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Sulzberger, Cyrus L., 1943.

The appended statement was sent to the New York Times in behalf of the Emergency Committee in response to the series of articles from Cairo during the past few days by Cyrus L. Sulzberger.

STATEMENT FOR PUBLICATION IN THE NEW YORK TIMES

August 3, 1943

During the last three days, the New York Times has published a series of dispatches from Cairo in which Mr. Cyrus L. Sulzberger describes mounting tension in Palestine and the possibility of clashes between the Arab and Jewish populations.

These articles relate that Jews and Arabs are arming in anticipation of violence and convey the impression that Jewish eagerness to assist in the prosecution of the war is motivated by a desire to militarize the Jewish population in preparation for the threatened conflict with the Arabs.

This is misleading and grossly unfair. The objective observer who knows the temper of the Jewish people in Palestine must recognize that the goal in Jewish recruitment, mobilization and sacrifice is the winning of the war. That is dominant and unquestioned.

Like all the peoples of the United Nations, the Jews of Palestine are determined to establish a free world in which all men will enjoy the Four Freedoms, and in which they, like all other peoples, will have their own Homeland. The people who were the first victims of Hitler's aggression are the people most determined to accomplish Hitler's defeat and the overthrow of force and violence. They are dedicated to victory and peace.

To suggest other motives is to cast a slur on the gallantry and idealism of the Jews of Palestine. The record refutes the suggestion. All through the Arab riots of 1936 to 1939, in the face of brutal provocation, the Jews in Palestine exercised the maximum amount of self-restraint and disciplined patience. Since that time, their efficiency, courage and self-sacrifice in the conduct of the war have won repeated commendation.

In the Libyan campaign, General Sir Archibald Wavell said they "performed fine work... their morale is excellent and they are eager to help in the overthrow of the dictators." Their bravery in Greece brought a tribute from Sir Henry Maitland Wilson and later he wrote that he "much appreciated the assistance rendered by the Jews" in Syria.

The most recent declaration came from the British Information Service, which in a bulletin issued on July 16, 1943, pointed out that out of a total Jewish population in Palestine of about 500,000 30,000 are in the armed forces, i.e. six per cent, or the equivalent of an enlistment of eight million in the United States. The statement refers further to "the remarkable contribution they (the Jews of Palestine) are now making to winning the war."

It must be remembered that all enlistment is on a voluntary basis and that there is no conscription. It would seem, therefore, that The Times correspondent has over-emphasized the few isolated extremist steps which were taken to promote recruiting. These coercive measures were formally condemned by the Jewish Agency for Palestine and on March 7, 1943, Dr. Bernard Joseph, secretary, formally addressed the Palestine Government as follows:

"When recently a number of acts of terrorism were committed in connection with recruiting they were emphatically condemned by the Jewish public bodies. Their condemnation, it is gratifying to note, led to a discontinuance of such acts."

Further evidence that the Jewish contribution to the war is dictated solely by the will to victory and not by any ulterior design for self-militarization comes in the form of a statement from High Commissioner Sir Harold MacMichael, who, on July 29, declared that the increased agricultural production of the Jewish farmers has been of "the greatest value in the war effort."

Of course the Jews are resolved upon the defense of their own land, whether the aggressor be Hitler or the Arabs. But if Jews are compelled to take up arms in their own defense, the blame will not rest upon them; it will be an inevitable course a people must take to defend themselves from aggression. If a clash impends in Palestine, it is not the Jews who are the aggressors; they are the victims of a continuing appeasement which now threatens their destruction.

The Times correspondent suggests that the United Nations must deal with the situation firmly if violence is to be avoided. The need for decisive action has long been apparent, but it must be unequivocal and uncompromising. The tenor of the Times dispatches is suggestive of another course -- some new engagement which might perpetuate past appeasements and jeopardize the future of the Jewish Homeland in Palestine.

We fear that The Times correspondent has presented an exaggerated picture of the situation and has unwittingly transmitted the propaganda of those very elements who are interested in fomenting trouble and who hope, by intimidation, to force abridgment of Jewish rights in Palestine. If there is to be any action by the United Nations with respect to Palestine, it must look to the fulfillment of the historic promise made to the Jewish people -- the establishment of a Homeland in Palestine. There can be no retreat.

The American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs

Stephen S. Wise, Chairman



August 3, 1943

Hon. Cordell Hull
Secretary of State
State Department
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Secretary:

In a dispatch from its correspondent in Egypt the New York Times of July 29th reported that Great Britain and the United States are on the verge of publishing a concrete statement concerning their proposed policy regarding the Middle East and Palestine. While we have received no official information that such a statement is in fact contemplated, other reports reaching us would appear to confirm the correctness of this dispatch.

We are reluctant to approach you on the basis of unconfirmed reports. The issues involved, however, are of such moment that we feel we have no alternative but to place the matter formally before you.

We believe that there is no need for us to emphasize the vital interest of the Jews of this country in any decision which may be taken affecting the future of Palestine. American Jewish interest in Palestine, in alliance with progressive American opinion generally, was in large measure responsible for the issuance by Great Britain in 1917 of the Balfour Declaration with its promise to reestablish the Jewish National Home in Palestine. It has manifested itself in the intervening years by contributions and investments in Palestine totalling many millions of dollars. It is an interest which has been strengthened and confirmed by the cruel sufferings of the homeless and persecuted Jewries of Hitler-occupied Europe, who look to Palestine as the place where they may be integrated in a self-governing homeland.

We cannot believe that our Government would wish to confront the Jews of America with a fait accompli in a matter which so closely concerns them. May we on behalf of the American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs, representing all branches of the organized Zionist movement in America, respectfully urge accordingly, that we be afforded the opportunity of prior consultation in respect of the formulation by the State Department of any statement which may affect the future of Palestine, or the assertion of Jewish claims with respect thereto.

We would in this connection draw attention to the fact that in terms of the Mandate for Palestine, provision was made for the recognition of a Jewish Agency for the express purpose of consulting with the Mandatory Power in respect of matters affecting the development of the Jewish National Home. Since any statement of the kind now contemplated would necessarily bear upon the interests with which the Mandate is concerned, we would urge the desirability of our Government likewise informing and consulting with the authoritative Jewish body in America, which represents all phases of Zionist activity here.

In making this request, we are persuaded that considerations of justice and of the best interests of the American people alike, require that the age-old problem of Jewish homelessness be solved; we are deeply convinced that only by affording the Jews of this country an opportunity to be heard before any definitive action is taken, will our State Department most effectively promote a wise and a permanent solution of the Palestine issue with which the problem of Jewish homelessness is so intimately concerned.

Yours sincerely,

American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs

Stephen S. Wise
Chairman

SSW:BP

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

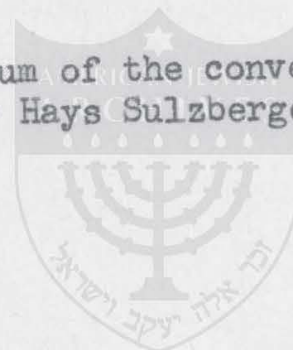
MEMORANDUM

To Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

Date Sept. 17, 1943.

From Arthur Lourie

I am enclosing copy of a memorandum of the conversation
Rabbi Milton Steinberg had with Mr. Arthur Hays Sulzberger.



A.L.

CONVERSATION BETWEEN RABBI MILTON STEINBERG

AND MR. ARTHUR HAYS SULZBERGER

The conversation took place at the offices of Mr. Sulzberger on Wednesday, September 15th, at 3:30 P.M.

After an exchange of greetings, Mr. Sulzberger expressed his appreciation of the courtesy of my visit.

It was his purpose to disabuse my mind of the notion that the Times is biased in the presentation of Zionist news.

Mr. Sulzberger stated that he was not an anti-Zionist although the attacks on him were swinging him in that direction. He referred especially to the criticism of his Baltimore address in November. He had always been a non-Zionist because to him Judaism was a faith and a faith only. A Jewish State would therefore be inappropriate to the Jewish group. As for the materials on Palestine which had appeared in the Times, they represented the judgment of correspondents and editors operating without instructions or influence on his part.

Mr. Sulzberger insisted that criticism of him in Zionist circles had been unjust and intemperate and that the Zionists gave evidence of being in league against him, wishing him to suppress adverse news and criticizing him immoderately for his failure to do so.

I responded by pointing out to him that he was in no sense the victim of a conspiracy and that the Zionists were pretty generally reasonable people.

My own action in cancelling my subscription to the Times (see appended correspondence) was, I felt, justified by the following considerations:

- 1) failure of the Times at any time to run articles sympathetic to Jewish achievement in Palestine. (Mr. Sulzberger insisted that the Times had had its share of such articles.)
- 2) hostility toward Jewish aspirations in Palestine contained in the Sulzberger articles and in the Sedgwick communications. There, I documented at some considerable length.
- 3) the attention given by the Times to the American Council for Judaism, I indicated that the American Council was in effect "the Times' baby".
- 4) the equality of status assigned by the Times to the American Jewish Conference and the Council.

Mr. Sulzberger repeated that so far as the correspondents were concerned he had given them no instructions; that if they reported adversely to Zionism it was because of their judgment of the facts.

To which I answered that the selection of correspondents can also be a form of editorializing in the news columns and that a correspondent can be influenced by an awareness of the attitudes of a publisher without explicit instructions.

Mr. Sulzberger then admitted that so far as the American Council was concerned, his own convictions were responsible for the large attention accorded the episode.

Feeling that I might have an opportunity to make the Zionist case, I then turned the conversation to the need for a Home Land in Palestine, pointing out the necessity of mass Jewish emigration from Europe. To this Mr. Sulzberger rejoined that a democratic victory should obviate such a necessity and that the Zionist propaganda was encouraging anti-Semites in Europe to exert pressure on the Jews. My response was that anti-Semites needed no encouragement. I asked Mr. Sulzberger whether he expected a Utopia in postwar Poland. Mr. Sulzberger then conceded the need for mass Jewish emigration.

When I asked him to what territory aside from Palestine -- when I pointed out that there would be no time to prepare lands to receive large numbers of colonists, he replied that he was certain that some place could be found.

I pressed the point, asking for actual suggestions and indicating the failure to discover any suitable or available focus for Jewish migration. His answer was that he was not equipped to answer that question. He did refer in passing to the Eastern slopes of the Andes.

I then raised the point of the closed immigration policy of Latin-American countries and of the vigorous anti-Semitism which they already exhibited. His rejoinder was that Palestine itself could not accommodate a sufficient number of Jews to influence the problem.

I then adduced evidences to the contrary including those of Lowdermilk.

At about this point the discussion was obviously futile. It had been conducted in a studiously courteous manner on both sides but it was apparent that little could be accomplished by pursuing it further. In any case, Mr. Sulzberger was informed by his secretary of the presence of another visitor at which point I rose immediately to take my leave. As we parted he said something to the effect that -- this has been very interesting. I want to thank you for it and for being so kind as to pay me this visit. Neither of us, I suppose, has convinced the other but then we probably didn't expect to. I just wanted you to know that I don't wear horns --. To which my reply was that I had never suspected that he did but that I had not been freed of my opinion that he himself was hostile to Zionism and that the Times had been unfair to it.

I have no conclusions about this interview except ~~that~~ to say that Mr. Sulzberger by the very fact of it has revealed his sensitivity to Jewish criticism. It is possible but by no means certain that the Times may be fairer in the future.

For the rest, I am still persuaded that nothing is to be lost and much to be gained were Zionists in New York City to make their disapproval vocal and tangible.

The New York Times
Times Square

ARTHUR HAYS SULZBERGER
PUBLISHER

November 2, 1943

Dear Rabbi Silver:

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

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

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

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

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

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

Amundtson Singsen

Enclosure

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

ARTHUR HAYS SULZBERGER,
President and Publisher of New York
Times, to the Brotherhood of the Madison
Avenue Temple, Baltimore, Md., Nov. 5,
1942, 8:30 P. M., E. W. T.:

Just a little more than fifteen years ago I had a long distance telephone conversation with a man named Harry Knight, who was head of the Aero Club of St. Louis. In that capacity, he was authorized to sell the story of an unknown young man who proposed to fly the Atlantic Ocean. THE NEW YORK TIMES, through me, bought the story after making suitable provisions that if the flier didn't get more than fifty miles off shore, the initial payment was to be returned. Mr. Knight never had to send back the check—the balance of the money and a lot more was duly paid over to him. The flier was Charles Lindbergh, and this was the epochal flight that opened the way to trans-Atlantic airplane travel.

Just fifteen years after that event I stepped into a plane and flew to England. It was almost a routine matter. Fifteen years seems a pretty short time in which to accomplish that change, yet it is that development that makes this the global war it is.

I stayed in England during August and part of September. I didn't discover anything particularly new. The British censorship is too liberal and the American reporters are too good for one itinerant publisher to come home with any great new fundamental truths. In fact, it's somewhat embarrassing to go off into the blue only to return with a lot of stories that appeared in THE TIMES several weeks before.

Nevertheless, I'm glad I made the trip. There's a limit to the power of the written word; there are some things the imagination will not take in; and while, as I say, I didn't bring back any new conception of great things, I did receive a new personal appreciation of

the small things that make up the life of a people living under siege.

Let me illustrate what I mean. I knew when I went over there, just as you do, that the British people were working between 52 and 56 hours every week as contrasted with the 42-43 hour average with which we hope to meet the greatest challenge of our history. I also knew that the arrival of our troops and the movement of war munitions and food to supply those troops had placed a burden on the transportation system of the country. But it wasn't until I got there that I realized the *connection* between these two facts. It isn't only that 22 million of the 33 million adults in Great Britain (that is to say two out of every three people between the ages of 14 and 65) are working nine or ten hours a day, but also that, as you soon see when you arrive, they are spending twice or three times as much time getting to and from work as they did in normal times. There are 250 more trains a day devoted entirely to war transport right now in Britain than there were a year ago. The big Green Line buses, which supplemented the railroad system, were all taken off and put to carrying troops and munitions when I was there. The fast trains going out from London to the suburbs have given way to locals and these suburban trains were all overcrowded, with about half the people standing in the corridors. In the same way, the long distance trains are usually jammed to the doors. To get a sleeper berth on the long journeys you have to have a government priority; and there are now, I think, only a few trains in the country that are allowed the privilege of a dining car.

You can, of course, see the countless ramifications of these transportation difficulties. The business of keeping oneself and one's family alive is one thing; the business of living, of getting to work, and of working, and getting home again; of getting food and clothing; of running a house without help on restricted supplies of consumer goods is something else again. As one official said when I was there: "The business of keeping alive is not so difficult. There's very little you can do about that. It's the ordinary business of living, of doing the ordinary, necessary things of life that is so difficult."

You appreciate the British war effort more when you see these things. When you travel, as I did, from

the north of Scotland down to Dover; when you see for yourself how small it all is, and then, looking at the map, realize how far spread is its influence, you wonder at it all. And don't forget the way we have profited here by the spread of that influence, for if Britain has ruled the waves—and she had to in defense of her life lines—it has meant that a friend was defending our shipping lanes as well. And we know as soon as we stop to think that the man power of this tiny nation—that which does not lie in the fields of Flanders, the known and unknown soldiers of the first World War—is spread all over the globe in this second war to defend—call it “British imperialism,” if you will, but recognize it also as a system under which enlightenment has been brought to some of the heretofore dark corners of the earth. As I said, you appreciate the British when you see them face to face.

It is also true, I think, that you never really appreciate their humor until you see the way they take these inconveniences that I have referred to. So many changes have taken place in the transport field, for example, that the London Transport Company, which runs the subways and buses in the Thames Valley, is constantly putting up new regulations for their passengers. In typical British fashion, they have done this through a series of posters showing a now-famous British cartoon character called “Billy Brown of London Town,” who always gives his instructions in verse. My introduction to Billy Brown was on a poster in which he was shown tapping a fellow passenger on the shoulder and telling him not to remove the shatter-proof plaster which had been placed over the windows of the bus. The caption under the picture read:

“I hope you'll pardon my correction
That stuff is there for your protection.”

Evidently annoyed by this admonition, some cockney had written a second verse, which read:

“Thank you for your recitation,
But I can't see the ruddy station.”

On another poster Billy Brown was demonstrating to a passenger how to give the correct signal to an approaching bus. The official verse this time read:

“Face the driver, raise your hand,
You will find he'll understand.”

Under this, somebody else, who had seen too many crowded buses go by, had written:

"Yes, he'll understand, the cuss,
But will he stop the ruddy bus?"

These transportation restrictions in Britain, of course, are not unique. They are symbols of the accepted British principle that war must be the only business of the nation and that all men must do whatever needs to be done to achieve victory. In the five weeks I was in Britain, the British Government made several statements and issued a few orders that may give you an idea of how broad and deep are the restrictions on normal living. I made some notes of these; they are by no means all the orders issued by the government during this period, but they may illustrate that at the start of their fourth year of war the British are pulling their belts pretty tight.

1. First, there are some striking figures issued by Sir Kingsley Wood, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, on how much money the people of Britain are now making. The weight of taxation is now such that if the Exchequer were to take away every penny of income from those people making \$8,000 or more a year, the government would raise only \$120,000,000 a year, less than the cost of two capital ships. Since 1938, the number of people in Britain with net incomes between \$4,000 and \$8,000 a year dropped from 155,000 to 105,000; the number with net incomes of from \$8,000 to \$16,000 dropped from 56,000 to 30,750; the number making between \$16,000 and \$24,000 from 12,000 to 1,170; and those with a net income of \$24,000 or over had fallen in four years from 7,000 to only 80. In other words, 85% of the total net purchasing power of the nation now rests with those people making under \$2,000 a year. We are moving in the same direction, but we're a long way from that here as yet. Certainly these figures are worth remembering when you hear that worn legend about the British aristocracy fighting merely to retain its privileges.

2. The second item is a War Office announcement to the effect that no coal, coke, electricity or gas could be used for heating British Army establishments in the Eastern command on Wednesdays and Sundays.

3. This was followed a few days later by an order that no central heating whatever could be used, except in such places as hospitals, during the entire month of October. And we think it a hardship or an imposition to convert from oil to coal! And the Eng-

lish October is very different from ours, as you know.

4. On top of that, due to coal shortage, the people were asked to restrict their baths to one a week and to use no more than five inches of water in the bath tub. This announcement, incidentally, was followed by a statement that Queen Elizabeth had ordered a five-inch Plimsoll line painted on all bathtubs in the royal establishments; and the Lord Mayor of London, who celebrated his seventieth birthday while I was in Britain, confided to the people that he was not only restricting his bath to five inches of water, but was taking his *weekly* dip in cold water. Since there's no shortage of cold water, I can only assume that this particular gentleman was still a boy at heart.

5. At the same time, the government called on farmers of the country to speed up their planting for next season by doing at least part of their plowing by night and, I suppose, just to make sure that there should not be too much relief from these restrictions, a further announcement was made that no cereals whatever would henceforth be made available for the manufacture of grain or malt whiskey.

In this country, as I have indicated, we are also beginning to come into the period of consumer shortages and simpler living, but the British have been going through progressive stages of austerity ever since the collapse of France and, by the time I got there, they were running out of things to restrict.

You have only to see the effect of these self-denying ordinances to realize that there are few places in the world where there has been more change during the Twentieth Century than in Great Britain. The taxation figures and the pressing shortage of man and woman power alone have, at least for the time being, wiped away most of what we knew as the middle class in Britain. The intelligent government official or businessman who several years ago lived in Surrey and drove his car to the station and, perhaps, with considerable sacrifice, sent his children to one of Britain's good "public schools" has already made drastic changes in his mode of life. His one servant, unless she is very old, and his children's nurse are in factories making shells, or in the land army, or in the women's army driving trucks, or even staffing anti-aircraft batteries. His wife is looking after the family and cleaning the house herself in addition to her own

wartime duties such as fire-watching or Red Cross work; and their children, if they are young, are probably going to the nearest council school, where they do not have to pay any "public school" fees.

I didn't hear any one complaining about any of the orders I have read you, or about any of the inevitable results of these orders, for as nearly as possible the hardships of war fall equally upon all. But in spite of what seemed to me a sincere attempt on the part of the British Government to spread the sacrifices evenly, there is a limit to what Mr. Churchill can do about where the Nazi bombs and shells are going to fall. Nothing is more obvious to a visitor to Britain than the terrible element of chance, the sort of wild planlessness to the destruction within the island. Bombs fall on Oxford Street. They flatten John Lewis' Department store. What is more, they even turn the corner and wipe out his annex down a side street. But up the street is Marks and Spencer's, and Selfridges, and neither of them is more than scratched. A grocer in Folkestone loses most of his customers when the area is evacuated; his life's investment is wiped out and his customers go somewhere on the West Coast, where some other grocer, no more worthy, no better Englishman than the first, does a land-office business. All this is what the British call "very untidy." We would say it "didn't make sense." Certainly it is not just. And yet, as I say, I didn't hear any major complaints.

This may be what distresses me when I come home and hear a lot of complaining about the British. We Americans are not patient. We are a plunging, critical people. I like that. I don't want to change it. I think that in the long run our tremendous energy, of which this impatience is a part, will bring us victory. But we have certain rules to observe. In tennis, there is one kind of play for singles and another for doubles. This is not a singles war. It is a coalition war. Britain, among others, is our partner. We are drawing a great semicircle around the Continent of Europe and that ring will eventually strangle the German power. It starts at Iceland, runs through the United Kingdom, goes on through Sierra Leone, which is British, through Egypt, which is controlled by Britain, and so on to Syria, which was conquered by Britain. We cannot knock out the German power without these bases

or without Great Britain's help any more than we can regain the Philippines or knock out Japan without bases in India, and Australia, and Burma, also part of the British lands. These are hard facts and any pragmatic view of the war, even any selfishly national view of the war, demands that we stand and examine them.

I am not uncritical of the British. I think many of you know that THE NEW YORK TIMES has had occasion in recent years to oppose Great Britain's foreign policy. It is very probable that the historians of the future will hold that Great Britain did not live up to her responsibilities in the tragic era between the two great twentieth century wars. But unless those same historians also condemn our isolationist policy—our unwillingness to join the League of Nations and really try collective security—their work will be without perspective. It is very probable that these same historians will condemn Britain's diplomacy and her military policy in the second and third decades of this century. But there is no one who can contend with any shadow of justice that Great Britain in September, 1939, failed to keep the faith, or has failed the world since June of 1940. It is true that there were defeats at Singapore and Tobruk as before them there were defeats in Norway, the Low Countries, and France (and I trust that the memory of Pearl Harbor and Bataan makes it easier for us to understand those defeats), but, nevertheless, the over-all record of Great Britain in this war is one of the great achievements in military and spiritual history.

Admit that many Britons were wrong in their analysis of the Axis menace—as many of us were wrong—and that many of them were wrong in their preparations to meet that menace—as again many of us were wrong—concede that Britain paid the penalty for that policy at Dunkerque—as we paid the penalty for our complacency at Pearl Harbor—recognize all this, and the British achievement since June, 1940, is no less; it becomes even greater.

In the fighting off Norway and Dunkerque the British lost 47 warships, and half of their entire destroyer fleet was laid up for repairs. At Dunkerque they lost most of their equipment, including 2,400 guns, 700 tanks, over 50,000 military vehicles, and a tremendous quantity of base stocks such as clothing, ammunition and small arms. When the tattered army got home and

re-formed, there were less than twenty divisions left, of which only two of these had full equipment, to face the 200 German divisions across the channel. They had, in all, some 200 light tanks, armed only with machine guns, some 50 infantry tanks, and fewer than 200 field guns to defend the Western World.

Nor was the situation any better in that other vital theatre—the Mediterranean basin. On June 11, 1940, the strength of the RAF in Egypt and Palestine was 40 Gladiator fighters, 70 Blenheim bombers, 24 bomber-transport Bombays and Valentias, 24 Army co-operation Lysanders, 10 Sunderland flying boats and a reserve of 100 per cent in Gladiators, Blenheims and Lysanders. To face the Italians, who had over 200 modern bombers and 200 modern fighters plus the ability to bring more immediately from Italy, there was not a single Hurricane or Spitfire in the region.

Similarly, in the Sudan, Kenya and Aden the RAF had some 150 aircraft of various types. In the Island of Malta, which has proved the keystone of the whole supply route across the Mediterranean, the British did not have a single plane ready when Italy entered the war. Her total air strength there consisted of four Gladiator fighters which were still in their packing cases.

Given the military situation as it was in the Summer of 1940, the remarkable fact is not, as some people would have you believe, that the British have done so badly in the past two years but that they have done so well. Look at the position today, grim as it is, and compare it with the position of July, 1940. Is there a General in the country or a board of strategy, professional or amateur, anywhere in the world that in July, 1940, would have predicted a successful defense of Britain, Malta, the Near East and the Middle East? Would anybody have believed that a handful of Royal Air Force pilots and an inadequate anti-aircraft force could have brought down 3,200 German aircraft between August of 1940 and April, 1941, and beat back the greatest aerial assault of history? Who would have thought it possible for the remnants of the British army, 11,000 miles and three months from their main base of supplies, to destroy most of the Italian African Empire defended by an army which could be supplied in three weeks?

We forget that our ships would have difficulty get-

ting to Suez today if the British had not mopped up or scattered an Italian force of 300,000 men in Abyssinia in 1940. We forget that in the first Libyan campaign the British put out of action an Axis army of 250,000 men, and in the second campaign accounted for another 61,000 casualties. We remember Tobruk, or what we believe to be the story of Tobruk, but we tend to forget El Alamein. We remember Singapore, but we tend to forget not only that Britain has held the great bases from which we shall launch a victorious offensive, but also that her navy of 600 vessels has kept the sea lanes open and besides has sunk, damaged or captured between six and seven million tons of German and Italian merchant shipping since the start of the war.

Why go on? The resounding fact is that Britain fought on when she stood alone, armed with little more than her courage. I plead with you to bear that fact in mind. I beg of you to make yourselves—each one of you individually—a kind of counter propaganda bureau. For every story of British inefficiency, tell one of British valor; for every criticism, recall the words of Britain's song, "Britons never, never, never shall be slaves," and emphasize how, during the blitz, Britain proved those words to be not merely a rhyme but a creed.

And thank God for it! For it is Britain and this country who, because of their common language, their common heritage of custom, their common sense of law and the dignity of man—it is these two who must in large measure work together to make the peace. And that peace will be meaningless, as I see it, unless there is injected into it that Anglo-Saxon sense of freedom—unless it is spread to all corners of the earth with an American love of fair play and willingness to tread new paths. The fewer the problems between Britain and the United States the easier it will be for us to present a united front when the time comes to make the peace.

I have emphasized the British accomplishments in the Mediterranean basin, for it is clear that that theatre of the war is attaining more and more importance. I underline that fact because now, as never before, anything we do or say that affects affairs in that part of the world should be carefully measured. Only this week there has been celebrated the 25th

anniversary of the Balfour Declaration, which has meant so much to the Zionists and Jews of the world. I wish I had the ability to set that problem straight and teach my fellow-Americans who are not Jews that it would be wise to examine all the facts in that complicated situation before lending their names to the extreme Zionist cause, or the demand for a Jewish army. I fear that most of them act without thinking, knowing only that Jews have been treated so inhumanely in many places that they, as decent Christians, are eager to do whatever they can to mitigate those horrors. And so they gladly subscribe to extreme Zionist doctrine in the belief that they represent the desires of all who are Jews.

Of course, they are wrong, and by being wrong they help to create problems in the Moslem world which merely add to the difficulties of the United Nations.

Presumably the British Government has decided that, all other things considered, it will not help win the war to meet the demand for a separate Jewish army. Furthermore, the United States Government has evidently not felt it either wise or expedient to intervene with the British Government in this matter. It seems to me, therefore, that since those decisions have been made—and I think made with a conviction that will not be changed, at least during this war—it serves no useful purpose to continue, at this time, a campaign which not only embarrasses the United Nations, but can be distorted by the Axis in the Arab world.

I say this regardless of the military considerations—and they are exceedingly important. To set up such a force is a formidable task, involving a long period of training, the provision of officers and, most of all, equipment. At this moment, when there is under way a battle that is likely to decide surely the fate of the Mediterranean and probably the future course of the war, this kind of diversion is unthinkable.

It is unfortunate indeed that those of us who believe that Jews are a religious body only—those of us who are unwilling to accept the Nazi connotation that we are a racial group apart—it is unfortunate that we should find it so difficult to put our views before the world. Possibly it arises from the fact that one can shout from the housetops one's demand for

a homeland but that, unlike the Muezzin, the Moslem crier of the hour of prayer, we who view Judaism as a religion whisper our faith and seek no converts.

I would not have you think that I am unaware of the need of refuge for many peoples, including Jews, after this war is over. I know, too, that many Jews will seek the Holy Land. But let us keep it a *Holy* Land. Let us make sure that we do not transform it into merely another nation—jealous of its own national rights—heedless of those who for the past two thousand years have lived within its borders.

It would seem to me that this could be done if, when the time comes, there is created a great State out of several of the countries in that section of the world. I would make it sufficiently large so that the Arabs would welcome its might and never have cause to fear that the Jews who move there would upset the numerical balance of power. And into this enlarged State I would welcome all who wish to come, and the Arabs would join in such welcome secure in the knowledge that they would not be outnumbered. Such a plan would provide the refuge we all seek to establish. It would, however, deny Jewish statehood; but, in a world already plagued by too many nations, is that not right?

Out of my own observations in Palestine and, more importantly, out of the reports I have had from those who have lived many years in the country, I am convinced that the Jew and the Arab can live side by side in peace and work out a common destiny in a commonwealth. If there is antagonism now it is largely the crop sowed by the extremists and the professional agitators on the two sides.

I submit that such a plan as I have suggested would appease the Arab world. I hasten to use the word "appease" myself to describe my thought before it is hurled back at me. I submit that the Arabs of the Near East have rights and if recognition of their rights wins them to the side of the United Nations, wins peace between Jew and Arab, and yet brings down on my head the epithet "appeaser," I shall continue to think mine is the right course, and I shall do all in my power to promote it. If I in any small way can help to provide a peaceful refuge for those infinitely persecuted people of Europe instead of again injecting them into strife, I shall be happy. If I, as

a Jew, can help to impress the world that what Jews want far more than a home of their own is the right to call any place home, that the migration of Jews after the war will be but a part of the vast migration of many peoples seeking peace and opportunity, that in finding new homes justice must be done those who already dwell where the newcomer would live—if I can do those things, then I believe I shall have been faithful to the tradition of justice which is my heritage as an American of Jewish faith.

Let me make two closing points. Many of our internal conflicts today arise from the fact that some people believe that, even now, there is some magical way out of our difficulties. But there isn't. In time of war we seldom have a choice between a hard course and an easy course, or between a safe course and a dangerous one. Almost always now we are faced with two difficult paths and, more than that, mortally dangerous paths. If we bear that in mind it will greatly help our judgment of our allies and of ourselves.

Finally, it seems to me that we must all recognize our own personal responsibility in the problems of the world and refuse to seek scapegoats for our own shortcomings. We cannot boost our own prestige by tearing down Britain's. Nor can we serve any useful purpose, as Herbert Morrison pointed out this week, by confusing the Britain of 1942 with the Britain of 1776 or even of 1938. None of us is without responsibility either for what has happened in the past years or for what will happen in the next few years. In speaking of our own government or our allies, we sometimes complain that their war aims and peace aims are wrong or inadequate. But it is not fair to leave the business of peace aims and war aims to governments. Not only is it not fair; it is downright dangerous. The Government of the United States made a magnificent statement of its war and peace aims in the first World War, but those ideals were repudiated by the people or by their representatives. That is one of the great, one of the tragic, facts of this century. Let us make certain to avoid that particular error a second time. Let us set our aims high and stick to them. I appeal to each of you to do what he can to make certain that we fight as a team—and that in peace, as well as in war, we shall stay united.

MEMORANDUM

To Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

Date November 4, 1943

From Mr. I. L. Kenen

Rabbi Feuer has asked me for a memorandum for your use on the New York Times and its attitude toward the Zionist position.

Our complaint against the Times, in general, is not so much its failure to report matters of Zionist interest but rather its emphasis and attitude. In the short period since I have been with the Emergency Council, I have come across a number of instances in which the Times has transformed itself into a transmission belt for anti-Zionist propaganda. While the Times makes a pretense about objectivity and fairness and frequently leans over backwards to carry all the news, it does go out of its way to focus attention on the anti-Zionist viewpoint.

1. Last May and June, the Times carried a series of articles from Cyrus L. Sulzberger, calling on the American government to determine upon a policy in the Middle East and particularly with regard to Palestine. The complaint was repeatedly made in these articles that the Office of War Information experienced difficulties owing to the lack of instructions. Typical of this is the article enclosed dated May 5th from Cairo. (See envelope #1) The purpose of these articles was to press for a crystallization of American policy at this stage when it could only be in the interests of the Arabs. Mr. Sulzberger was not functioning as a reporter but as a commentator seeking to affect policy and that in an anti-Zionist sense. It was quite apparent that Mr. Sulzberger was working for the joint statement, and in the Times of August 22nd he reports finally with ill-concealed disappointment that the governments had refused to issue such a statement (see envelope #1).

2. The series of stories which began on July 30th and were carried through to August 3rd were obviously an effort to create doubts about the validity of the Zionist position, (see envelope #1). The writer marshalled arguments pro and con from Palestine leaving uninformed readers with the impression that the problem of Palestine was insoluble. The reaction of the average reader, upon reading these stories, would have been "a plague on both your houses." It was quite evident in these stories, that the Times was lending itself to propaganda for some kind of declaration on the part of the two governments. It played into the hands of the Palestine Administration which is now seeking to perpetuate the White Paper policy and would have America and England believe that Palestine is in a state of tension and that no changes can be made without endangering the security of the United Nations in the Near East. In response to these articles, we issued a statement which was printed in part in the Times of August 4th. (I am enclosing a copy of the statement which we issued at that time.)

Note: WE HAVE NO QUARREL WITH THE TIMES' TREATMENT ON OUR STATEMENT. HAD I BEEN ON THE CITY DESK OF THE TIMES I WOULD HAVE CARRIED IT MUCH THE SAME WAY. I WOULD LIKE TO EMPHASIZE THIS BECAUSE I WROTE MR. JAMES, MANAGING EDITOR OF THE TIMES, ACKNOWLEDGING HIS COURTESY, AND I DO NOT WANT US TO QUARREL WITH THE TIMES ON THIS ISSUE.

3. The next evidence of anti-Zionist bias on the part of the Times appeared in its reports of the arms trials in Jerusalem (see envelope #3). The Times

devoted a tremendous amount of space to the routine trial of two soldiers and went to great lengths to present the anti-Jewish and anti-Zionist opinions of the British major who transformed that trial into an anti-Zionist propaganda putsch. Many newspapers in the country carried stories on the trials, (the United Press sent stories out), but no paper in the country saw fit to print so much about the trials and no paper thought it necessary to repeat constantly arguments about the trials which could serve no other purpose than to further propaganda interests.

Having smeared the Jewish Agency in its story on August 15th the Times carried a story (see envelope #3) in which prominence was given to the Jewish answer to the indictment of the Palestine government against the Jewish Agency and this was a fair and complete story. But after having done this on August 18th, (see envelope #3) the Times carried another story which had no justification as a news story at all, and in this article the Times correspondent made a rather obvious effort to deprecate Ben-Gurion's reply. Thus at the end of the story, Mr. Sedgwick, the Times correspondent, takes issue with Ben-Gurion's charge that the British officer was guilty of the lowest type of anti-Semitism. The Times correspondent writes: "Many find it hard not to consider such a description exaggerated, especially when the Nazi excesses in Berlin and Warsaw are borne in mind." In the next and final paragraph of the story, the Times correspondent goes on to declare that the charge is not well taken because the judge offered his cushion to one of the defendants.

Constantly in the Times stories the statement is made that Zionists are more extremist than they used to be. The word "extremist" has an ugly connotation. Thus, in the August 18th story Mr. Sedgwick says: "Many Zionist elements tend to adopt more extremist views than ever before." (See envelope #3).

In the Times of August 23rd, there is another story by Mr. Sedgwick (see envelope #3) in which he makes the fantastic statement that the Zionists are veering further from the conception of a national home to the formation of a Jewish State.

4. The Times coverage of the American Jewish Conference (see envelope #4) was very complete. It was my responsibility to feed the releases to the daily newspapers and I watched the Times stories. While these did present lengthy accounts of the Conference day by day, an examination of them discloses that a considerable effort was made by the Times to feature the viewpoint of Judge Proskauer. As a newspaper man, it was my feeling that on the first day Dr. Wise's speech was the "lead" of the Conference story; that Mr. Monsky's statement was second, and that Judge Proskauer's speech ran third. I so arranged the release to the papers. I do not expect newspapers to take our releases as we give them to them. But it is interesting to note that the Herald-Tribune (see envelope #4) concurred in my judgment and led with Dr. Wise. So did the other papers. The Times, however, gave a play to Judge Proskauer's speech and dismissed Dr. Wise's keynote address with an offhand paragraph at the bottom of the story. This was evidently not objective reporting since Proskauer's speech was a rather dull statement. I am enclosing the Tribune story and the Times story so that you may compare them.

On succeeding days, the Times reports were good journalism, in the main. But on the day that the Palestine resolution was adopted, the Times saw fit to run Judge Proskauer's statement in full. (See envelope #4) Of course, this was the Times privilege but no other newspaper did it or thought it worth doing, and certainly when a resolution is adopted with only 4 dissenting votes and 19 not voting, it is highly unusual for a paper to carry a complete statement of one of the four dissenters. This was most certainly an exaggeration of Mr. Proskauer's remarks and it was a violation of all newspaper standards.

9 5. I think that the Times exaggerated the importance of the American Council for Judaism which released its attack on the Conference during the week the Conference was in session. The Times might assume that it was justified in printing this statement in full (see envelope #4) because of the interest created on the question by the American Jewish Conference and because it was devoting so much space to the Conference. But no other paper thought that the Council's statement was worth that space.

10 And I call your attention to the fact that the Times completely ignored the release which we gave out in the name of the American Zionist Emergency Council criticizing the position of the American Jewish Committee. The Times excuse for this might be that your statement made at the Hadassah Convention along the same lines and in much more emphatic language was all that it needed to print. The Times could argue this but could not then justify the tremendous spread it gave the American Council for Judaism during the sessions of the Conference.

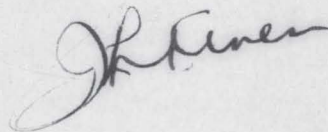
11 Finally, in its "Review of the Week" published on Sunday, September 5th, (see envelope #5), the Times conveyed an erroneous impression when it said that speakers advocated the reconstitution of a Jewish Commonwealth, but neglected to report that the Conference almost unanimously acted in favor of it. Continuing, the Times dismissed the American Jewish Conference with 40 words and then gave 82 words to the position of the American Council for Judaism. Again a distortion in view of the important character of the Conference and the insignificance of the Council.

12 6. The Times gave us no advance stories on our Balfour Day celebration in New York for which I am not criticizing it too severely, since newspapers with advertising restricted because of lack of paper don't like to allot space for free advertising for coming events. But I did feel that the Times dismissed the Carnegie Hall meeting with an offhand story and I am sending you clippings from the New York Times and the New York Herald-Tribune (see envelope #6), to show the contrast.

13 7. I do not have the original New York Times editorial attacking the Jewish Army, but I do have a letter which Dr. Wise submitted in behalf of the Emergency Committee to the Times on January 26, 1942. (See envelope #7.)

Finally, may I please urge you to return all clippings since there are frequent demands for these and in many instances we have only one copy.

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November 9, 1943

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

My dear Mr. Sulzberger:

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

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

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

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But wherein have you been wronged by such an unintentional identification? And why do you feel that I and other Zionists have "perverted and distorted" your position? Surely you approve the action of the American Jewish Committee in withdrawing from the Conference. You state in your letter that you would have urged the American Jewish Committee, in the first place, not to send delegates to the Conference because you were convinced that the Conference was a "Zionist maneuver". You say that you resigned from the Executive Board of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations because that body did choose to send delegates to the Conference. Wherein, then, has your position been misrepresented? And why do you act the part of innocence abused?

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

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

This editorial, you will recall, aroused great resentment among the Jews of America and called forth an official statement of protest from the American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs. It is therefore not accurate to state that the attacks made by Zionists on you, since your Baltimore address, have converted you from a non to an anti-Zionist. You and your newspaper have been anti-Zionist right along. In fact the "Times" was fighting Zionism back in 1917. The sole editorial reaction of the "Times" to the issuance of the historic Balfour Declaration was an expression in its columns on November 24, 1917

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of a fear that the Zionist project might involve the possibility of a recurrence of anti-Semitism, and further that "multitudes of Orthodox Jews still cherish the belief that the return to Zion is to be preceded by the coming of Elijah, and among these there is either indifference to the proposed establishment of the Jewish state, or doubt as to the wisdom of the movement."... Under your piloting in recent years the hostility of the "Times" to the national aspirations of Israel in Palestine has been sharply intensified. You seem to have dowered the "Times" with a mission to fight Zionism.

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

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

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

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

4) Again and again the "Times" has transformed itself into a transmission belt for anti-Zionist propaganda. It never misses an opportunity to focus

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attention on the Anti-Zionist viewpoint. Last May and June, the "Times" carried a series of articles by Cyrus L. Sulzberger. The evident purpose of these dispatches from Cairo, Baghdad and Ankara was to press for a crystallization of American policy in the Middle East when it could only be in the interest of the Arabs. Mr. Sulzberger was not here functioning as an objective reporter, but as a commentator seeking to affect policy in an anti-Zionist direction. It was quite apparent that Mr. Sulzberger was collaborating for the issuance of that joint statement by Great Britain and the United States which would have done irreparable harm to Jewish life in Palestine as well as affecting unfavorably the status of the Jews in this country. In the "Times" of August 22, Mr. Sulzberger reported finally, and with ill-concealed disappointment, that the governments had refused to issue such a statement for which he had been so zealously plugging.

5) The series of stories which appeared in the "Times" beginning on July 30 and carried through to August 3, also from the pen of Cyrus L. Sulzberger, and which carried such scare headlines as "Palestine Fears Deeds of Despair", "Palestine Faces Clash After War" and "Palestine Arabs Fear Loss of Land", was patently designed to create the impression that there was a state of terrible tension, verging on civil war, in Palestine and that therefore no changes should be made in the White Paper policy closing the doors of Palestine to Jewish immigration early next year, because such changes might endanger the security of the armies of the United Nations in the Near East. This, of course, was the official line taken by the Palestine Administration, which is determined at all costs to save the White Paper. "The "Times", alone among the papers in the United States, lent itself lock, stock and barrel to this panic propaganda.

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

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

But on November 3, the Jewish Council of Palestine felt constrained to call for a two-hour strike during which work in all Jewish enterprises throughout

November 9, 1948

the country stopped, in order to protest the incitements and false accusations against the Jews of Palestine voiced by British military officials during the arms trials....

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

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

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

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

Very sincerely yours,

ANS:BK

(Signed) Abba Hillel Silver