETIC PERSONALITY AND LEADERSHIP ARE REMOVED AT THIS TIME, WE URGE YOU TO ATTEND THURSDAY'S MEETING IN PERSON. WE BELIEVE THAT YOUR PRESENCE THERE WILL ENHANCE THE ALREADY GOOD POSSIBILITIES FOR A COMPLETE VICTORY FOR YOUR PROGRAM. YOU ALONE CAN GIVE COMPLETE EXPRESSION TO YOUR POSITION AND CLARIFY THE REAL ISSUES. IN ANY CASE WE MAINTAIN THAT YOUR POSITION MUST BE MADE CRISTAL CLEAR IN THE RECORD FOR ALL TO SEE AND KNOW.

HARRY L. SHAPIRO
HAROLD P. MANSON
ARTHUR LOURIE
ABE TUVIM

ARNOLD K. ISRAELI
I. B. BERKSON
SULAMITH SCHWARTZ
ADOLPH HUBBARD

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED	
DOMESTIC	CABLE
TELEGRAM	FULL RATE
DAY LETTER	DEFERRED
NIGHT MESSAGE	NIGHT LETTER
NIGHT LETTER	SHIP RADIOGRAM

Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise message will be transmitted as a full-rate communication.

WESTERN UNION

R. B. WHITE
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

1206-A

CHECK
ACCT'G INFMN.
TIME FILED

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

September 14, 1944

Mr. Cruso
Jewish Frontier
New York, N.Y.

PLEASE CONVEY TO GATHERING AT MEMORIAL MEETING PROFOUND SORROW WHICH I SHARE WITH ALL ASSEMBLED IN THE PASSING OF ONE OF THE MOST NOBLE AND RARE SPIRITS OF OUR MOVEMENT, BERL KATZENELSON. HE WAS AN INSPIRATION TO MANY. HIS SUPERB IDEALISM, HIS UTTER SELFLESSNESS AND HIS FINE VISION ARE WOVEN IN THE VERY FABRIC OF OUR NEW LIFE IN PALESTINE. OUR PEOPLE WILL LONG CHERISH HIS NAME IN GRATITUDE AND IN BLESSING.

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING HELD SEPTEMBER 14, 1944

A meeting of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Thursday, September 14th, at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Stephen S. Wise (presiding), Maurice Boukstein, Philip Cruso, Mrs. Judith Epstein, Leon Gellman, Rabbi Wolf Gold, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Dr. James G. Heller, Jeannette Leibel, Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Irving Lipkowitz, Louis Lipsky, Emanuel Neumann, Samuel Rothstein, Mrs. Bertha Schoolman, Herman Shulman, Mrs. Rebecca Shulman, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, David Wertheim.

Rabbi Leon I. Feuer, Arthur Lourie, Harold P. Manson, Harry L. Shapiro, Abe Tuvim.

Dr. Joseph Cohn, Isaiah L. Kenen, Robert Silverman.

REPORTS

A report was rendered on action taken following the Executive Committee meeting of September 11th. In connection with the refusal of the Palestine Administration to allocate Palestine immigration certificates to refugees other than those still in Nazi occupied territory (see Minutes of Executive Committee meeting held September 11th), the Executive Committee believed that representations should be made to the British Embassy but decided that the most effective approach would be through the American Jewish Conference and the matter was therefore referred to the Interim Committee of the Conference, which is seeking an interview with Lord Halifax.

With regard to the resolution introduced in Congress, on the instigation of the Bergson group, calling for emergency shelters in Palestine, a letter had been sent to the Senators and Representatives who had sponsored the resolution pointing out the inadequacies of the resolution and the offensive terminology of the Hebrew Committee of National Liberation introduced in it. A full page advertisement urging support for the resolution had appeared in the New York Post a few days ago, but from all indications it appeared that there was no possibility of anything further being done with the resolution in Congress.

An item which had received publicity in the press was the meeting of refugees in Italy which had been addressed by Sir Clifford Heathcote-Smith, representative of the Intergovernmental Committee for Refugees, who had sought to discourage the refugees from going to Palestine. The attitude of Sir Clifford was indicative of an attitude which had very grave implications for Jewish immigration to Palestine.

There had been a strong reaction to Sir Clifford Heathcote-Smith's statements to the refugees in the entire Palestine press. The Executive Committee decided to send a letter of protest to Sir Herbert Emerson, head of the Intergovernmental Committee; in addition, the American Jewish Conference delegation to the British Embassy will take up the matter with Lord Halifax.

FEDERAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES OF CHRIST

The conference convened by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America to be devoted to a discussion on Palestine, and which had been held the previous day, was discussed. Rabbi Heller, Dr. Berkson, Mr. Lourie, and Professor Albright presented the Zionist case; Professor Hitti and Mr. Baroudi spoke for the Arabs (Professor Hocking also was to have participated, but did not attend); Dr. Eisendrath, of the Union of American Hebrew Congregation, had been invited; and the Council for Judaism was represented by Rabbi Elmer Berger. On behalf of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ, there were Dr. Johnson, head of the Research Department of the Federal Council; Mrs. Trotter, his assistant; Dr. Hoffmann, and two other members of the Council's missionary staff.

The matter had arisen originally some months ago, when the Federal Council had proposed to issue an Information Bulletin on the subject of Palestine. This Bulletin had been shown to Dr. Berkson of the Research Department, who had prepared a full reply, and subsequently, as a result of this and of the intervention of Dr. Goldstein, who had important contacts with the Federal Council of Churches, the publication of the Bulletin had been deferred.

There had been an effective presentation of the Zionist point of view at the conference, but the approach of the representatives of the Federal Council had been a distinctly negative one. Many of their officials had certainly been influenced by the outlook of the Beirut University people. It remained to be seen, however, whether they would issue a statement hostile to the Zionist point of view, particularly since they were aware that it might produce unfavorable reactions in the Jewish communities in this country, and in addition the Executive of the Federal Council would have to consider the sensibilities of many of their members who are affiliated with the Christian Council on Palestine.

It was believed that it was essential to maintain contact with the Federal Council of Churches.

IMMIGRATION

Referring to the present situation with regard to immigration into Palestine, attention was drawn to the article, by Lewis Gannett, appearing in the current issue of "The Nation", describing the work of the Intergovernmental Committee for Refugees and the various agencies that will deal with refugees. It was suggested that this might be the time to demand representation of the Jewish Agency on all these agencies. Since Dr. Goldmann was going to Palestine in a few days it was recommended that the Emergency Council draw up proposals in this connection, to be conveyed by Dr. Goldmann to the Agency in Palestine.

It was decided to refer this matter to a small committee who would meet with Dr. Goldmann before his departure for Palestine.

ARTICLES IN "THE NATION"

It was recommended that the local emergency committees be contacted and requested to have a number of letters written to "The Nation" expressing appreciation of the fine articles which they have been publishing dealing with the problems of Jewish refugees.

JEWISH AGENCY BUREAU

After the last meeting of the Executive Committee, a sub-committee had met with Dr. Silver and submitted the following resolution to him:

"1. All approaches to the American Government or its officials on matters relating to the program of political activities of the American Zionist Emergency Council shall be undertaken by representatives of the movement only with the prior approval of the Executive Committee of the Council.

"2. To further the implementation of Paragraph 1, between meetings of the Executive Committee, the co-chairmen of the Council and Dr. Goldmann and Mr. Lipsky, on behalf of the Jewish Agency Bureau, will consult with respect to all emergency matters or courses of action not previously determined upon by the Council or its Executive Committee which involve approaches to the American Government, and on all matters relating to the program of activities of the Council which come to the attention of Dr. Goldmann and Mr. Lipsky requiring immediate action - in order to determine what steps shall be taken, by whom and in what manner.

"3. It is understood that nothing contained herein shall be deemed to limit or restrict the freedom of action of the American Zionist Emergency Council."

This formulation was approved by Dr. Silver and had also been approved by Dr. Goldmann.

A motion was made, and passed unanimously, that this resolution be adopted.

Dr. Silver then made the following statement:

"I should like to make this statement upon the adoption of this resolution and say a few words by way of explanation and clarification of what expired in the last few weeks. I would have preferred to have action taken by the Executive Committee or the Council without my intervention, because I was personally concerned, and I wished to have the matter decided on in principle. I referred the matter to the program Committee twice, and then to the Executive Committee, before which it came on two occasions. I therefore do not wish it to be said that I did not want to meet with a sub-committee. I had hoped not to come to this meeting tonight, and did so only on the urgent requests wired to me by good friends. There was also a cable from Jerusalem. I was particularly grateful for a wire which came to me from the staff urging me to come to this meeting.

"I am not completely satisfied with the resolution, because it does not entirely represent my conception of the place of the Emergency Council on the American scene. One has begun to talk about the Jewish Agency Bureau as though it were a long established agency. Actually it came into existence May of last year when Dr. Weizmann was here, as an emergency measure, and was established because of the failure of the Emergency Council at that time to establish an effective bureau of its own in Washington. When the Bureau was organized it was contemplated that it should function with a committee made up of American Zionists. It was even suggested that Dr. Silver should be the chairman of the committee. That body never came into being. After the establishment of the Jewish Agency Bureau the Emergency Council was reorganized, after long negotiations. Since that time, the Council built up an effective machine, and has done a good job.

There is no need for the Jewish Agency to have two political bodies. Logic dictates that the Agency Bureau, if it does not want to go out of existence, should limit its activities to matters with which the Emergency Council is not concerned, e.g. Latin America, economic matters, etc.

to conduct political work in this country.
"It has been said that I challenge the authority of the Jewish Agency / That is pure fiction. No man in this room has a greater respect for the rights of the Jewish Agency than I have. It is significant, too, that the Poale Zion, which should be most concerned with the authority of the Jewish Agency, has found it easy to agree with me in this matter.

"It is a question of whether the Bureau is necessary, whether it serves a purpose and is doing an effective job.

"I am willing to proceed on the basis of this resolution which has just been adopted. I am willing to proceed with consultations when emergencies arise. I hope you will not be saying before long that there is a "kitchen cabinet" in existence, or that the parties will ask why they cannot have representatives on it. But I will bring to the attention of this body any infringement of this agreement and will expect this body to act, beyond merely passing resolutions. I shall notify London and Jerusalem of this action and shall furthermore request London and Jerusalem to correspond with us directly.

"With regard to this controversy, it is a luxury which our movement cannot afford, but it was the only way I could bring the situation to a head. I hope it has now been clarified.

"As I interpret my work, Dr. Wise and I have been called to do a certain job. As chairman of the Executive Committee I was called to give the work centralization and direction, and centralization does not mean having two official Zionist bodies going to the same officials in Washington. We make ourselves ridiculous in the eyes of these officials. We have lost and not gained by this procedure. As long as I remain in this position I shall insist on centralization and direction. I am willing, together with Dr. Wise, to assume responsibility. But that means having authority. When you become dissatisfied with my work you can ask for my resignation.

"I hope we will not have any more of these quarrels, which have unfortunately made some of our meeting unpleasant. There is a lot of work to be done, particularly with regard to the Resolutions before Congress.

"I want to close with these words: 'It is Erev Rosh Hashanah, and I wish all of you a very happy New Year.'"

Dr. Wise said he was sure we were all happy over the peaceable and friendly outcome of the matter. Just as Dr. Silver means to live by the terms of the agreement, he was sure that Dr. Goldmann would live by them and would be prepared always to give us the benefit of his great gifts and his indubitable loyalty to our cause.

RESOLUTION BEFORE CONGRESS

Mr. Shulman reported that at the last meeting of the Executive Committee the question of the Resolution was discussed and it was felt that because of Mr. Stettinius' absence and the inadvisability of delaying any longer by waiting for his return, an interview should be arranged with Mr. McCloy and, if possible, Secretary Stimson, with a view to having them withdraw the ban on our resolution. It was therefore decided that representatives of the Emergency Council, together with Senator Wagner and Mr. Bloom, arrange to meet with Mr. McCloy. Pursuant to that action, Mr. Shulman met with Senator Wagner, who is anxious to go ahead with the resolution. He will be in Washington Wednesday or Thursday of next week and an attempt is being made to get an appointment with Mr. McCloy on one of those days.

Mr. Bloom, too, wished to join the delegation to the War Department, but he would not be available next week. In view of the fact that Congress may adjourn October 1st, it was decided not to wait until the following Monday, the day suggested by Mr. Bloom.

Mr. Boukstein recalled that at a previous meeting of the Council, it was agreed that an attempt would be made to have the word "ultimately" removed from the resolution when it is brought out. This is even more important now, said Mr. Boukstein, since the Palestine plank adopted by the Democratic party does not contain that word.

Mr. Shulman referred to the proposal of the Program Committee that the resolution be reworded to conform with the Democratic party plank, if that will be possible.

After further discussion with regard to procedure, it was agreed that the matter be referred to the committee which has been named to take up action in Washington.

The meeting adjourned at 10:30 P. M.

A. L.



September 15, 1944

Mr. Herman Shulman
39 Broadway
New York, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Shulman:

I have been thinking over the visit of our delegation to McCloy with Senator Wagner. It will not do to call on McCloy "cold" without some pressure previously brought to bear on the War Department. Unless McCloy knows of the tremendous pressure for the passage of the Resolution among people who count, he is likely to stall for time and indicate that the time is not yet ripe, etc. That is the word evidently which Stimson had given to Connally, and the coming of a delegation to McCloy without intensive pressure exerted through various sources on McCloy prior to the coming of our committee may result in nothing. It will be too late to start agitating after a negative or non-committal reply from McCloy.

I therefore think that a few men should immediately be seen in Washington and in New York who would indicate to McCloy, each in his own way, that the War Department's previous interdiction should be removed in view of the change in the military situation, in view also of the Democratic and Republican planks, the approaching elections, the possibility that a new Palestine policy is even now in the making. If you agree with me, I think that we ought to get in touch with such men as Senator Truman, who can be reached through Hannegan, who in turn could be reached by our good friend, Abe Goodman in St. Louis. Truman's opinions would carry great weight with the War Department. Senator Mead of New York should be seen at once. He is now head of a very important committee previously headed by Truman which is in close touch with the War Department. McCormack, who is greatly concerned about the situation in Massachusetts, should likewise be seen at once. Frankfurter should immediately be contacted. He spoke to McCloy, you will recall, about this very matter at the time of the Hearings on our Resolutions. Perhaps two or three other important contacts should immediately be made. Call me Saturday and let me know what you think about it. Leo Sack is now in Washington and could contact some of these people for us, or it might be well for one or two members of our Executive Committee to go down to Washington to see some of these individuals prior to the visit of our delegation to McCloy.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK

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

September 16, 1943

Mr. Coleman Silbert, President
New England Zionist Region
73 Tremont Street
Boston, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Silbert:

Since coming to Washington I have done a little scouting around and I think it would be very desirable to file a Resolution re-affirming our stand with respect to Palestine. I have made a rough draft of it, and should be very grateful if you would advise me whether it meets with your approval. I do not think it should be too long, and will appreciate it if you can wire me your views so that I can get the Resolution into the works as quickly as possible, unless you feel that some major changes should be made.

With kindest regards,

WRHS


Most sincerely yours,

Christian A. Herter

Handwritten note in Hebrew:
גביר הרב ד"ר מר. קולמן סילברט, ניו אינגלנד
זיוניסט ריגיון, 73 טרמونت סטריט, בוסטון, מסצ'וסטס
הנדון, "ההצעה להקמת מדינה יהודית בפיילסטין"
הנכונה, אשר הוגשה לראשונה ב-1942, והיא תכלית
ההצעה הזו.

The Temple

EAST 105TH STREET AT ANSEL ROAD

TELEPHONES GARFIELD 0150-0151

Cleveland

WILLIAM M. KRAMER
ASSISTANT RABBI

ABBA HILLEL SILVER, D. D.
RABBI

HARRY A. LEVY
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

September 19, 1944

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

My dear Dr. Atkinson:

Permit me to thank you and Dr. Carl Voss for your very gracious New Year greeting which I profoundly appreciate. The moral support and the understanding sympathy which our cause has received during these trying years from the Christian forces of America has been a source of profound gratification. I pray that during the decisive days to come, the Christian sentiment of the United States will be effectively marshalled to insure the upbuilding of the Jewish Commonwealth which is so vital immediately for the rescue of our helpless millions in Europe and ultimately for the solution of the great millennial problem of Jewish national homelessness.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

Abba Hillel Silver

AHS:BK

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A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

1201

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NB541 35=XQ NEWYORK NY 12 554P

DR ABBA HILLEL SILVER=

THE TEMPLE CLEVE=

WE AGAIN URGE YOU TO ATTEND THE COUNCIL MEETING THURSDAY.
WE ARE SURE THAT YOUR PRESENCE WILL BRING ABOUT A CLEAR
DECISION AND ENABLE THE EXECUTIVE TO CONTINUE ITS WORK
UNDER YOUR LEADERSHIP WITHOUT HINDRANCE=

DAVID WERTHEIM.

3740

No	By	Time	Initials
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			ME

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

The Temple
Ansel Rd. & E. 105
Cleveland, Ohio
Sept. 19, 1944

Dr. Chaim Weizmann
77 Great Russell St.
London, England.

My dear Dr. Weizmann:

I trust that you are well, and I send you and Mrs. Weizmann my best wishes for the coming year, in which Mrs. Silver joins me most warmly. I hope that it will be a year of great and welcome decisions for the world, our people and for Jewish Palestine, and that you will see the blessed yield of your untiring years of work and sacrifice.

You will recall that I wrote to you a few months ago with reference to the Agency Bureau and the difficulties and embarrassments which have since developed as a result of it. You felt, in your letter which you wrote to me on May 1st, that these difficulties would be smoothed out. Unfortunately they have increased and become aggravated during the past five or six months to a point where I felt that there was no way out of the impasse but to send in my resignation. ✓ It is difficult in the space of a letter, and under existing conditions, to tell you the full story of the numerous unfortunate incidents which have occurred as a result of the activities of our friend who suffers from excessively active ambassadorial glands, and who acts as a roving ambassador in Washington for the Jewish people on all matters under the sun, and who injects himself in every situation, anticipates your every move, and whenever the officially designated representatives of the Emergency Council have an important visit to make, of which he gets wind, he makes sure to get there first...Our friend, you will remember, is also the spokesman of the World Jewish Congress. He had promised at the time he was appointed director of the Agency Bureau to cease representing the World Jewish Congress in Washington, but he has forgotten about his promise. As a result, the halls of our Government are blessed with his almost continuous omnipresence.

The Emergency Council, at a meeting on September 14, unanimously adopted the enclosed resolutions. Their object

September 19, 1944

is to curb the gentleman's excessive activities and independent action without at the same time reflecting unfavorably on the authority of the Jewish Agency whose representative you appointed him. The gentleman has agreed to these resolutions. Personally I should have gone much further and would have suggested to the Emergency Council to request the Jewish Agency to close down the Bureau altogether. The Agency has, of course, every right to establish as many bureaus as it desires, and no one calls its authority into question. What is questioned by those who are active on the scene in Zionist work in this country, is the necessity and the helpfulness of such a bureau at this time. Two political agencies trying to do the same work in one country in war time can only lead, and in this instance it has led to confusion, over-lapping and serious embarrassment. The Agency Bureau should either be closed down entirely or its activities sharply delimited to Latin-American countries and to such other matters which do not come within the scope of the political activities of the American Zionist Emergency Council.

You will also recall that when the Bureau was established, there was to be a political committee of American Zionists in charge of it. No such committee was ever appointed with the result that the director of this Bureau has been acting without any controls, and with no responsible body to account to or to consult with. Everything he says or does must be taken ipso facto as the thought or the decision of the Jewish Agency. You will agree with me that this is an anomalous and dangerous situation.

I should like also to convey to you, my dear Dr. Weizmann, and to Mr. Shertok, the unanimous desire of the Emergency Council to have more regular communications, and as frequently as conditions will permit, on all matters related to the political work of the Emergency Council on the American scene sent directly to it from London and Jerusalem. Our Emergency Council should not remain dependent as heretofore upon dribblets of information and occasional communications conveyed to it at their discretion by our friend in the Bureau, and his secretary.

This all sounds like a very querulous letter. I did not intend it to be so, but I feel that you and our friends in Jerusalem ought to know the situation as it exists here.

With all good wishes, I remain

AHS:BK
Enc.

Very cordially yours,

MEMORANDUM

Confidential File

FROM Mr. Leo R. Sack

DATE: September 20, 1944

TO: Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

SUBJECT:

Here is a summary of my conversation on yesterday to supplement my verbal reports to you by telephone. I saw Senator Connally first. He was of the opinion that nothing more could be accomplished at this time because Congressional leaders contemplate adjourning this session on Thursday. (Since he made that statement progress towards adjournment has been made.) Senator Connally said that "a month ago Bob Wagner talked to me about this legislation and expressed the wish that it could be favorably reported".

Connally thereupon suggested to Wagner, he said, that he see Secretary of War Stimson "because he is your constituent" to get him to withdraw his objections to the Wagner-Taft Resolution.

Connally said he indicated to Wagner that if he obtained such a withdrawal of objections from Secretary Stimson, his Committee probably would favorably report the legislation. He did say, however, that he did not positively commit himself.

"Anyway, Bob never came back," Senator Connally continued. "I have never heard another word from him. I assume because of this that Mr. Stimson's objections still stand."

It was at this point in our conversation that Senator Connally advised me that the Navy Department had also interposed objections last Spring, following the objections of the War Department. The Senator was not clear as to whether the Navy objections were verbal or written.

Then Senator Connally expressed the opinion that no particularly good purpose would be accomplished by action on our Resolution at this time because "something is going to be done about Palestine immediately after the War". Connally said that action at this time, therefore, might have an adverse effect as well as a useless effect. He did not say what sort of action will be taken, nor do I believe that he knows.

"The War is hurrying to a close," he went on, "and I am sure that you will not have to wait long now for action."

Following the conversation with Senator Connally I talked to Senator Taft. He told me that he had discussed the Resolution with Senator Connally ten days ago and had requested a favorable report. Senator Connally told him, he said, that he had theretofore discussed the matter with Senator Wagner and had requested Wagner to obtain a clearance from Secretary Stimson. After this, Taft said, he had been trying "for ten days" to see Wagner but he has not been here.

In the meanwhile Taft, immediately after the Conference with Senator Connally, personally wrote to Secretary Stimson asking whether he still

September 20, 1944

objected to passage of the Resolution.

"I received no reply and I have been reluctant to telephone Stimson because he doesn't like me," Mr. Taft continued. He explained that Stimson dislikes him, in his opinion, because he has been "riding" the War Department very hard, and also has referred sarcastically on occasion to Mr. Stimson as being a fourth term candidate.

When Mr. Taft repeated his reluctance to telephone Stimson, I suggested to him that he have some good Republican friend, who has not stepped on the Secretary's toes — preferably a ranking Republican on the Military Affairs Committee — telephone the Secretary. Mr. Taft thought this was a good suggestion and he thereupon returned to the Senate chamber to request Senator Austin of Vermont, allegedly a sincere friend of Palestine, to telephone Mr. Stimson. Senator Austin, however, balked.

Mr. Taft then decided to telephone Assistant Secretary McCloy whom he previously had told me he did not know and, therefore, was reluctant to telephone him when I had earlier mentioned his name as a possibility. In the meanwhile, Senator Taft told me later, you (Dr. Silver) telephoned him and subsequently he called you back. Assistant Secretary McCloy advised Mr. Taft that he then was having some of his staff officers give him a report on conditions in the Near East, as they pertained to the Palestine Resolution. Mr. McCloy told Taft that he would be able to advise him by Thursday morning.

Senator Wagner returned to Washington in the early afternoon. I went to his office to inquire what Secretary Stimson had advised him on the basis of Mr. Connally's suggestion. To my great surprise Mr. Wagner said that he had not seen Stimson at all because he regarded Connally's suggestion as a form of "passing the buck". Nevertheless, Mr. Wagner promised that he would phone Secretary Stimson during the afternoon. But as of 11 o'clock this Wednesday morning he has not done so, his office advises me.

I was unable to see Senator Vandenberg yesterday until after the adjournment of the Senate. I waited in his office until the Senate session was over and although he was apologetic for not being able to see me sooner, he was emphatically of the opinion that no action could be taken on our Resolution during the remainder of this session of the Congress.

"It will be a physical impossibility to obtain committee action even if Secretary Stimson gives his approval to the Resolution," Senator Vandenberg declared. "We do not have a quorum of our Committee. There are present only four out of twenty-three members."

Senator Vandenberg then told me that his Committee would not attempt to approve the Resolution by the procedure of polling members to attain their acquiescence because the Resolution involves "policy". "Our Committee," he said, "never undertakes to poll membership except in cases of nominations."

The conversation continued further but always Vandenberg came back to the point that because of the shortage of time remaining to this session, and the inability of his Committee to obtain a quorum it was "impossible" to obtain a favorable report. At no time did he qualify his opinion as to the "impossibility" of action.

I shall advise you further as developments occur.

Sincerely,

Leo R. Sack

LRS:abr

The Temple - Ansel Rd.
and E. 105th Street
Cleveland, Ohio
September 20, 1944

Mr. David ben Gurion
Jewish Agency
Jerusalem, Palestine

My dear Mr. ben Gurion:

I received your kind cablegram to which I replied. You have undoubtedly received by now my reply. I feel that I should like to write you more fully about the situation although it is difficult in the space of a letter and under existing conditions, to tell you the full story of the numerous unfortunate incidents which have occurred as a result of the activities of our friend who suffers from excessively active ambassadorial glands, and who acts as a roving ambassador in Washington for the Jewish people on all matters under the sun, and who injects himself into every situation, anticipates your every move, and whenever the officially designated representatives of the Emergency Council have an important visit to make, of which he gets wind, he makes sure to get there first.... Our friend, you will remember, is also the spokesman of the World Jewish Congress. He had promised at the time he was appointed director of the Agency Bureau to cease representing the World Jewish Congress in Washington, but he has forgotten about his promise. As a result, the halls of our Government are blessed with his almost continuous omnipresence.

The Emergency Council, at a meeting on September 14, unanimously adopted the enclosed resolutions. Their object is to curb the gentleman's excessive activities and independent action without at the same time reflecting unfavorably on the authority of the Jewish Agency whose representative he has been appointed. The gentleman has agreed to these resolutions. Personally I should have gone much further and would have suggested to the Emergency Council to request the Jewish Agency to close down the Bureau altogether. The Agency has, of course, every right to establish as many bureaus as it desires, and no one calls its authority into question. What is questioned by those who are active on the scene in Zionist work in this country, is the necessity and the helpfulness of such a bureau at this time. Two political agencies trying to do the same work in

one country in war time can only lead, and in this instance it has led, to confusion, over-lapping and serious embarrassment. The Agency Bureau should either be closed down entirely or its activities sharply delimited to Latin-American countries and to such other matters which do not come within the scope of the political activities of the American Zionist Emergency Council.

You will also recall that when the Bureau was established, there was to be a political committee of American Zionists in charge of it. No such committee was ever appointed with the result that the director of this Bureau has been acting without any controls, and with no responsible body to account to or to consult with. Everything he says or does must be taken ipso facto as the thought or the decision of the Jewish Agency. You will agree with me that this is an anomalous and dangerous situation.

I should like also to convey to you, my dear Mr. ben Gurion, the unanimous desire of the Emergency Council to have more regular communications, and as frequently as conditions will permit, on all matters related to the political work of the Emergency Council on the American scene sent directly to it from London and Jerusalem. Our Emergency Council should not remain dependent as heretofore upon dribblets of information and occasional communications conveyed to it at their discretion by our friend in the Bureau, and his secretary.

This all sounds like a very querulous letter. I did not intend it to be so, but I feel that you and our friends in Jerusalem ought to know the situation as it exists here.

With all good wishes for a very happy new year, and in high hopes that the coming year will bring peace to the world and the realization of the great historic hopes of our people, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK
Enc.

[Sept. 20, 1944]

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

AMERICAN ZIONISTS HAIL FORMATION OF JEWISH BRIGADE GROUP BY BRITAIN

WISE AND SILVER HOPE THIS WILL BE PRELIMINARY TO JEWISH REPRESENTATION AT PEACE CONFERENCE

New York --- Dr. Abba Hillel Silver and Dr. Stephen S. Wise, co-chairmen of the American Zionist Emergency Council, today hailed the British Government's announcement of the formation of a Jewish Brigade Group as recognition of "the justice of the Jewish claim to fight under their own flag against the oppressors of their people."

In a formal statement issued here, Dr. Silver and Dr. Wise expressed an "earnest hope that the recognition thus accorded the Jews as a people in the annals of the United Nations will be a preliminary to Jewish representation at the Peace Conference and in the councils of the nations in all matters affecting the future of European Jewry and of Palestine."

Pointing out that the British Government's announcement comes "as the culmination of a struggle which has been conducted since the beginning of the war by the World Zionist Organization, and in this country by the American Zionist Emergency Council, for the recognition of the right of Palestinian and Stateless Jews to fight as Jews in the war against the Nazi aggressor," the statement added that the Jewish Brigade Group "will desire above all to play its part in the invasion of Germany and in the rescue of what survives of the Jewry of Europe."

(more)

"The Jews were singled out by Hitler for mass extermination. Today they no longer fight as anonymous units and they are entitled also to a voice of their own in matters which will affect them in the great decisions that are about to be made," the statement declared.

In a cable to the Executive of the Jewish Agency, of which Dr. Chaim Weizmann is President, the American Zionist Emergency Council extended congratulations on the success of the Agency's "untiring efforts for the establishment of a Jewish military force," and added that "this belated recognition of Palestine Jewry's splendid contribution to the war effort gives renewed hope and encouragement in the struggle for the realization of our aspirations for the establishment of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth."

The text of the statement by Dr. Silver and Dr. Wise follows:

"The announcement by the British Government of the formation of a Jewish Brigade Group comes as the culmination of a struggle which has been conducted since the beginning of the war by the World Zionist Organization and in this country by the American Zionist Emergency Council, for the recognition of the right of Palestinian and Stateless Jews to fight as Jews in the war against the Nazi aggressor. In September 1939, Dr. Weizmann as head of the Zionist movement and of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, in a letter to Prime Minister Chamberlain, offered to enter into immediate arrangements for utilizing Jewish manpower and resources for the war effort. In particular, it was proposed to raise forthwith a Jewish Division to be recruited in Palestine and elsewhere for service with the British Forces wherever required. That offer was not accepted, but more than 30,000 Jews from Palestine, under the auspices of the Jewish Agency, have nevertheless volunteered for service and are today fighting in various units of the British Army. On the battlefields of the Middle East from Syria to Tunis, they have made a splendid contribution. The consolidation of at least a portion of these Jewish units into a Jewish Brigade, though late in the day, is a recognition both of their fine achievement and of the justice of the Jewish claim to fight under their own flag against the oppressors of their people. The Jewish Brigade Group will desire above all to play its part in the invasion of Germany and in the rescue of what survives of the Jewry of Europe. Jews everywhere will follow its participation in the present struggle with pride and satisfaction. It is our earnest hope further that the recognition thus accorded the Jews as a people in the armies of the United Nations will be a preliminary to Jewish representation at the Peace Conference and in the councils of the nations in all matters affecting the future of European Jewry and of Palestine. The Jews were singled out by Hitler for mass extermination. Today they no longer fight as anonymous units and they are entitled also to a voice of their own in matters which will affect them in the great decisions that are about to be made."

MEMORANDUM

FROM Mr. Leo R. Sack
TO: Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
SUBJECT:

DATE: September 22, 1944

Personal

If Hell isn't paved with good intentions, it certainly is paved with promises. And that seems to be what we got at the wind-up of the Congress session. For example:

1. Senator Wagner did not talk to President Roosevelt. I doubt whether he even made an effort to do so, as he told me on Wednesday evening that he would do. When I saw him again yesterday afternoon he had not talked to the President, apparently he was not going to do so, and apparently he did not think it worthwhile to make any last minute effort to get his Resolution through.

His attitude is strange, too, because he is very much worried about his re-election and yet he, apparently, did not think it worthwhile to work diligently and effectively to obtain passage of his Resolution in order to solidify the Jewish vote in his behalf. Certainly, in my opinion, he could have done far more and, also, I believe, that he could have been successful had he really gone to town.

2. Assistant Secretary of War McCloy did not keep his word to Senator Taft insofar as I can ascertain. If you will recall, Senator Taft told you, as well as me, that Mr. McCloy had assured him that he would give him an answer no later than Thursday morning as to whether the War Department still objected to passage of the Wagner-Taft Resolution.

Mr. Taft returned to Cincinnati after dinner on Wednesday evening. On Thursday morning I made inquiry from Mr. Martin, his secretary, and was advised that no word, either by mail or telephone, had been received from McCloy. During the day nothing further was heard, and even up to this morning McCloy has not communicated with Taft.

As a last minute device, I tried on yesterday afternoon to get word from McCloy by having Martin telephone him in the Senator's name. But the buck was passed at McCloy's office. Martin was given an excuse but no information.

3. Congressman Bloom had no intention, apparently, of making a last minute effort because he went up to New York several days ago. Crawford, his secretary, told me, however, that Mr. Bloom had communicated with Drs. Wise and Silver, and he suggested that perhaps Mr. Bloom would tell me of this late development when he returned to Washington next week. Later, Crawford corrected himself to say that the communication was with Dr. Wise. He did not tell me the nature of the communication. He regarded it as "strictly confidential".

Perhaps you have been advised of the nature of the communication. I do know that when I talked with Sol last he was mulling over the idea of

September 22, 1944

returning the Hungarian Jews to Hungary, the Polish Jews to Poland, the German Jews to Germany, and so on, as a means of solving the problem. This, I gathered, was one of the bright State Department ideas, too.

No purpose can be served by thinking out loud at this time. I have the definite impression, however, that had the boat not been rocked during the last month, and had all of us been permitted to work intelligently and in an orderly manner, we might have persuaded some timid souls to really exert themselves and earn the right to capitalize on the Jewish vote because of their alleged contributions to Palestine. When I see you I will think out loud.

In the meanwhile, I am quite a bit concerned because of certain political developments. We are actually face to face with a condition where, apparently, the Democrats feel that they need not bestir themselves in our behalf because they have the entire Jewish vote anyhow, while the Republicans feel, "What the Hell's the use, the Jews are all going to vote for Roosevelt anyhow".

Thus the Democrats feel that nothing more than lip service is needed for us while the Republicans are discouraged from giving us more than lip service.

I do feel ~~this~~, that if Mr. Wagner had taken the intelligent interest in our cause that Mr. Taft has taken, we would be further along. It is on the general aspects of this subject that I hope I can talk to you soon after Yom Kippur. Certainly, as the matter now stands, we have everything to lose and nothing to gain. In the meantime, it becomes increasingly disgusting to hear how much the White House has done for our people.

Very sincerely,


Leo R. Sack

LRS:sbr

Confidential

September 26, 1944.

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

Six months have passed since we were privileged to meet with you to discuss the future of Palestine and the settlement there of hundreds of thousands of homeless Jewish refugees. At that time you authorized us to say on your behalf that "when future decisions are reached, full justice will be done to those who seek a Jewish National Home."

In the meantime events have moved fast and today the liberating forces of the United Nations have already freed considerable areas of Europe from Nazi domination. The problem of what is to be done with the surviving Jews in these and in other areas about to be freed is a matter of immediate moment. The intergovernmental bodies concerned are formulating plans and are taking measures designed apparently to return the refugees to their places of origin or of first refuge. But many of the refugees desire above all to rebuild their shattered lives in Palestine. This opportunity is being denied them and action is being taken which later will be irreparable.

The problem is becoming more acute with every day that passes and it would appear to be of immediate urgency that steps be taken to deal with a situation that is causing widespread disquiet. As heads of the combined Zionist organizations in this country it is our earnest request that you accord us the earliest opportunity of meeting with you in order to submit to you our views on this and on related matters.

Yours faithfully,

Abba Hillel Silver

Stephen S. Wise

Co-Chairmen

77. GREAT RUSSELL STREET,
W.C.1.

28th September, 1944.

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

My dear Dr. Silver,

I am most grateful to you for your letter of the 19th, though I confess that it causes me considerable pain. Not because of what you say, but because it makes me feel my own responsibility for having helped to take you out of your beautiful Temple, and away from the quiet life you were leading in a devoted community, and to inject you into the maelstrom of American Zionist politics. I also feel that some of your complaints are justified, and it is a matter for regret that they should be so, especially in these most difficult and critical times.

XV | You rightly wish to be kept more fully informed of developments on any important subjects, and as promptly as possible. There are technical reasons - to which I will refer later - as well as reasons of substance for our lack of communicativeness. The main reason is that there has been nothing definite to communicate. Officially, there is no change in the situation. We hear, of course, many rumours - some favourable, but most unfavourable. But there is nothing that can be called definite, nothing indicating action or decision.

XX | For instance, we heard - I emphasise that all this is rumour and nothing more - that a project for partition had been worked out, which some people considered to be rather on the "generous" side; I gather it was something like the Peel project, plus the Negev, plus Akaba. Our opponents in the Middle East and in Palestine itself thought this much too much, and argued that such a project, if implemented, would produce turmoil throughout the Middle East. So everybody has been trying to whittle it down. We hear all sorts of suggestions. One which seems to enjoy powerful support amounts to something like the Woodhead "C" proposal - a strip of territory on the coast from north of Gaza to Zichron: without, therefore, the Emek, without Galilee, without Haifa, and so on. Of course it is not for a moment to be contemplated.

X I repeat that nothing is certain; nothing is decided. But I do feel that our friends' hands have to be very much strengthened, so
/as

XX as to enable them to overcome the opposition. And that can be done only by your chiefs taking a definite and firm stand on the matter. I think the President and our Prime Minister can carry it through together, and as long as things remain on their level it will be all right. The danger begins when they descend to the level of those - in the Middle East and in Palestine itself - who want to destroy the Jewish National Home. I have repeatedly warned Smuts, and also Winant, about it. But you must now, at this critical moment, see that our friends are well informed, and that the President has this matter before him. We are preparing a memorandum on the subject, which deals with the question of why partition is not desirable, but of course I do not know whether we shall prevail. But if the partition is such as to produce a Jewish State which is not, and cannot be, XX "viable", that would be a first-class disaster which must at all costs be avoided. You and Wise and all our friends must therefore be constantly on the watch to see that it does not happen. I have no wish to be an alarmist; I repeat that nothing is decided; but I certainly fear that our enemies are trying their utmost to bring about a decision utterly unacceptable to us.

Now that the Prime Minister has returned I shall attempt to see him before leaving for Palestine. I am not at all sure that I shall succeed, but it is my duty to try. I am seeing other members of the Government, too, but whether they will tell me anything I naturally do not know. If I do hear, then you will know at once.

The technical difficulty is, of course, the method of communication. We enjoy no diplomatic privileges in these matters, and have to submit to the ordinary rules of censorship. Although there is never in our correspondence anything that could conceivably be construed as inimical to the Allied cause, with which we are completely identified, still there is always the possibility of saying something which some particular censor may dislike. That does not make for easy writing, and may
/help

MUSEUM 3815.

77, GREAT RUSSELL STREET,
W.C.1.

...3..

help to explain why we have not kept in closer touch with you,
as we should have wished to do.

✓ Both Mrs. Weizmann and myself expect to leave for Palestine at the end of October, and before we go, I am naturally anxious to know what we have to hope - or fear. I think it is essential that you should make contact with Mr. Morgenthau, and perhaps show him some extracts from this letter. I am trying to write to him myself. It was most unfortunate that I was laid up and could not see him while he was here. I am looking forward to the arrival of Hamilton Fish Armstrong, who is to join Winant here as second-in-command. He is, as you know, an old friend. *

Once more I wish you and yours a happy New Year. May it see all our complications and perplexities fade away in the light of new and greater events which I believe to be approaching. Let us hope those events may bring some relief and comfort to our own people, as well as to the world at large.

As ever,

Yours,

Ch. Weizmann

C
O
P
Y

RECEIVED:

SEPTEMBER 28, 1944

FA215 W1081/X LONDON 88 17 1429

NLT NAHUM GOLDMANN
342 MADISON AVENUE

DISTRESSED NO REACTION MY 1/9 also sent you oral message cable
WHETHER RECEIVED STOP ACTION ON MY STATEMENT MOST URGENT
PRESENT STAGE YOUR END STOP MOBILISE ALL PRESSURE ON
DEPARTMENT AND LAVAN CABLE STOP YOUR 8/9 DELAYED MEANWHILE
CABLED JERUSALEM URGING ACCEPTANCE SUGGESTION CONTAINED YOUR
LIPSKYS CABLE MYSELF EXPECTING RETURN JERUSALEM EARLY OCTOBER
WEIZMANN HOPES FLY MIDOCTOBER STOP SUGGEST YOU DONT LEAVE
WITHOUT EXHAUSTING ALL POSSIBLE RRR POSSIBILITIES REGARDING
SUBJECT MY STATEMENT STOP TIME FACTOR YOU END MOST VITAL

MOSHE SHERTOK

cc. Dr. Wise, Dr. Silver, Mr. Lourie, Mr. Lipsky

[Sept. 1944]

1944

RCA

RADIOGRAM

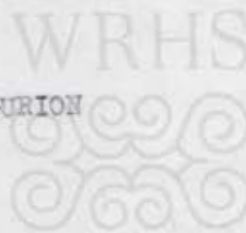
W 268 JERUSALEM 73 17
NLT RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER
342 MADISON AVENUE NEW YORK

LEARNED WITH DEEP REGRET YOUR RESIGNATION FROM CHAIRMANSHIP EMERGENCY COUNCIL STOP
ENTREAT YOU CONTINUE IN OFFICE UNTIL WE CAN JOINTLY CLEAR UP CONTROVERSIAL MATTERS
AND SETTLE THEM BY MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING STOP WE SHALL DO UTMOST EXPEDITE SETTLEMENT
STOP

W 268 PAGE 2 RABBI NEW YORK -

INCONCEIVABLE THAT AT THIS MOST CRITICAL MOMENT OUR MOVEMENT SHOULD LOSE YOUR
COOPERATION AND ZEAL STOP PLEASE CABLE AT ONCE STOP HEARTIEST GOOD WISHES
FOR NEW YEAR

DAVID GENGURION



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

HLA
DAVID BENGURION
JEWISH AGENCY
JERUSALEM

SEPTEMBER 20, 1944

WARMLY APPRECIATE YOUR CABLE STOP COUNCIL MET THURSDAY RESOLVED
UNANIMOUSLY FIRST ALL APPROACHES GOVERNMENT HERE RELATING OUR
PROGRAM POLITICAL ACTIVITIES BE UNDERTAKEN ONLY WITH PRIOR APPROVAL
COUNCIL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE SECONDLY VIEW IMPLEMENTING ABOVE
BETWEEN MEETINGS EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE WISE MYSELF GOLDMANN AND
LIPSKY WILL CONSULT REGARDING EMERGENCY MATTERS UNDETERMINED
PREVIOUSLY STOP GOLDMANN ASSUMED FOREGOING STOP UNANIMOUS
DESIRE EMERGENCY COUNCIL FUTURE JEWISH AGENCY CORRESPONDENCE
RELATING TO COUNCIL'S WORK BE SENT DIRECTLY TO ~~EMERGENCY~~ COUNCIL
STOP IF THIS ARRANGEMENT LOYALLY IMPLEMENTED HOPEFUL AVOID FOR
FUTURE DANGER HARM ARISING UNRELATED ACTIVITIES TWO BUREAUS
STOP LETTER FOLLOWS BEST WISHES FOR NEW YEAR.

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

Resignation File

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Y

R C A

RADIOGRAM

RCA COMMUNICATIONS INC.

1944 SEP. 21 PM 6 17

FA 233 GBW 2901
KNX LONDON 88 15

NLT RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER CARE ZIONIST EMERGENCY COMMITTEE
342 MADISON AVE NEW YORK CITY

DEEPLY CONCERNED DISTURBED AT DIFFICULTIES WHICH HAVE ARISEN
CAUSING YOU CONTEMPLATE RESIGNATION COCHAIRMANSHIP EMERGENCY
COMMITTEE STOP SUCH STEP AT ANY TIME WOULD CAUSE ME GRAVE DISTRESS
BUT WE CERTAINLY CANNOT AFFORD INTERNAL CONFLICTS AT PRESENT JUNCTURE
STOP WE DEALING WITH PROBLEM BOTH HERE AND JERUSALEM WOULD BEG YOU
DEFER RESIGNATION OR ANY OTHER ACTION PENDING RESULTS OUR DELIBERATIONS
OF WHICH SHALL INFORM YOU SHORTLY STOP BEST WISHES NEW YEAR TO YOU
AND ALL FRIENDS

CHAIM WEIZMANN

NLT

SEPTEMBER 22, 1944

CHAIM WEIZMANN
77 GREAT RUSSELL
LONDON (ENGLAND)

WARMLY APPRECIATE YOUR CABLE STOP COUNCIL MET SEPT. 14 RESOLVED
UNANIMOUSLY FIRST ALL APPROACHES GOVERNMENT HERE RELATING OUR
PROGRAM POLITICAL ACTIVITIES BE UNDERTAKEN ONLY WITH PRIOR APPROVAL
COUNCIL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE SECONDLY VIEW IMPLEMENTING ABOVE
BETWEEN MEETINGS EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE WISE MYSELF GOLDMANN AND
LIPSKY WILL CONSULT REGARDING EMERGENCY MATTERS UNDETERMINED
PREVIOUSLY STOP GOLDMANN ASSESSED FOREGOING STOP UNANIMOUS
DESIRE EMERGENCY COUNCIL FUTURE JEWISH AGENCY CORRESPONDENCE
RELATING TO COUNCIL'S WORK BE SENT DIRECTLY TO COUNCIL STOP
IF THIS ARRANGEMENT LOYALLY IMPLEMENTED HOPEFUL AVOID FOR
FUTURE DANGER HARM ARISING UNRELATED ACTIVITIES TWO BUREAUS STOP
LETTER FOLLOWS BEST WISHES FOR NEW YEAR.

ABBA SILVER

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

October 4, 1944

Dear Dr. Wise,

Thank you for your letter of the 29th. I shall be delighted to see you and Dr. Silver when the Dumbarton Oaks' Sessions have been concluded, at which time I will be interested to hear of the outcome of your discussion with the President relative to the matter in which you are so interested.

I greatly appreciate your understanding of my present situation.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,



Dr. Stephen S. Wise
40 West 68 Street
New York 23, N. Y.

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

New York --- More than 400 members of the United States Senate and House of Representatives --- 77% of the 78th Congress --- have gone on record in support of Jewish aspirations in Palestine, it was disclosed today by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, Executive Committee Chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council, who made public the results of a poll of Congressional opinion taken by the Council.

Dr. Silver revealed that out of a total of 395 statements by members of Congress which the Council was authorized to include in its book, "America and Palestine," only 18 are opposed to immediate action on the Palestine question. Eight of these, however, approve Zionist aims. Sixteen additional endorsements of the Zionist program, not included in the book, bring the number of Senators and Representatives who have gone on record in favor of a Jewish Palestine to 401, Dr. Silver pointed out.

An analysis of the 395 statements published by the Council indicates that support of the Zionist program is bi-partisan. The book contains statements by 77 Senators. Of this number, 49 are Democrats, 27 are Republicans, and 1 is Progressive. Of the 318 Representatives whose declarations appear in the volume, 156 are Democrats, 159 are Republicans, 2 are Progressives and 1 is American Labor Party.

On the basis of this expression and the strong pro-Palestine planks adopted by the Republican and Democratic parties at their national conventions, Dr. Silver called for positive action by the national Administration to help liquidate the British White Paper of 1939, open the doors of Palestine to Jewish mass immigration and the development of that country as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth.

"America and Palestine" is a 500-page volume which records the sympathetic

(more)

position of Congress and which documents the traditional American policy of friendship for the Zionist program from World War I to the present day. The book, which was made public by Dr. Silver today, has been published by the Council, which is leading the fight against the British White Paper and for the re-establishment of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth.

These objectives are embodied in the Wagner-Taft and Wright-Compton resolutions which have been pending in Congress since their introduction last February. Action on these resolutions was deferred in the spring at the request of the military authorities.

Dr. Silver declared today that in view of the pro-Zionist planks included in the Republican and Democratic platforms, and in view of the statements by the Congressmen, "there can be no doubt that the resolutions pending in Congress will pass overwhelmingly when the proper time comes -- and that time is not far off." Dr. Silver pointed out that "the military situation has changed radically since the spring. The war has moved away, not only from the Near East, but almost from the whole Mediterranean basin."

"Certainly," he added, "these magnificent utterances by American statesmen and political leaders, and President Roosevelt's notable declaration of March 9th that 'full justice will be done to those who seek a Jewish National Home,' are eloquent proof that the nation favors early action to speed fulfillment of Jewish hopes in Palestine. They constitute a clear mandate to the Government to act positively and decisively in a matter which affects the future of an entire people. The time for such action is now."

The recognition of the independence of Syria and Lebanon, Dr. Silver pointed out, did not wait for the end of the war. "Decisions vitally affecting the future of the Near East are being made now, but nothing of importance has been done as yet regarding the problems of European Jewry and the problem of

(more)

Palestine, which are intimately related. Of the 75,000 certificates authorized under the White Paper, all but 10,000 have been exhausted. The number of homeless and stateless Jewish refugees in recently liberated countries who are eager to go to Palestine exceeds by far the 10,000 unused permits, and these are being doled out in dribblets. The problem is becoming more acute daily as the Allied Armies advance. It cannot wait," he added.

"America and Palestine" includes all official pronouncements on the Palestine question by the Executive and Legislative branches of the American Government up to and including the present Administration. It also contains the texts of resolutions condemning the White Paper policy and urging support for a Jewish Palestine which have been passed by the Legislatures of nineteen states, comprising approximately 60% of the country's population. These states are Alabama, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Louisiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Texas, Virginia and Washington.

The following statements are typical of those appearing in the volume:

Senator Owen Brewster (R. Mo.) --- " ... The complete unanimity of support for the Coolidge Convention of 1924 between the United States and Great Britain covering the guarantees made by Great Britain to the United States concerning a Jewish National Home in Palestine indicates general recognition of the soundness of the Zionist program. ... Two powerful and impelling motives combine to encourage American support for a Jewish National Home in Palestine -- first, as a haven for persecuted Jews from other parts of the world, and second, as a valuable asset in the development of American foreign policy."

(more)

Senator Harry F. Byrd (D., Va.) --- "I wish to express my interest in the movement to establish Palestine as a permanent homeland for the Jews. In these years of unprecedented tragedy, the untold hardship and suffering of European Jewry, it is fitting, I think, that Jewish immigration be allowed to continue into Palestine, where the Jews may live as free men, with the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. I am heartily in favor of this movement and shall support all proper measures toward the development of Palestine as a Jewish National Homeland."

Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg (R., Mich.) --- "There can be no doubt in anybody's mind regarding my attitude toward the Jewish National Home in Palestine. I have long been associated with the organizations supporting this great objective. I continue to believe that the Jewish National Home represents one of the greatest of all major ideals in international justice and humanity. Regardless of race, religion or creed it cannot fail to claim the fidelity of those who love their fellow-men and who pray for peace with justice in this war-torn world."

Senator Claude Pepper (D., Fla.) --- "We are learning through hard and bitter experience that peace is indivisible. We are learning another lesson as well, that so long as freedom is imperiled in any one part of the globe, it is threatened everywhere. To this we must now add the proposition that national security, which is the logical outgrowth and blessing of peace and freedom is indivisible as well. So long as any group anywhere in the world suffers from the inability to fulfill its destiny in nationhood, so long shall peaceful and free nationhood be threatened everywhere. The Jewish people have earned the right to peaceful and free nationhood. They cannot be stopped from attaining it."

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Representative Joseph W. Martin, Jr. (House Minority Leader) --- "Plain justice should prompt us to keep faith with the Jewish people and permit the building of a Jewish homeland in Palestine. Following the war the Jewish people must find a haven where they can have happiness and security. Unquestionably Palestine will be the one place capable of absorbing large numbers. Palestine through years of preparation has been made ready for the emergency which now exists. It would be unfortunate if the great humanitarian movement which prompted its birth should be interrupted. We must not allow it to happen."

Representative John W. McCormack (House Majority Leader) --- "Indeed, if ever there was a need for a National Home for the Jewish people, it is now when tens of thousands of helpless men, women and children are trying to escape with their lives from the diabolical massacre at Hitler's foul hands. Their entire hope is centered on Palestine --- the land pledged to them as their National Home. I should like to reiterate the convictions which I have entertained for a long time that the problem of Jewish homelessness can never be solved right unless a place of equality and dignity is granted to the Jewish people through the re-constitution of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth. ..."

Representative Clare Boothe Luce (R., Conn.) --- "... There is a land which historically belongs to the Jews, but was lost to the military power of more aggressive nations. Now the Jews are scattered all over the world, their families broken by the war, their spirits crushed by Nazi brutality. Alone they do not have the strength to regain what is rightfully theirs. They must have the active help of those who, even though they have never experienced homelessness, can at least understand, from the lesson of their forefathers, the commendable desire for independence and freedom under a national flag. It is hoped that this year, which begins so darkly for the Jews, will end with the first tangible hope that these unfortunate people have known for centuries. It is to be hoped that the splendid example of fortitude which the Jews have set in this

(more)

last decade of incredible suffering will win them not just sympathizers --- but supporters --- men who will stand at their side in the struggle to attain that one thing so cherished by all mankind --- a home."

Representative George E. Outland (D., Calif.) --- "It is peculiarly fitting that Palestine Jewry should today be in a position to offer safety to persecuted Jews in Europe. It was in order to solve the millennial problems of Jewish homelessness that the nations of the world determined to re-establish a National Home for the Jews in their ancient country, Palestine. The purpose of the Palestine Mandate is still far from achieved. In the over-all aggregate of Jews admitted from Hitler-dominated Europe, little Palestine still stands ahead of our own country. ...One cannot but feel its relation to that other great historic task which we once before undertook, and which we must at this moment reaffirm --- that of enabling the Jewish people to resume a normal process of living in a land of its own."

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The 1930s
MEMORANDUM OF A MEETING BETWEEN RABBI SILVER, DR. GOLDMANN, MR. WEISGAL,
MR. MONTOR AT THE DORCHESTER HOUSE, WASHINGTON, D. C. ON OCTOBER 12, 1943

Dr. Silver reviewed the situation leading up to the establishment of the Jewish Agency office here under the direction of Messrs. Goldmann and Lipsky, stating that if Dr. Weizmann had been permitted to go through with his program of establishing a Political Committee, such an office would probably not be necessary. Now that the Emergency Council has been reorganized, the logical thing would be to dissolve the office and merge all activities into one. Since, however, logic does not always obtain in such matters, it was necessary to define the areas of authority as well as of cooperation. It was Dr. Silver's opinion that the authority of the Emergency Council should be established beyond any question over and above any other authority in this country; that it was necessary in political work for someone to be able to say "yes" or "no" at a given moment and that decision to stand.

Furthermore, Dr. Silver felt there was a great deal of duplication of effort militating against the effectiveness of our political work in Washington. Dr. Silver also deprecated the fact that Dr. Goldmann was engaged, in Washington, on matters relating to the World Jewish Congress and that these activities caused confusion in the minds of many people as to what he actually represented. His desire was not to restrict Dr. Goldmann's activities but, on the contrary, to extend them and to use his great talents to the maximum. But these talents should be concentrated in one field, namely, the Zionist field.

Dr. Goldmann felt that the review of the situation leading up to the establishment of the Jewish Agency was not exactly in accordance with the facts; that as a matter of fact, the Executive had made repeated attempts to establish such an office in the United States some time ago first by Mr. Ben Gurion and then by Dr. Weizmann and that the establishment of such an office was not involved in the difficulties of the Emergency Committee but rather with Jerusalem. Even if the reorganization of the Emergency Committee had taken place at the time when Dr. Weizmann was desirous of putting it into effect, the office of the Agency would still be established just as the Agency had offices in Paris, Germany and other parts of the world before the war. The political work he stated was the prerogative of the Jewish Agency and it could not delegate that authority to any other body. However, he, like Dr. Silver, was of the opinion that the work must be co-ordinated and correlated. But while as a matter of principle, he (Dr. Goldmann) would be reluctant to pass judgment on the question as to the division of authority between the Executive and the Emergency Committee, he felt that there was no need, at this time, to draw such a line of distinction between the two, since it was generally agreed that the policy of the Emergency Committee and the Executive were in all respects identical. Therefore, he counselled, that the question of principle be held in abeyance and that a practical working arrangement be formulated for the purpose of close cooperation and coordination of activities.

With regard to the World Jewish Congress, Dr. Goldmann stated that he does not represent the World Jewish Congress in Washington; as a matter

of fact that work is being handled by James Wise. Only on rare occasions does he appear together with Dr. Wise. This refers especially to the question of rescue with which the Jewish Agency in Palestine is dealing permanently.

Mr. Weisgal recalled the fact that whereas the Emergency Committee started out as an arm of the Jewish Agency, today it is no longer that arm because of the decision that was taken a year ago to transform the Emergency Committee into a purely American body. He felt that there was no question of principle involved and that if Dr. Silver were to reflect on the situation he, too, would not counsel a clear definition as to the authority of the Executive in the matter of political activities, and proceed on a working arrangement that would be satisfactory to all parties concerned. Like Dr. Silver, he felt that there must be cooperation and centralization of authority and no one, not even the members of the Executive, should question his authority in matters pertaining to the American scene of action.

In this connection, it was further recalled, that some time ago an agreement had been worked out between the Jewish Agency and the Emergency Committee and that that agreement definitely envisaged a situation similar to the one which Dr. Silver had raised.

After further discussion, it was finally agreed

- 1) That all appointments in Washington, whether for the Jewish Agency or for the Emergency Committee, should be made through one central source; that each should keep the other constantly informed of their respective activities.
- 2) That no representative of government in Washington be contacted by the Emergency Council or the Jewish Agency without one or the other being previously apprised of the specific activity undertaken.
- 3) That in the field of public relations, legislative bodies, Congress, Senate, etc., that it was entirely in the province of the Emergency Council to initiate and contact.
- 4) That for political negotiations with officials in the State Department, it should be done jointly by the Emergency Council and the Agency, not necessarily always together, but in consultation with each other.
- 5) That so far as other governments, legations, etc., including Latin American countries, that was entirely within the province of the Jewish Agency.
- 6) It was also agreed that the officers of the Emergency Council and the representatives of the Jewish Agency meet informally every two weeks in order to plan activities in Washington.

M. W. W.

Weisgal

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WESTERN UNION

1207

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

\$	CHECK
	ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
	TIME FILED

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

To Leon Gellman, President

10-16-44 19__

Care of or Apt. No. Mizrachi Organization of America

Street and No. St. Charles Hotel

Place Atlantic City, N.J.

WANT A REPLY?

"Answer by WESTERN UNION"
or similar phrases may be
included without charge.

YOUR CONVENTION MEETS IN AN HOUR OF DECISION. THE MIZRACHI ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA HAS HELPED TREMENDOUSLY IN THE SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS WHICH OUR MOVEMENT HAS MADE IN THE UNITED STATES DURING THE PAST YEAR STOP AS EXECUTIVE CHAIRMAN OF AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL I KNOW OF THE VALUABLE HELP COUNCIL AND GUIDANCE WHICH YOUR REPRESENTATIVES HAVE GIVEN TO OUR POLITICAL WORK. STOP THIS IS THE HOUR TO MARSHALL OUR MAXIMUM STRENGTH SO THAT THE AGE OLD HOPE OF OUR PEOPLE MAY

FINALLY AND FULLY BE REALIZED
Sender's Name

- ABBA HILLEL SILVER

Address

Tel. No.

[Oct. 16, 1944]

MEMORANDUM ON PALESTINE POLICY
submitted by the
JEWISH AGENCY FOR PALESTINE
to
HIS MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT



77, Great Russell Street,
London, W.C.1
16.10.44

The war is approaching its end, and the Jewish problem in its post-war setting calls for immediate consideration. Of the six million European Jews outside the USSR and the British Isles, probably not more than one-and-a half million are alive to-day, and not all yet safe. The Jews in Soviet territory under German occupation have probably lost another million. Even in this war, no other people in proportion to their numbers have suffered such losses, accompanied by such horrors.

2. Allied victories are bringing immediate security to the survivors. But the root of the tragedy is the inherent weakness of the position of the Jews as a homeless people. As long as that endures, Hitler's solution of the Jewish problem by extermination will continue to haunt mankind, as a nightmare to some, as a temptation to others. To offer to the surviving European Jews, deported and broken, a return to the "status quo ante", propped up by philanthropic palliatives and paper guarantees, is morally unthinkable. For the large mass, true rehabilitation can only be achieved by a fresh start in new surroundings...Moreover, the problem is not merely one of finding homes for refugees; it is one of finding a country for a people. The solution must be constructive and permanent. It involves not only the fate of the remnants of European Jewry; the curse of homelessness must be lifted from the entire race.

3. "Some place must be found." Tropical or sub-arctic regions, such as Guiana, Madagascar, or Alaska -- to mention some recent suggestions -- can hardly be seriously considered. The colonisation attempt made in San Domingo has proved a fiasco. Even under the more favourable climatic and economic conditions of Argentina, Southern Russia, and Biro-Bidjan, experience has shown that where the national idea and tradition are inoperative, Jewish settlement cannot develop on a large scale for lack of driving power. An inspiration of high intensity is needed to transform a people of town-dwellers into agriculturists, middle-men into manual workers.

4. The renaissance of the Jewish nation is bound up with Palestine. The choice made by destiny cannot be undone. Palestine is the Jewish people's birthplace, and it gave birth to no other. It owes its place in history to the Jews,

and to no other people. The Jews as a people, and Palestine as a country, ceased to be truly creative when the bond between them was severed. But the hope of renewing that bond has kept the Jewish people alive, and meantime, Palestine remained desolate. The Jews have never ceased to pray for their return to Palestine. The urge to go back has been continuous, and in every generation practical efforts were made to return. Zionism is a final and determined bid for achievement.

3. The British people have always been conscious of the unique connection of the Jews with Palestine. From that consciousness the Balfour Declaration was born. But vision and statesmanship have not been translated into administrative practice. Jewish endeavour has received scant encouragement. Official policy has been far more alive to the difficulties of implementing the Mandate than to its creative aim. Step by step the original conception has been whittled down until a complete negation of the primary purpose of the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate was reached in the White Paper of 1939. But Jewish work has attained a stage of development which precludes Palestine from becoming an Arab country.

6. If the war had found two million Jews in Palestine instead of half-a-million, the task of the Allies in the Middle East would have been greatly eased, and the position of the Jewish people would have been totally different. But even the half-million proved their value, both to their people and to the Allies. Palestine has received tens of thousands of Jewish refugees, and were it not for the paralysing effect of the White Paper policy, the dimensions of rescue would have been far greater. All resources of Palestinian Jewry, ~~in~~ in man-power, productive capacity, and scientific knowledge, were harnessed to the war effort. Palestinian Jewish units served with the British Forces in Palestine, France, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Egypt, Greece, Crete, Syria, Libya, and Italy. Civilian volunteers risked and laid down their lives in hazardous para-military operations under British command. Palestine provided a source of information, unique in the Middle East, on the industrial, technical and scientific

position in enemy countries. Jewish technicians and artisans were mobilised to perform urgent war tasks in all the neighboring countries. This war effort would have been far more fruitful had it not been cramped and thwarted by the present negative policy.

7. The Jewish Agency appeals to H.M. Government to inaugurate a new era for Palestine and the Jewish people by drawing the logical conclusion from the Balfour Declaration as originally conceived. At this juncture they regard as imperative a decision designating Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth — a country where the Jewish people shall be free to work out its salvation by large-scale settlement and by the achievement of full nationhood.

8. The Jewish Agency is fully aware of the difficulty with which this policy is fraught on account of Arab opposition. But if Arab consent is to be a pre-condition of any political settlement, hope must be given up of justice to the Jewish people. The Arabs demand that the Jews should be made a permanent minority in an Arab Palestinian State, which should become one in a cluster of Arab States. The Jews ask that a Jewish State be established with Palestine West of the Jordan for its territory, and hope that this State, while maintaining friendly relations with all its neighbours, may be organically connected with the British Commonwealth of Nations. The Arab programme would deny to the Jews a place among the nations, which they can only obtain through Palestine. The Jewish programme would have no such effect on the Arabs, who are already possessed of many States with enormous undeveloped would be like the Czechs in Greater Germany; but an Arab minority in a Jewish Palestine potentialities. A Jewish minority in an Arab Palestine will not merely have every / time every guarantee of equality of rights, religious freedom, autonomy in cultural and municipal affairs, and a full share in the benefits of development; the fact that Palestine is surrounded by Arab countries will add to their security. In view of what Great Britain and her Allies have done, outside Palestine, since 1914, to promote

and protect Arab nationhood and independence, Arab objections to the Jews being given full national status in their ancient homeland lack moral validity. The movement towards Arab unity is an additional reason why Jewish effort in Palestine should once and for all be established on a firm territorial and political basis.

9. Some who have come to recognise that the Jews ought to have their State, think that this could best be achieved by partitioning Palestine between Jews and Arabs. The Jewish Agency would view with deep apprehension an attempt to revive the partition idea. In 1937, a major consideration was the impending war. Now the most must be made of the potentialities of Palestine for immediate large-scale immigration. Palestine is already a twice-partitioned country, as compared with what it was at the time of the Balfour Declaration. Its further dismemberment is liable to be fatal to the viability of the Jewish State. A proper land basis is vital to Jewish development. This entails the promotion of intensive farming throughout Palestine, and access for Jews to undeveloped areas scattered all over the country. With the sea in the West, the Jordan and the Power and Potash concessions in the East, the chief water-resources in the North, and the main land-reserve in the South, any partition scheme seems bound to disrupt the country's economic frame, and wreck the chances of large-scale development.

10. In facing Arab opposition, the decisive element is time. Once Palestine has become a Jewish State, its existence would be accepted as an accomplished fact, just as the present Jewish population is accepted, though in the past there was strong opposition, accompanied by violence, to the increase of Jews even up to the present number. The prospect for the future is by no means one of perpetual strife and unsettled conditions, but of an ultimate equilibrium and collaboration. It is both the desire and the interest of the Jews to live in peace with their neighbours, and develop close intercourse with them. Even now, Palestine can render important services, industrial and scientific, to the neighbouring countries, which are taking a keen interest in these results of Jewish work.

11. The political programme here set forth required, first and foremost, the quickest possible increase of the Jewish population. Two things are urgent: to create a Jewish majority in Palestine in order to ensure the effective functioning of the Jewish State, and to rehabilitate the survivors of the European tragedy. Most, if not all, of these people, certainly the children among them, would anyhow be a charge on public funds for a considerable time after the cessation of hostilities. Such funds would be much more profitably spent on their settlement in Palestine. Apart from the survivors in Europe, the main groups of would-be immigrants are (i) refugees scattered throughout the world who have not been absorbed; (ii) Jews in those oriental countries where their safety and well-being are in permanent jeopardy; and (iii) Jews in English-speaking countries, among whom a movement to settle in Palestine is spreading.

12. For the proper organisation of this immigration, its control should be entrusted to the Jewish Agency. Large funds will be required, and an international loan may be necessary. Detailed plans of absorption are being prepared by the Jewish Agency, comprising reclamation works, irrigation schemes, and projects of intensive agricultural and industrial development. The return of the Jews to Palestine has ~~xxx~~ revolutionised their social structure and the country's economics. Sixty years of trial and error, experiment and achievement, is a firm basis on which to build the edifice of the future. With modern technique and adequate powers, what has been achieved so far can be turned into a lever for further and greater progress.

13. The present is a unique opportunity for righting a historic wrong, and solving a burning international problem. Millions of Jews throughout the world are now pinning their age-long hope on Allied victory. Its fulfilment will bring salvation to the Jewish people, and everlasting credit to Great Britain and her Allies.



STATE OF NEW YORK
DEPARTMENT OF LAW
ALBANY

NATHANIEL L. GOLDSTEIN
ATTORNEY GENERAL

October 17, 1944.

PERSONAL AND
UNOFFICIAL

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Dr. Silver:

I was sorry I did not get the opportunity to say
goodbye to you last Thursday.

I read the account of the proceedings in Atlantic
City in the New York City newspapers with a great deal of in-
terest. We all feel that you handled the situation admirably
and fairly with a good deal of tact.

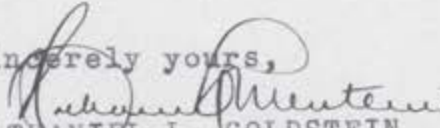
The largest and final campaign meeting of the year
in behalf of Governor Dewey is being scheduled for Saturday
evening, November 4th, at Madison Square Garden. It is ex-
pected that fully twenty-five or thirty thousand people will
attend and that facilities for a national hookup will be avail-
able. Governor Dewey will be the principal speaker and I have
been asked to approach you and see whether you would not consent
to speak that evening in behalf of Governor Dewey's candidacy.

I do not know what your inclination or desire is, but
if you do intend to make a public statement in the campaign in
behalf of Governor Dewey, that would be the most effective forum.

From every indication, the vote in New York State will
be close and we are all bending every effort to tip the scales
in our favor.

I trust that you have had a few days rest in Atlantic
City.

With all my best.

Sincerely yours,

NATHANIEL L. GOLDSTEIN
Attorney General

October 20, 1944

The Hon. Nathaniel L. Goldstein
Attorney General, State of New York
80 Centre Street
New York, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Goldstein:

Thank you so much for your kind letter of October 17. I enjoyed seeing you in New York greatly, and the meeting with Governor Dewey was highly satisfactory. His statement on Palestine created a tremendous impression, as you well know, and was acclaimed everywhere, and more especially by the delegates who attended the sessions of the Convention of the Zionist Organization of America. I am enclosing herewith a resolution which was unanimously adopted by the Convention last Monday evening. Governor Dewey's war and open-hearted declaration regarding the Jewish Commonwealth has made a host of friends for him among our people.

As far as your request to me is concerned, you realize, of course, that as Executive Chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council, I cannot publicly take sides in a political campaign without endangering the position of neutrality which our Movement must maintain with reference to the American political scene. I took occasion to point this out in my address at the Convention in Atlantic City. "Our cause," I stated, "has powerful friends in both political parties. We have succeeded in getting a friendly hearing from both major parties because of the absolute non-partisan character of our Movement. The Zionist Movement of America is committed to no political party and to no political candidates." This sentiment was loudly applauded by the delegates. You can therefore readily see the embarrassment to the Movement if I were at this time to come up publicly in favor of one candidate or another. My criticism of Dr. Wise has, through the years, been just this -- that he has identified the Zionist Movement with one political party in the United States, and that our Movement has suffered as a result. I have throughout the year endeavored to destroy this impression which has been created, and by my actions in going to the Republican Convention, to Governor Dewey and to other Republican leaders, have demonstrated that Zionism is a non-partisan Movement which has great and loyal friends among Republicans as among Democrats.

I shall be in New York again in a few days and I hope to have the pleasure of seeing you again. With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

AHS:BK

AHS:HK 1944. 11/2 312

COPY

Conf. File

77 Great Russell Street
W.C.1

18th October, 1944

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
c/o 1720 Sixteenth Street N.W.,
Washington, D.C.

My dear Dr. Silver,

I was extremely glad to hear that you have all come to a satisfactory arrangement which will leave you able to continue your important work without let or hindrance. It has, of course, been very difficult for me to try and do anything at all from this distance towards smoothing your path — the reverse is so apt to happen such things, which is why I have abstained from anything approaching drastic action. Nevertheless, I am sure you realise that we were and are all most anxious that you should remain at your post during these very difficult times. It is a great relief that you are doing so, and I hope that all will continue to go well.

There is not much news here — except unconfirmed rumours about partition. I am, however, satisfied that there is as yet no definite decision, and it is therefore with great joy that I read yesterday's statement by the President, which is really the first explicit commitment on the part of a leading statesman during the war. I daresay some people here will not like it very much, but I am certain that it will strengthen the Prime Minister's hands. It is essential, however, that great vigilance should be exercised, so that we may not be confronted at the last moment with some offer or decision which it is quite impossible for us to consider.

Yesterday I transmitted officially to H.M. Government a statement on the policy which we would like to see implemented after this war: I send you a copy herewith. I am sending you another copy officially, through the Embassy, with a request that you should hand it over to the Secretary of State, or if you think preferable, to the President himself, with whatever covering note you may all think suitable.

I intend going to Palestine at the end of this month or in the first week of November, and hope before I leave to see the Prime Minister. Of course the terrorist acts in Palestine are the most terrible calamity that could befall us; they are already doing us incalculable harm, and will do worse if they continue. I have been trying my level best, directly and indirectly, to impress upon the Yishuv that they have to do everything in their power to stop it. Shertok and Golomb have just left here, and should by now be back in Palestine; they are thoroughly acquainted with the situation here and realise the inevitable consequences should the terrorists' activities continue. Whether they will succeed in checking them I do not know; but at any rate we have to enlist the whole nation in the attempt.

I don't know whether you are keeping in touch with Mr. Morgenthau, to whom I am also sending a copy of the enclosed document. As you know, he is very helpful indeed, and I feel it should be made clear to him that the President and the Prime Minister can implement the statement, but that it will require an effort, and may

Dr. Silver

-2-

October 18, 1944

lead to some initial trouble. But then that is almost inevitable, whatever course is taken.

Please convey my warm greetings to Wise, Lipsky and the others.

I remain, as ever
Affectionately yours,

(Signed) Ch. Weizmann

P.S. I should be so grateful if you would have the enclosed letters sent on to the addressees. Very many thanks.

Enclosure.



PKT

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees Date October 19, 1944

From Harry L. Shapiro

The historic events of the past week, which augur well for favorable definitive action on the Palestine question, constitute some of the most significant gains we have made since the American Zionist Emergency Council, under the leadership of Dr. Stephen S. Wise and Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, began its program of intensive political work on the American scene.

On October 14, 1944, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, Executive Committee Chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council, was authorized by Senator Robert A. Taft to make public the following letter which Senator Taft had received from Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson:

War Department
Washington, D. C.

October 10, 1944

"My dear Senator:

"I refer to your letter of September 12, 1944, regarding S.R. 247, introduced by Senator Wagner and yourself on the subject of opening the doors of Palestine to the free entry of Jews into that country.

"At the time your resolution was being considered by the Foreign Relations Committee the endorsement of such a proposal by the Congress had grave implications which would seriously have interfered with the progress of the war. In response to your inquiry I have reviewed the considerations which applied at that time. I find that there is still strong feeling on the part of many officers in my department that the passage of such a resolution would interfere with our military effort. However, I do feel that the military considerations which led to my previous action in opposing the passage of this resolution are not as strong a factor now as they were then.

"In my judgment, political considerations now outweigh the military, and the issue should be determined upon the political rather than the military basis."

(Signed) Henry L. Stimson
Secretary of War

On October 12, 1944, Governor Thomas E. Dewey made the following statement:

"I heartily indorse the Palestine plank in the Republican party platform. Again I repeat what I previously stated to the

great leader of the American Zionist movement and distinguished American, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, that I am for the reconstitution of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth in accordance with the Balfour Declaration of 1917 and the resolution of the Republican Congress in 1922. I have also stated to Dr. Silver that in order to give refuge to millions of distressed Jews driven from their homes by tyranny I favor the opening of Palestine to their unlimited immigration and land ownership.

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

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

(Signed) Thomas E. Dewey

And on October 15, 1944, the following declaration by President Franklin Delano Roosevelt was transmitted to the Convention of the Zionist Organization of America, through Senator Robert F. Wagner:

"Knowing that you are to attend the Forty-Seventh Annual Convention of the Zionist Organization of America, I ask you to convey to the delegates assembled my cordial greetings.

"Please express my satisfaction that, in accord with the traditional American policy and in keeping with the spirit of the Four Freedoms, the Democratic Party at its July Convention this year included the following plank in its platform:

'We favor the opening of Palestine to unrestricted Jewish immigration and colonization, and such a policy as to result in the establishment there of a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth.'

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

(Signed) Franklin Delano Roosevelt

Thus, within a matter of days, we obtained pronouncements which all of us had been working to secure for many months. The declaration by the President represents the high-water mark of our activity to date. Speaking in the name of the Council, Dr. Silver hailed this utterance as a "magnificent and historic statement." We have also received definite assurances that action on the Palestine resolutions will be resumed next month, just as soon as Congress re-convenes --- and there is every reason to expect that the resolutions will be passed overwhelmingly.

While I do not doubt that you are already making plans to do so, I would suggest that the heartening developments noted above should serve to determine the character of the Balfour Day meetings which some of you are planning for November 2nd.

The keynote of your rally should be: Let us have action now leading to the implementation of these magnificent pledges. Our expressions of elation that the Chief Executive of the United States as well as the Republican candidate have spoken in such unmistakable terms should be joined by our urging that these utterances shall be effectuated speedily.

It is very important, too, that letters of commendation go forward immediately to the authors of these statements. I feel confident that this will be carried out in the same effective manner that has characterized your previous efforts along these lines.

It should be noted that these great strides forward towards the realization of our final objective have been achieved as the result of a carefully planned and vigorously prosecuted program of political activity and public relations which the Council launched only a short time ago. A large measure of credit for these accomplishments must go to you for the truly outstanding work you have done in the local communities. In the past, you have carried out all instructions and all assignments with great skill and devotion. I have no doubt that you will continue to serve our cause with undiminished vigor during the coming months, and that we shall soon see the complete fulfillment of our aims.

HLS:MBP



October 20, 1944

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

My dear Mr. Shapiro:

1) I assume that our volume, "America and Palestine," is being sent to the members of Congress. It should be sent to their homes, if possible with the inscription which I suggested. This volume should reach them some time before they return to Congress on November 14.

2) I hope that you are aggressively following through a campaign to get an expression from the candidates on their position with reference to the Jewish Commonwealth. Our community contacts people should be galvanized into action as they have not yet been.

3) Especially those difficult members of the Foreign Affairs Committee like Mundt, Vorhees, Bolton, Eaton, Wadsworth, etc. should now be properly approached by people who can impress them. I have already arranged to have a committee see Mrs. Bolton.

4) You were to let me know about the final disposition of the Zomdek case.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

AHS:BK

AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE

DIGEST OF MINUTES OF MEETING OF THE INTERIM COMMITTEE

Tuesday, October 24, 1944 - Biltmore Hotel, New York City

The meeting opened at 10:50 A.M. with Dr. Israel Goldstein presiding. Mr. Henry Monsky later took the Chair.

Those present were; Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Rabbi Abba Ahviam (alternate for Dr. Robert Gordis), Maurice Bisgyer, Max Bressler (alternate for Dr. H.J. Ettlinger), Samuel Caplan, Rabbi William Drazin, Rabbi Maurice N. Eisendrath, Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, Jane Evans, Mrs. Ida Cook Farber (alternate for Mrs. Maurice Turner), Rabbi Simon Federbusch, J. George Fredman, Daniel Frisch, William Gerber (alternate for Julius Livingston), Frank Goldman, Mrs. L. Golub (alternate for Mrs. Samuel Goldstein), Mrs. Hugo Hartmann, Dr. James G. Heller, Charles P. Kramer, Sidney G. Kusworm, Louis Lipsky, Mrs. Albert J. May (alternate for Mrs. Joseph M. Welt), Mrs. David de Sola Pool, Herman Z. Quittman (alternate for Harry A. Pine), Dvora Rothbard, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Samuel Rothstein, Herman Shulman, Mrs. Herman Shulman (alternate for Mrs. Samuel W. Halprin), Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, Justice Meier Steinbrink, Hermann Stern, Dr. Joseph Tenenbaum, Mrs. A.H. Vixman (alternate part time for Mrs. Stephen S. Wise), Meyer W. Weisgal, William Weiss (alternate for Dr. Samuel Nirenstein), David Wertheim, Rabbi David Wice (alternate for Benjamin Samuels), and Baruch Zuckerman.

Staff: I.L. Kenen, Meir Grossman, Dr. A.S. Kohanski and Mrs. Ann Jarcho.

Guest: Bernard Postal

I. MINUTES OF MEETING OF SEPT. 12, 1944 - Approved.

II. REPORT OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE - On behalf of the Administrative Committee, Mr. Lipsky, Chairman, reported as follows:

A. Second Session

1. Attendance -- A second notice was sent to all delegates and of the 379 elected delegates, 292 have stated that they will attend; 21 have stated that they would not; and six are in doubt. Of the organization delegates, 64 have already been designated.

2. Negotiations with Organizations -- Negotiations have been opened with a number of organizations not now in the Conference.

a. Union of Orthodox Rabbis -- The Administrative Committee recommends that this organization be granted three seats.

MOTION: It was moved that the recommendation be approved. CARRIED.

b. Agudas Israel of America - The Administrative Committee recommends that this organization be granted two seats, with the understanding that if this were unacceptable, the matter may be reviewed again.

MOTION: Dr. Wise moved that the Agudas Israel of America be granted two seats, with the proviso that if necessary, the number be revised upward to three. CARRIED.

c. New Zionist Organization (Revisionist) - The Administrative Committee recommends that this organization be granted two seats.

MOTION: It was moved and seconded that the recommendation be accepted, with the understanding that the organization would be identified as "revisionist" in brackets after its name. CARRIED.

d. National Association of Jewish Center Workers - The Administrative Committee reported favorably on the application of the National Association of Jewish Center Workers, the organization to be granted one seat at the Conference.

MOTION: Mrs. Vixman moved that the report of the Administrative Committee be adopted and that the Interim Committee recommend to the second session acceptance of the application of this organization.

e. Jewish Labor Committee - The Administrative Committee has appointed a committee to confer with the Jewish Labor Committee on its future relationship with the Conference.

Jewish People's Fraternal Order of Two (probably) (meeting)

f. American Jewish Committee - A sub-committee of the Administrative Committee was named by the Chair to consider the future relationship of the American Jewish Committee and the American Jewish Conference. The committee consisted of Rabbi Miller, Chairman, Mrs. Epstein, and Mr. Kramer. With Mr. Kramer dissenting, the sub-committee, at the last meeting of the Administrative Committee, recommended that a formal invitation be sent to the American Jewish Committee to re-enter the Conference "inasmuch as the areas of disagreement are narrowing and the areas of agreement are much greater than before." The Administrative Committee accepted the report of the sub-committee, with Mr. Kramer and Mr. Fredman voting in the negative, and recommends to the Interim Committee that a formal letter of invitation to rejoin the Conference be sent to the American Jewish Committee.

Mr. Lipsky stated that he was not present at the Administrative Committee meeting and expresses dissent from the report.

Mr. Kramer stated that he was not opposed to the American Jewish Committee coming back into the Conference, but that his minority report in effect stated that "before we issue an invitation, a committee of the Conference confer with a committee of the American Jewish Committee to determine whether or not a common ground could be reached in advance of the invitation, so that if there was a rejection, we would not have publicity on either side."

MOTION: Following discussion, it was moved by Rabbi Eisendrath that the matter be tabled. CARRIED 28 to 3 by a show of hands.

Mr. Monsky: "Mr. Chairman, I think it entirely proper for the Chair to state that the motion to table does not change the position of the Conference as stated in our original statement, that the door (for the re-entry of the American Jewish Committee) is open as in the past."

The author of the motion to table, Rabbi Eisendrath concurred: "That is what I had in mind."

The Chair: "It will be recorded as part of the record on behalf of the Chairman and Co-Chairmen."

3. Group Registration - Pursuant to the resolution adopted by the Interim Committee on June 29th, the Administrative Committee has notified all delegates of their right to change their group affiliation, if such changes are registered before November 10th. Up until this time, two delegates have changed their affiliations while three have withdrawn from existing groups but have not yet registered with others.

4. Rules - The following proposals for the revision of rules were submitted:

a. Personnel of Committees - All committees in existence at the first session shall continue in the second session unchanged, except that the General Committee shall be authorized to make appointments required to fill vacancies and to make such changes as are necessary to reflect the proportional strength of the groupings under the new rule.

It was explained that under the present rules, the groupings had a right to make substitutions.

MOTION: It was moved to accept the recommendation. CARRIED.

b. Disposition of Resolutions - In advance of the opening of the Conference, the Administrative Committee will receive and consider all recommended resolutions of the Commissions on Rescue, Post-War and Palestine, and such additional resolutions as may be forwarded by any group of at least ten delegates.

On or after December 1, the General Committee will become the agency for the filing of resolutions and their distribution to the appropriate standing committees - last year we had a Secretariat, in this case we are making the General Committee the repository and distributor - it being understood, however, that either the Administrative Committee or the General Committee may withhold their approval of any resolution submitted by any group of delegates if such resolution goes beyond the purpose of the call for the Conference or is not germane to the interests of the Conference; but the refusal of the Administrative Committee and General Committee to report any resolution shall not prejudice the right of any group of delegates to submit such a resolution direct to the standing committees of the Conference.

Any ten members in any committee may bring up a minority report for consideration in the plenum of the Conference, and any fifty members, not members of a committee, may bring up out of committee a resolution defeated there and have it placed before the plenum of the Conference.

Following discussion of these rules, the following agreement was reached upon the procedure in the disposition of resolutions, as formulated by Chairman Monsky:

"Resolutions, when they are introduced, will go to the General Committee; the General Committee will then, as a purely administrative matter, send them to the proper committees, except if the General Committee should find a resolution irrelevant; then the General Committee will bring it to the plenum for discussion or report its decision to the plenum. That is different from the rule that they will have to have a minority of ten to bring it to the plenum. The General Committee will report its findings that this resolution is irrelevant and the Chairman of the General Committee will move adoption of the report of the General Committee. It (the question) will be on the motion of the General Committee's Chairman. From there on, parliamentary practice will take care of us."

MOTION: Following the Chair's summation, the motion was made to approve this procedure. CARRIED.

Mr. Lipsky: "It is understood, in addition to this, that on matters of resolution that are being sent by the General Committee to sub-committees, that the regular procedure of minority reports prevails."

Chairman Monsky: "Still prevails; and after the Conference committees have come to their conclusions, send back their resolutions to the General Committee again."

c. Form of Resolutions - In the transmission of resolutions to the appropriate committees and commissions, the Administrative Committee shall have the authority to recommend procedures in form and structure. No action was required.

d. Appeals - All appeals on matters of procedure from the decision of any acting chairman shall be determined by the delegates as a whole. Their decision shall be regarded as final and conclusive.

Chairman Monsky suggested, in lieu of this, a recommendation that the rule that now provides for appeal to the praesidium shall be repealed and that Roberts Rules of Order shall apply. This was accepted.

5. Program for the Session - The Administrative Committee voted to invite Professor Selig Brodetsky, Chairman of the British Board of Jewish Deputies, to deliver an address on the general Jewish situation at the opening session of the Conference. With the approval of the three Co-Chairmen, the invitation has already been extended.

6. Conference Arrangements - It has been decided to issue the Conference Record daily during the session, as at the first session.

It has also been decided that all sessions will be held in the William Penn Hotel and that none will be outside.

7. Reports - It is intended to publish a small 96-page volume to embrace the reports of the three Commissions, regarding their activities and interests during the past year. This will be a survey of past action and will not contain recommendations for the future. These recommendations will be submitted orally at the session by each of the Commissions. The report of the Interim Committee, which will also be confined to past action, will serve as a preface to the reports of the Commissions.

The Administrative Committee requested authorization of the Interim Committee to prepare this report. There was no objection and it was so ordered.

8. Delegates' Meetings - Interest in the forthcoming session is reflected not only by the intention of so large a number of the original delegates to attend, but also by the organization of community meetings, at which delegates will meet with their constituents. Such meetings are planned in Philadelphia on November 5th, in Los Angeles on November 19th, and in Detroit on November 21st.

B. Relationship of the World Jewish Congress - Following the last meeting of the Interim Committee, a Working Committee and a Joint Planning Committee have been set up to implement the agreement for collaboration with the World Jewish Congress. The representatives of the Conference on the Working Committee are Mr. Grossman and Mr. Kenen. The representatives of the Conference on the Joint Planning Committee are Miss Evans, Mr. Greenberg, Mr. Shulman, Rabbi Trachtenberg, Rabbi Eisendrath, and Dr. Kohanski.

In connection with the forthcoming Emergency Conference of the World Jewish Congress, it is recommended that the Conference members of the Joint Planning Committee act as a nucleus of the Conference delegation observers. It was agreed that we have observers at that Conference.

C. Minutes of Interim Committee Meeting of 8/1/44 - The minutes of the Interim Committee of August 1st were referred by the Interim Committee to the Administrative Committee for editing and were revised and issued in accordance with the decision of the Interim Committee.

D. Letter to the American Federation of Polish Jews - The attention of the Administrative Committee was called to the fact that the American Federation of Polish Jews had sent a memorandum to UNRRA with a number of proposals bearing upon problems within the scope of the Conference. The Administrative Committee informed them that such independent, separatist activity by organizations affiliated with the American Jewish Conference was to be deprecated. A copy of this letter was sent to the Jewish Labor Committee, in view of that organization's submission of a memorandum to Secretary of State on Post-war matters. The letter was published in the Bulletin, which goes to all delegates and organizations in the Conference.

E. Action on Immigration to Palestine -- Following the last Interim Committee meeting, an effort was made to secure a meeting with the British Ambassador to submit a protest against the policy of the Palestine Administration, which has denied immigration certificates to Jews in liberated areas on the pretext that these must be reserved for those still in Axis-occupied Europe. At the request of Lord Halifax, who was unable to see a delegation, the protest was submitted on September 25th, in a memorandum, which also took occasion to protest recent declarations by British officials seeking to discourage Jewish immigration into Palestine, and which asked that the Jews who had been deported to Mauritius more than three years ago be liberated and returned to Palestine. We have reason to believe that the protest against existing immigration policies will meet with a measure of success.

Copies of this memorandum were sent to the State Department and to the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees in London.

In accordance with the decision of the Interim Committee, letters were sent on September 13th to the Congressional sponsors of resolutions calling for the establishment of emergency shelters in Palestine, expressing opposition to these resolutions.

F. Action on Restoration of Rights to Jews -- The statement approved at the last meeting of the Interim Committee, calling for restoration of rights to Jews was submitted to Secretary of State Cordell Hull on September 14th, 1944.

G. UNRRA -- A delegation representing the American Jewish Conference was active at the sessions of UNRRA and a report will be submitted to you by the Post-War Commission.

III. REPORT OF PALESTINE COMMISSION -- On behalf of the Palestine Commission, Dr. Silver, Chairman, submitted the following resolutions and moved their adoption:

1. "The Interim Committee of the American Jewish Conference hails the historic declaration of President Roosevelt favoring the reconstitution of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth and pledging his efforts to achieve its realization.

"The President's statement attests the widespread sympathy and support of the American people for Jewish aspirations in Palestine, as voiced in behalf of American Jewry by the American Jewish Conference on September 1st, 1943.

"With this declaration we look forward confidently to the complete realization of the age-old aims of the Jewish people in Palestine."

2. "The Interim Committee of the American Jewish Conference records its appreciation of the statement by Governor Thomas E. Dewey favoring the reconstitution of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth.

"With this statement, Governor Dewey joins the distinguished group of American statesmen who have given their wholehearted support to the fulfillment of the promise made to the Jewish people by fifty-two nations of the world following the last conflict."

CARRIED.

IV. REPORT OF POST-WAR COMMISSION - On behalf of the Post-War Commission, Rabbi Eisendrath, Co-Chairman, reported as follows:

"The American Jewish Conference through its Post-War Commission was represented at the UNRRA Conference in Montreal. Miss Evans and Dr. Kohanski were our representatives there, and I believe did a very good job for the American Jewish Conference. They cooperated very closely with the World Jewish Congress in presenting the memo which had been drawn up by the World Jewish Congress in consultation with the American Jewish Conference. I am not going to go into that report, nor will I go into the report which I have relative to a conference which the Post-War Commission had with a number of representatives of peace groups, peace planning groups with a view to furthering our statements, our declarations, relative to International Bill of Rights, and punishment of war criminals, which was an encouraging and interesting conference, which we had last week.

"The American Jewish Conference contemplated and hoped that in the presentation of our position and our resolutions relative to Palestine and to Post-War Reconstruction that there should be as united and solidified a representation as possible, either to one single peace conference as might earlier have been envisaged, or to whatever conferences are held dealing with these questions, and that we might have Jewish representation on the various agencies and commissions of intergovernmental committees and of the committees and commissions in the United Nations, but no instrumentality has been envisaged, it seemed to our Post-War Commission, with regard to bringing this about, and while the American Jewish Conference might well speak in the name of the majority of the Jews of the United States, we might none-the-less be confronted by a multiplicity of representatives from other groups, in other countries - other Jewish communities.

"It seemed to the Post-War Commission that it might well be within the province, in fact it would be the responsibility of the American Jewish Conference to take the initiative in seeking to unify the presentations to such peace commissions or to the agencies of the United Nations, also to seek likewise to unify the Jewish representation. We would like the authority of the Interim Committee to proceed with initial steps in the direction of the establishment of some form of council of Jewish delegations, with a view to implementing what is in the mind of the American Jewish Conference. We recognize that there are agencies in the field that must be consulted, conferred with, whose cooperation should be secured. We feel that the American Jewish Conference should take the initiative in this direction. We make that as a recommendation."

During the discussion of the report, Rabbi Heller stated that he had received the impression from the report that it was also intended to try to unify representation from the United States. Rabbi Eisendrath stated that he did not mean to give that impression. Whereupon Rabbi Heller stated:

"I think that personally the American Jewish Conference can take only one stand on that, that it will represent the American Jewish Community, and anyone else who tries to do it will be ruled out to the extent that we can rule them out of the discussions. Both of those considerations, it seems to me, are valid; I think therefore we ought to wait for a while."

Chairman Monsky: "Unless we hear objection to the contrary, Rabbi Heller's statement with respect to our position concerning our representing the American Jewish Community in all representations will be acceptable to our Committee, will it not?"

Rabbi Eisendrath: "Definitely so; though that was not in the recommendation."

The Chair stated that the other recommendation is a matter that should be left for the second session of the Conference and Rabbi Eisendrath stated that the Commission intended to make such a recommendation.

Miss Evans suggested that the matter should go to the Administrative Committee, not for final decision, but for further discussion of the points involved, and brought back by the Administrative Committee and the Post-War Commission at the next meeting of the Interim Committee. There was no objection and it was so ordered.

(Whereupon the meeting adjourned at 4:25 P.M. until November 27th, 1944.)

These minutes are confined to a record of action taken and reports submitted and only such statements as are essential for a clarification of the record. Abstractive discussion is excluded by decision of the Interim Committee on September 12th, 1944.

I.L.K.

SIDNEY N. WEITZ
ATTORNEY AND COUNSELOR AT LAW
LEADER-NEWS BUILDING
CLEVELAND

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Rabbi A. H. Silver,
The Temple,
East 105th Street at Ansel Road,
Cleveland 6, Ohio.

My dear Rabbi:

I was not present at the dinner given for Judge Proskauer and therefore do not know what he said on that occasion. However, I did attend the luncheon which was held on the same day, when Judge Proskauer spoke for a few minutes. In substance he stated

- (1) That at the meeting of the American Jewish Conference after he had completed his plea for unity, you delivered a marvelous oration but a terrible diatribe in which you literally took him apart and that it was as a result of your speech that the American Jewish Committee concluded to withdraw from the Conference;
- (2) That many Zionists approached him after the session and congratulated him for the speech he made but expressed regret that they were unable to vote as they felt;
- (3) That among those who were in agreement with him were Rabbis James Heller and Solomon Goldman;
- (4) That had not political Zionism been injected into the Conference all other branches of the program would have been adopted and dissension would not have taken place; and
- (5) That three men, Messrs. Lipsky, Margoshes and Nahum Goldman, were the principal figures responsible for the insistence upon a Palestine plank.

This is a summary of the relevant matters which he discussed. His whole talk did not take more than fifteen minutes, part of which was devoted to innocuous matter. He made no direct reference to the American Jewish Conference or about your role except with regard to your answer to his speech, nor did he quote you. With reference to Zionists, he stated that they were now quarreling among themselves and that this augured well for the ultimate defeat of their program.

With kindest regards and best wishes, I am

Most cordially yours,

Sidney

SNW M

October 26, 1944

The Honorable Henry Morgenthau, Jr.
Secretary of the Treasury
Washington, D.C.

My dear Mr. Morgenthau:

Following up our conversation of yesterday, I am enclosing herewith a clipping from The Cleveland Press which appeared ten days ago. This correctly represents my position. Everything else that you have heard is mischievous gossip. I was surprised when you told me how widespread was the impression in Administration circles that I was actively campaigning for Governor Dewey and against the President. Some enemy of mine must have been deliberately spreading this falsehood in order to make my work more difficult.

I came to you because of my high admiration for you and because I regard you, as I have so frequently stated in public, as the finest Jew in Washington. I wanted you to know the facts, and perhaps through you, help to correct the false impression which has been spread.

My position in this campaign is a very simple one, and I have stated it publicly time and again, as recently as last week at the convention of the Zionist Organization of America in Atlantic City. As Executive Chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council, I cannot publicly take sides in a political campaign without endangering the position of neutrality which our Movement must maintain with reference to the American political scene. Our cause has powerful friends in both political parties. We have succeeded in getting a friendly hearing from both parties because of the absolute non-partisan character of our Movement. I have publicly praised the support which both parties gave our congressional resolutions. I hailed both parties for the planks which they introduced in their platforms. I praised Governor Dewey for the statement which he issued on the Jewish Commonwealth, and I released to the press a most warm message of thanks which I telegraphed to the President on the occasion of his historic pronouncement on October 15th. I obtained the statement of Governor Dewey on October 12th. Dr. Wise and I wrote to the President on September 26th asking for an interview.

October 26, 1944

The interview was granted on October 11th, and to Dr. Wise alone -- a blunder or worse, I believe, on the part of someone.

I have been scrupulously impartial. I have not in any way identified myself with the campaign activities of the Republican Party. The leaders of the Republican Party understand my position fully, and I am wondering why the leaders of the Democratic Party fail to understand it. The American Zionist Emergency Council fully approves of this non-partisan line which I have pursued right through the year, ever since I took over the chairmanship, and is severely critical of the action of Zionist leaders who seek to give the impression that the Zionist Movement is somehow identified with one political party in the United States or another.

You and I may differ as to whether such an attitude of neutrality on the part of a movement which embraces both Republicans and Democrats is justified in the present political campaign, but surely you will agree with me that if one feels morally obligated to take a position of neutrality, his action should not be misinterpreted as being violently partisan. Four years ago, when I was not the responsible head of the political activities of the Zionist Movement of America, I felt free to endorse the candidacy of Mr. Willkie, just as eight years ago, and again twelve years ago I endorsed and advocated the election and re-election of President Roosevelt. Today I feel under the moral restraint not to exploit the responsible position which I occupy to take sides publicly in an election campaign. Perhaps after the strain and tension of these election days are over the soundness and wisdom of this position will be vindicated.

In any case, please be assured of my highest esteem for you, and when you have an opportunity, tell those people who bring you the choice morsels of gossip such as "Dr. Silver wants to be the leader of the Republican Jews of America" that they are talking "shtuss" and qrrant nonsense.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

AHS:BK
Enc.

Taft St. Louis
Got life jacket during

Meeting of the 10-26-44
Chad Zionist Society Oct 22

In introducing Senator Taft, Dr. Silver stated:

It is with great pleasure that I am about to present to you our guest and speaker of the evening, Senator Robert A. Taft. I recall with pleasure my many contacts with him during the past year in Washington. When we planned to introduce our Palestine Resolution in Congress, friends advised me to see Senator Taft. I discussed with him at considerable length the entire subject, and he was greatly interested. He asked for time to consider the subject more fully and for literature to read up on it. Senator Taft is a man who arrives at his conclusions with great deliberateness. He makes no quick commitments. When he had familiarized himself with the whole problem and had arrived at the conclusion that the reconstitution of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth was just and sound and necessary, he informed me that he would be pleased to sponsor the resolution in the Senate together with Senator Robert F. Wagner, of New York.

Ever since that time, Senator Taft has been an active proponent and advocate of the cause. As Chairman of the Resolutions Committee at the Republican National Convention in Chicago, he more than anyone else was responsible for the inclusion of the pro-Palestine plank in the platform.

More recently he urged upon our War Department, which last Spring requested postponement of action on the Palestine Resolution in Congress because of military consideration, to withdraw its objections since the military situation had completely changed during the year and the war had moved far away from Palestine and the Near East. It was to Senator Taft that Secretary of War Stimson addressed his communication recently in which the War Department withdrew its objections, stating that "political considerations now outweigh the military and the issue should be determined upon the political rather than the military basis."

It has been a great source of pleasure to me to have come to know Senator Taft, distinguished son of a distinguished father, the President of the United States, William Howard Taft, who was also profoundly interested in the cause of the Jewish people, and with whom I had the great honor to speak more than once after the last war from the platform of important Jewish gatherings.

great

It was a source of strength to me during the past year to be able to draw upon the sound judgment and the political experience of this friend of our great historic cause, Senator Robert A. Taft.

Memo From

John B. Hollister, Chairman
Taft for Senate Committee

Taft and Palestine

Because Senator Robert A. Taft has always been a stalwart supporter of the rights of minorities, it is only natural that your Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver turned to him for help in championing the cause for a Jewish homeland.

We thought you might be interested in the attached resume of a meeting which Senator Taft addressed at The Temple in Cleveland recently.

Your vote for Senator Taft is a vote for one who has proven his tolerance and friendship toward racial minorities. I trust you will see fit to give this great Ohio statesman your support.

C O P Y

October 27, 1942

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

Dear Dr. Wise:

May I bring to your attention the following points which occur to me as possibly warranting some attention at future meetings of the Emergency Committee

1. It would be well from time to time to get a slant on our problems through the eyes of intelligent observers outside our own ranks who are men of independent judgment, bound neither by vote-getting considerations in our favor nor restricted by official governmental status either British or American. Such observers of intelligent, independent judgment might be helpful in advising us what needs to be done which as yet has not been done by us.

The two names which occur to me at the present time are Willkie and LaGuardia. I know that someone is going to talk to Willkie. I also know that LaGuardia has often talked for us. What is necessary, however, is that Willkie should be cultivated as one of our advisors to whom we can turn from time to time in a frank and intimate way and that LaGuardia should be invited not only to make speeches but to share our problems and questions.

There may be others. We need a few Christian friends whose judgment is sounder than Wedgwood's in England, but to whom we can talk as frankly and as intimately as we talk to Josiah.

2. It happened to be my assignment to preside at the ZOA Convention session at which the resolution regarding the Emergency Committee was discussed. The lack of confidence in the Emergency Committee felt and expressed by the delegates is something to think about. To some extent, it is due to the difficulties of the situation for which no one can be blamed; to some extent it is due to faults for which the Emergency Committee deserves blame. To a considerable degree, however, it is due to the failure of the Emergency Committee to take the Zionists into its confidence and to share with them some of its problems.

I believe that one of the chief public relations jobs the Emergency Committee has to do is its public relations job vis-a-vis the membership of the Zionist organizations. It is my suggestion therefore that the Emergency Committee issue a monthly communique over the signature of Dr. Wise, to the head of every Zionist district and chapter. This communique should contain not only accomplishments but also some of our problems and difficulties (except those which must not be made public). It should not contain what we hope to do, but what we are doing. Of course, it should point out from time to time what there is for the districts and chapters themselves to do. Such communications, to be relayed by the district and chapter officers to their constituencies, would in the course of time build up among our people a closer feeling of cooperation and a greater feeling of confidence.

3. There should be more frequent and more detailed interchange of correspondence between ourselves, London and Jerusalem, within the limits, of course, imposed by wartime discretion. We should have copies of the minutes of the Executive bodies in Jerusalem and London, and they should have copies of our minutes. For some time past I have urged that procedure in connection with the KKL Board of Governors in Jerusalem. Finally, the suggestion was approved by them. We now receive their minutes and find them valuable.

Sincerely yours,
(Sgd.) DR. ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN

FRANZ JOSEF KATZ

61 East 95th Street
New York 28, N.Y.
October 29, 1944.

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

Dear Mr. Shapiro:

? Arab National League

Re.: Possible Resumption of Arab Activities in U.S.

I am conveying to you the following report for whatever it may be worth. I am not in a position to vouch for its accuracy though I have no reason to doubt the reliability of my source, a Lebanese Maronite, who is pro-Jewish and pro-Zionist and has repeatedly refused ~~to join~~ Syrian anti-Zionist activities in this country.

The Arab National League of America has been dormant since Pearl Harbor and the earlier suicide of its erstwhile president, Dr. Faud I. Shatara.

On Friday, October 27th, according to my friend, an attempt has been made in Washington, D.C. to re-organize Arabic-speaking elements in the United States for an anti-Zionist campaign.

The spirit behind this effort seems to be *6c* Pafis S. Malouf. He addressed a gathering at the home of one Mr. Risk. The latter's name apparently is being pronounced "Rissiek". He is said to be a well-to-do women's dress shop owner, selling gowns at an average price of \$500 a piece and numbering Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt and Mrs. Cordell Hull among his customers. Risk is said to be an immigrant boy who made good, being a former pushcart-vendor. He is said to be a Lebanese of the Greek Orthodox denomination and of pan-Arab and pro-Moslem leanings. My informant could not recall Risk's first name.

Malouf is a figure known to me from my previous investigation of Arab activities. He held the post of ~~Street~~ Commissioner of Streets in the city of Boston, Mass., once upon a time for a period of three months. He is also a Syrian. *He is practicing law in Boston.*

Allegedly, Malouf's efforts are aiming at the nation-wide organization of a so-called "United Arab Committee" and are aimed at incorporation of most of our Syrian colonies.

Inasmuch as the name "Risk" was brought up in this connection, I was wondering whether Risk of Washington is related to Salom Risk, author of "Syrian Yankies", published by Doubleday, Doran, and prodigee of the Reader's Digest crowd. Said Risk, making a living on lecturing, is known to have spent a lot of time attending Z.O.A. and Bergson group meetings just for the purpose of snooping around. Salom Risk has a pronounced Semitic physiognomy, hence is being taken for a Jew by many Jews and is known to have boasted to other Syrians of his anti-Zionist intelligence activities.

I also utilized the occasion to inquire about Major Haddad, the Iraqi Legation's spurious Military Attache. My Lebanese friend stated that said Haddad is a Lebanese, nominally Greek Orthodox, but actually indifferent in matters of religion. He followed the late Faisal to Iraq when he was deposed as monarch of Syria. Haddad's family are said to be Beirut merchants of great wealth which supports Haddad to this day. He is said to know absolutely nothing of military matters, his position as Military Attache giving much cause for

jokes. His position, said my Lebanese informant, is known to serve as a cloak for his anti-Zionist activities. In addition, Haddad is said to be deaf and limping. (You may recall Haddad's anti-Zionist article in a Sunday issue of the New York Herald Tribune which elicited replies by Representative Emanuel Celler (D., N.Y.) and Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver of Cleveland, O.)

I am now trying to ascertain whether there are possibilities to organize an Arab counter-committee to the Syrian anti-Zionist clique. I suppose the Maronite Lebanese would constitute a nucleus for such purposes.

Then meeting with you on Wednesday, I suppose, we shall also discuss this point.

With the best of wishes,
very truly yours

CC: Dr. Abba Hillel Silver,
Cleveland, O.
Emanuel Weizmann,
New York, N.Y.

Franz Josef Katz.



[Oct. 31, 1944]

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

**ELEVEN GOVERNORS ACT TO COMMEMORATE
BALFOUR DECLARATION ANNIVERSARY**

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NOVEMBER 2ND PROCLAIMED "PALESTINE DAY" IN SOME STATES;

DEWEY ISSUES STATEMENT

- - - - -

New York - Eleven governors have taken action to commemorate the twenty-seventh anniversary of the issuance of the Balfour Declaration which takes place on November 2nd, 1944, it was announced today by the American Zionist Emergency Council.

The Council disclosed that five governors have proclaimed November 2nd "Palestine Day" in their states, and six others, including Governor Thomas E. Dewey of New York, the Republican candidate for the Presidency, have issued statements on the anniversary of the Balfour Declaration, which pledged the reestablishment of the Jewish National Home in Palestine.

Proclamations have been issued by Governor Sam C. Ford of Montana, Governor Matthew M. Neely of West Virginia, Governor Herbert R. O'Connor of Maryland, Governor Henry F. Schricker of Indiana and Governor John C. Vivian of Colorado.

Statements on the anniversary of the Balfour Declaration have been issued by Governor Raymond E. Baldwin of Connecticut, Governor Robert O. Blood of New Hampshire, Governor Colgate W. Darden, Jr. of Virginia, Governor Dewey, Governor Walter Edge of New Jersey and Governor Edward Martin of Pennsylvania.

(more)

Governor Dewey's statement said that "it is now manifest that a way must be found speedily to open the doors of Palestine. The solution is not the concern of a class or a group or of merely one or two nations. The spectre of hundreds of thousands of homeless Jews is obviously quite incompatible with our aims of establishing a lasting peace with justice for all.

"The splendid accomplishments of the intelligent and indefatigable pioneers who wrought such marvels in establishing the Jewish Home in the Holy Land has earned for all the Jewish people of the world the right to an open door in Palestine," Governor Dewey declared.

Asserting that "the reestablishment of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth is long overdue and is indeed the hope of Europe's uprooted and hunted people of this race," Governor Martin added in his statement that "the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania is vitally interested in having its voice recorded in favor of the fulfillment of the Commonwealth in Palestine."

"Every fair and open-minded American necessarily will rejoice when these harassed and destitute victims of tyranny and oppression are permitted to establish a home and community life of their own," Governor Edge declared.

"Within recent months Americans in all walks of life, including a large majority of members of Congress, have reaffirmed America's traditional policy of friendship for the aspirations of the Jews regarding Palestine," Governor Ford asserted. "It is therefore fitting that the sentiments of the American people concerning this question should be given the widest possible expression on the coming anniversary of the Balfour Declaration...Widespread observance of the occasion will give renewed hope to Europe's uprooted and hunted Jews who look to Palestine for salvation," he added.

In his proclamation Governor Neely recommended to the people of West Virginia that "Palestine Day" be observed "by an earnest endeavor to increase public sentiment in favor of the early and complete redemption of the Balfour

Declaration, to the end that through its operation may be consummated all the blessings which it was designed to afford and for which the Jews have long and devoutly prayed."

"The Balfour Declaration must be fulfilled, and Palestine re-established as a free and democratic Jewish nation," Governor Vivian declared in his proclamation. "In recent months America has spoken in clear and unmistakable terms on this vital question. Endorsements of the movement to reconstitute Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth have been issued by the President, Governor Thomas E. Dewey, a substantial majority of the members of both Houses of Congress, and by both the Democratic and Republican parties, meeting in national convention.... Justice must be done to the Jews," he said.

Governor O'Connor pointed out that "an expression of sentiment from the American people on this question at this time will be of inestimable help towards the maintenance of the morale of Europe's unfortunate Jews who look to Palestine for their salvation."

October 31, 1944

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

My dear Mr. Lourie:

The following matters should be attended to immediately:

- 1) Copies of our reply to the Westermann Memorandum should be sent to Mr. Mallory right away.
- 2) The formal reply to the Bulletin of the Federal Council should go forward immediately. Berkson should make the draft of the reply, and you should check up on it.
- 3) A pamphlet should be issued by the Christian Council for Palestine, to be sent to the same people who are likely to receive the Federal Council Bulletin. It should be by way of an over-all reply to the negative position taken by the Bulletin correcting the most frequently repeated misstatements concerning Zionism, etc. This pamphlet should be drafted immediately by our Research Department and checked over by Friedrich, Voss and Atkinson, and sent to the large list of ministers which we have and also to all Christian publications.
- 4) Voss and Atkinson should be asked to get ten or twelve prominent Christian clergymen to write to the Federal Council protesting its Bulletin and indicating the grounds for their protest.
- 5) I think you and Berkson should sit down with Voss and Atkinson and talk over whatever need be done in this direction.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK

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THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

Washington

October 31, 1944

PERSONAL

My dear Dr. Silver:

I appreciate your taking the trouble to write me a letter on October 26th. I am more than willing to abide by your judgment as to what you should do as the head of the Zionist Emergency Council in connection with the coming election, and I can assure you that how you vote will not influence either the President or myself in the slightest in our attitude towards the organization which you head.

I have always held you in the highest esteem and admire the great work that you are doing. I was honored that you felt free to come in and talk over your personal problem with me, and when the occasion arises, I will inform the President of our conversation.

Again may I assure you that I am available at all times to be of assistance, and I hope that you will continue to drop in to see me whenever the occasion arises.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) H. Morgenthau Jr.

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver,
American Zionist Emergency Council,
East 105th Street at Ansel Road,
Cleveland, Ohio

Emanuel Congregation

Seven-O-One Buckingham Place

Chicago 13

FELIX A. LEVY

Rabbi

October 31, 1946

Rabbi Abba H. Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Abba:

I am sorry I did not get a chance to talk to you, but both of us were too busy at the convention. First of all, let me express my gratification over your message to the Z. O. A. which I did not hear but about which I was informed. I would like to get a copy of it if it is at all possible. I suppose it will be printed in New Palestine ultimately.

The next matter in which I am vitally interested and about which I want to consult you is the Presidency of the College. I would very much like to have your permission to suggest your name as the successor to Morgenstern. I am sure if you wanted the position you could get it. Personally I feel it would be the greatest thing you could do. By being President of the College, you would give a tremendous impetus and prestige to the Reform Movement and would become its world spokesman. I do not think you would have to give up any of your Zionist activities either. I would appreciate a word from you about your feelings in the matter.

I have received a number of requests from scholars for subventions from the Conference. I wonder whether I am still on that Committee.

With warmest greetings from house to house, I remain

Cordially,

Felix

Felix

FAL:mcc

10/31/44

1,100 LIBERATED HUNGARIAN JEWS ARRIVE IN RUMANIA; WERE HELD BY GERMANS AS SLAVE WORKERS

BUCHAREST, Oct. 30. (JTA) -- Two groups comprising 1,100 Hungarian Jews liberated from slave labor arrived in Rumania today en route to their home in the parts of Hungary now occupied by the Russian Army. They were visited by the president of the Rumanian Red Cross, Dr. Costinescu, who asked them whether they would prefer to emigrate to Palestine.

One of the groups consists of 700 Hungarian Jews who had been deported by the Germans to hard labor in the Ukraine and were released when that territory was re-taken by the Russian armies. The other group consists of 400 Jews from Hungary who were liberated by Marshal Tito's Yugoslav liberation forces from the Bor copper mines in Serbia together with 1,600 other Jews who were deported from Hungary for slave labor in the mines.

ARABS URGED TO BOYCOTT AMERICAN GOODS IN PROTEST AGAINST ROOSEVELT'S STATEMENT

JERUSALEM, Oct. 30. (JTA) -- A call to the Arabs of Palestine to boycott American goods in retaliation for President Roosevelt's statement promising his support for the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine was issued today by an Arab newspaper, following a meeting held by the Husseini Party



which was greeted by representatives of the Palestine Government, protesting the granting by the government last week of 10,300 visas for Jews under the provisions of the White Paper. Another demand was made against President Roosevelt's statement.

The meeting also demanded Arab independence in Palestine and the "abolition of the Jewish Home." It also resolved to ask the Palestine Government to prohibit Jews from selling land to Jews.

It was also announced here today that Dr. Khalil Toutan, head of the Quaker School in Jerusalem, is soon to proceed to the United States to conduct pro-

BRAZIL'S NEW IMMIGRATION LAWS WILL BE FREE FROM DISCRIMINATION AGAINST ANY RACE

CARACAS, Venezuela, Oct. 30. (JTA) -- The new immigration law which is now being considered by the government of Brazil, will be free from discrimination against any race or religion, Foreign Minister Villoso of Brazil assured Jacob Landau, managing director of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency, who arrived here today after a short stay in Brazil.

"Brazil has solved her racial problem," the Minister declared. "The Nazis tried hard but did not succeed in stirring up racial prejudice." He confirmed that the Brazilian Government has agreed to admit 500 or more refugee children from Europe. The details, he said, are being worked out with representatives of the Jewish Community.

Francisco Filho, director of the exchange division of the Bank of Brazil, promised that every consideration will be given to German anti-Nazis who, like the Nazis, were obliged to place ten to thirty percent of their funds at the disposal of the Bank of Brazil. Filho suggested that a committee of responsible men compile a list of German anti-Nazis in the country for his consideration.

[Oct. 1944]

Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, Inc.

FIELD STAFF MEMORANDUM #173

CONFIDENTIAL

From: H.L. Lurie

To: Field Staff and Associates

Action taken by the American Jewish Committee in withdrawing from the American Jewish Conference has been announced in the public press. It is a significant development which may be followed by considerable discussion and debate in local communities. At its meeting on October 24, the American Jewish Committee took the following action:

- (1) Approved of the statement made by representatives of the American Jewish Committee at the Conference, dissenting from the resolution on Palestine;
- (2) Voted to withdraw from the American Jewish Conference;
- (3) Took steps to develop the organization and promote the basic policies of the Committee throughout the country.

The main reason for the Committee's withdrawal at this time is that they are opposed in principle to the political theories inherent in the Palestine resolution and believe, therefore, that they cannot, without embarrassment, continue in the Interim Committee which is charged with responsibility for implementing the decisions of the Conference. A co-chairmanship and other places on the Interim Committee were being left open for American Jewish Committee representatives. While the AJC was willing to join in a conference, they are opposed to the basic hypothesis of a national organization which would speak and act on political matters for all American Jews. They accept the thesis that Jewish groups can associate for unified action which all the elements are willing to support, but insist that individuals and groups have the right of independent action at all times.

The American Jewish Committee's decision was immediately followed by the resignation of Mrs. De Sola Pool, president of Hadassah, Judge Morris Rothenberg and Judge Louis Levinthal, both former presidents of the ZOA. (The American Jewish Committee has a complex structure, including other cooperating national agencies and it may be that additional representatives of other national agencies as well as some individual members will resign from the Committee.)

There is no direct connection between this situation and the problems of continuing the United Jewish Appeal for 1944, but it may complicate the negotiations between the JDC and the UPA on the basis of the 1944 agreement for joint fund-raising.

The Council, as an organization which is neutral on these political issues, will have before it serious problems affecting the welfare and the stability of local community structures and programs. The Board will meet on

November 6 and 7 and will probably review these problems and formulate plans. It is our obligation to do what we can to strengthen local communities to enable them to function in spite of active differences among the various ideological groups and the various national agencies on these matters. It is our obligation to see that all groups are given the opportunity for fair presentation of their views and programs and that any of the difficulties which may arise on a national basis should not unnecessarily affect the processes of local cooperation which have been developed for res which are less controversial.

We would appreciate your keeping the office informed of developments and repercussions in the local communities. We should strive wherever possible to put the impending debates on a rational and practical level and avoid the emotionalisms which unfortunately may arise.

Difficulties in the structure of the American Jewish Conference were recognized by federation and welfare funds and by our Council at the outset. Whether or not these contributed to the present situation, we can only hope that the period of unpleasantness will be short and that a realistic appraisal of the actual composition and views of American Jews will eventually lead to a stronger basis of cooperation between all elements. We must not lose sight of the fact that all Jewish work is on a voluntary basis and that we cannot expect unity in matters of principle when there are fundamental differences.

The Committee's action was taken by a vote of about four to one and you will be interested, on a personal basis, to know that among the minority who voted against withdrawal were a number of members of the Board of the Council, including Sidney Hollander as well as a few others who have been active leaders in some of our local member agencies. This group may be helpful in the future in bringing about a new basis of agreement among the opposing groups.

* * * * *

Oct 1944

Mr. Leopold L. Meyer, President
Congregation Beth Israel
Houston, Texas

Dear Mr. Meyer:

The essence of your protest against the Central Conference of American Rabbis is that it has departed from the classic pattern of Reform Judaism, as laid down in earlier rabbinical meetings of Reform Rabbis (Philadelphia, 1869, Pittsburgh, 1885, etc.). Without considering for the moment the specifications of the charge, the general case can well be admitted, namely, that Reform Judaism as expressed in ideas and utterances of most members of the Central Conference does indeed represent a departure from some of the ideas and practices laid down by Reform Jewish leaders in past generations.

It is only an orthodoxy which dares not depart from classic patterns laid down by past generations. It is the principle of Orthodoxy that all laws authentically deduced from past laws are sacred and represent the will of God, and that customs which have been widely accepted in the past have the force of law and may not be abolished even when circumstances change. But Reform Judaism is a liberal Judaism. It proclaims the right of each generation to change customs and rituals and even to re-state doctrines, provided the essential principles of Judaism are preserved and strengthened by such changes. The same liberal principles which gave the Reform pioneers the right to change the venerable customs and prayer texts of Orthodoxy give us the right to change practices and modify doctrines of the pioneers.

Dr. Kaufmann Kohler, one of the great leaders of early Reform Judaism in America, convoker and leading spirit of the Pittsburgh Conference of 1885, made a statement which no Reform Jew should ever forget:--

"In order to form a just estimate of such Reform-Pioneers as were Geiger, Holdheim, Einhorn, Hirsch and others in Germany, we must guard against conferring upon them the claim of infallibility which they themselves have wrested for us

from the authorities of old. We would sin against the very spirit of progress which made them leaders and prophets of their age, should we attempt to canonize their every word. We would, therefore, do them injustice, were we to weigh all their utterances and opinions in the scale of modern research and by the standard of recent investigations. Truth grows, and many a thing which seemed true fifty years ago is no longer considered so today." (Hebrew Union College and Other Addresses, page 75) Dr. Kohler spoke as a true reformer and liberal. Geiger and Holdheim would have rejected any suggestion that later generations of rabbis and laymen should be compelled to keep unchanged and sacrosanct the pattern of ideas and customs which they had constructed. All the early reformers were great liberals.

Any attempt, such as your congregation seems to be making, to fix Reform Judaism at the pattern of one hundred years ago or of fifty years ago petrifies it into Reformed Judaism, a form of Judaism which had at one time been Reformed and then remained forever fixed. It is the resolve of the Central Conference of American Rabbis to keep Reform Judaism liberal and alive to the realities of the age. It is our hope that in so doing we are strengthening both the Reform movement and Judaism itself.

You will not mind, I am sure, if I include in our discussion the question of the by-laws which your congregation has recently drawn up, since these by-laws are the result of the same mood which led you to draw up your resolutions against the Conference and to spread them broadcast.

The clear purpose of your by-laws is to keep from membership in the congregation those individuals who believe in a Jewish state in Palestine, who believe that Kashrus is an essential practice in Judaism, and that the Hebrew language is indispensable in school and in worship. It is true that if a man cannot subscribe to your by-laws he may become a non-voting member; but of course no self-respecting Jew will join your congregation if he knows that his convictions

will disfranchise him and make him a second-class member. Your object is definite; you wish to exclude those who disagree with you on any one of the above points.

Most of these by-laws were, of course, taken from the Pittsburgh Platform. I note, however, that you have reworked the Pittsburgh Platform. You speak in your Principle #1 of the Mission of Israel, but you avoid the Platform's great phrase: "Jewish people" and priesthood." You also omit from your program Part 8 of the Pittsburgh Platform, namely, that: "In accordance with the spirit of Mosaic legislation, we deem it our duty to participate in the great task of modern times, to solve on the basis of justice and righteousness the problems presented by the contrasts and evils of the present organization of society." For these two elements in the great classic pronouncement of American Reform Judaism you substitute your carefully worded caution (not found in the Pittsburgh Platform) against the use of too much Hebrew in the Service. As a disciple of Dr. Kohler, I assure you that your omission of the hallowed and meaningful words "Jewish people" and "priesthood", which you consciously passed over in your borrowing from the Pittsburgh Platform, would have shocked him severely. Dr. Emil G. Hirsch (who proposed plank #8) would certainly have protested against your omission of the avowal of Israel's dedication to social justice. By what right do you vary the classic pattern of Reform Judaism?

The only right you have must be based upon the premise that Reform Judaism is liberal Judaism. You do have the right to change, as you have seriously changed, the Pittsburgh Platform. You have also the right to publish and declare that these are the principles of your congregation. But you have no right, as a liberal congregation, either to protest against the right of the Conference to vary the older patterns nor have you the right to exclude from your congregation those who do not agree with the ideas which you have selected.

What you have done is not only to transform, by omission of essentials, a great classic statement of Reform, but you have, I fear, misunderstood the in-

tention of the framers of the Pittsburgh Platform. These men well knew that there were many men and women in their congregations who did not agree with the new ideas which they proclaimed in Pittsburgh. They certainly did not intend that those who did not accept the Pittsburgh Platform be deprived of the right to vote or, in case of new applicants, not be admitted into the congregation as full members. They understood that there were many in their congregations who did not understand or even agree. But they hoped to influence their congregations. They themselves called it a "platform", as a party platform. They did not mean it to be a test of admission into the congregation. It was a curriculum, not a creed.

You, as a liberal congregation, have the same right. You may say to all who wish to join: "This is what we will teach in our school and from our pulpit. It is for each prospective member to decide whether he will join or not." But you have no right to propose a credal test of conscience, to say to any Jew who wishes to join: "Make a confession of faith. If you cannot accept our creed, you may not be a full member." You have no right to examine the conscience of any child of Israel in order to decide whether his beliefs are acceptable to you. You have the right to influence him once he joins. You have the right to a platform, to a curriculum, but not to a creed.

Official creeds as tests for admission into a congregation are frequent in the Christian Church; there are none such known in Judaism. Jewish congregations and groups of congregations have often suspended or even expelled members (by use of the ban) and even whole groups of Jews have been placed under the ban. Jewish Orthodox law also classifies certain violators of traditional practice as apostates, yet it was scrupulously careful to safeguard all the basic religio-legal rights of apostates (as inheritance, marriage, etc.). As for the ban of exclusion, it is to be noted that even so solemn a ban as that imposed by the great Elijah of Vilna against the sect of Hasidim had almost no effect on Jewish life. It was completely nullified by the deep-rooted sense of comradeship of the Jewish com-

munities. At all events, the policy and practice of exclusion is a logical and even a justifiable instrument in the hands of an orthodox religious body which claims divine validity for all its creeds and rituals; but it makes no sense in a liberal congregation.

Returning to your complaints against the Central Conference of American Rabbis, your premise is that we have departed from the classical pattern of Reform. Of course we have, and so have you, and so may every liberal religionist depart from older patterns, provided the essentials are thereby strengthened. The only question is whether the changes which have occurred have violated the essential (not necessarily the classical) principles of Reform Judaism. An examination of the specifications in your resolution indicates that they all concern Zionism in one way or another.

The simplest way to discuss them is to put them together into the one charge which you clearly mean to make: "The Central Conference has become Zionist and has thereby abandoned the essentials of Reform Judaism."

The answer to this implied charge can be made unequivocally. The Conference has not become Zionist. It has, however, ceased to be Anti-Zionist. In past years the Conference, in a number of resolutions, expressed its Anti-Zionism. There were few Zionists in the Conference in those years. By the way, the Anti-Zionist majority would have been appalled if anyone during all those years had ever made the un-Jewish suggestion that Zionist Reform Rabbis, disagreeing as they did with the avowed principles of the Conference, should not have the right to vote. As the years went by the number of Zionists in the Conference increased. By this time it may well be that the majority of our members are Zionists. We do not seek to know. We do not submit our members to a credal test.

The manifest fact now is that there are a large number, perhaps even a majority, of our members who are both convinced Zionists and convinced Reform Jews. These rabbis do not find their Reform Judaism and their Zionism to be mutually

incompatible. It is obvious, then, that there has been a definite change of mood in our Conference. Therefore, in harmony with liberal principles this new mood was acknowledged in our 1943 Resolution. We recognized the fact, plainly observable in the life of hundreds of our Reform Rabbis, that Reform and Zionism are quite compatible. Each member of our Conference may decide for himself whether to accept or reject Zionism. Whichever way he decides will not affect his status or his moral right to be part of our Conference.

Whether we are justified in thus changing a past emphasis, or whether what we have changed is an essential, indispensable doctrine, may well be debated. All I can say to you is that the majority of the Rabbis of the Conference believe that it is a justified and liberal change to permit each member to have his own opinion on Zionism without considering this opinion a violation of Reform. If the judgment of the majority of the Reform Rabbis on this question is not acceptable to you, whose judgment will you accept?

Since it is the responsibility of a rabbi to counsel his congregation, may I, as President of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, take the liberty of offering a word of counsel to you? Please do not be so nervous about the future of Reform Judaism. Reform Judaism is strong. Its influence in America extends far beyond those institutions which are avowedly Reform. All the American Jewish congregations which are departing from strict Orthodoxy have been influenced by the example of our Reform Jewish institutions. Our leaders are giving guidance to many Jewish and general movements in America. You do not need to build a fence around a Reform congregation to protect it against attack. Reform is of the future; it is a dynamic movement in American Judaism. Let us be bold, confident, and friendly with all of Israel.

(Signed) SOLOMON B. FREEHOF
President,
Central Conference of American Rabbis