INTRODUCTION


CHAPTER I

Notes to Chapter I


13. American contributions to the two major Zionist philanthropic funds, the Keren Hayesod and the Keren Kayemeth, shrunk after the onset of the depression. This was particularly serious because the American Jews had traditionally provided 50 percent of the income of these international funds. Stenographic transcript of the thirty-sixth convention of the ZOA, July 1–4, 1933, p. 23, ZAL (hereafter: Transcript of the 1933 ZOA Convention). Also see Chaim Weizmann to Felix Warburg, Dec. 24, 1932, letter #328 in The Letters and Papers of Chaim Weizmann, Series A, vol. XV, ed. Barnet Litvinoff, (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books, Rutgers University, 1978).

14. See Minutes of Hadassah National Board Meetings, Jan. 26, 1932; Feb. 9, 1932; Feb. 23, 1932; May 10, 1932; Nov. 6, 1932, Hadassah Papers, ZAL.

15. Ibid., May 31, 1932.

16. Ibid., Aug. 3, 1932; Nov. 6, 1932.

17. Ibid., Dec. 21, 1932; Feb. 1, 1933; Mar. 19, 1933; Apr. 19, 1933; July 26, 1933.

186
Notes to Chapter I

20. Ibid., pp. 62–64.
27. Wise and Bernard Deutsch Memorandum, Apr. 38, 1933, Brandeis Records, Microfilm Roll #22, ZAL.
28. Hull to Frankfurter, May 6, 1933, Brandeis Records, Microfilm Roll #22, ZAL.
29. Brandeis to Wise, May 11, 1933, Brandeis Records, Microfilm Roll #22, ZAL.
33. Ibid., p. 56.
34. Ibid., p. 54.
35. Ibid., pp. 131, 138.
37. Wyman, Paper Walls, chap. 4; Feingold, Politics of Rescue, pp. 148–55; Morse, While Six Million Died, chap. XIV; Friedman, No Haven for the Oppressed, chap. 4.
40. Wise’s address can be found in Ibid., pp. 58–72.
41. Ibid., p. 76.
43. Transcript of the 1933 ZOA Convention, pp. 47–48.
44. Ibid., p. 142.
45. Ibid., pp. 48, 256.
Notes to Chapter 1

46. Emanuel Neumann’s address can be found in *Ibid.*, pp. 84–115.
48. The resolution can be found in *Ibid.*, pp. 73–75.
52. Szold to Harry Friedenwald, Oct. 19, 1933. Brandeis Records, Microfilm Roll #22, ZAL.
54. Szold’s comments can be found in Minutes of Hadassah National Board Meeting, Nov. 27, 1933, Hadassah Papers, ZAL.
58. Wise to Brandeis, Apr. 5, 1933, Brandeis Records, Microfilm Roll #22, ZAL.
59. Szold to Brandeis, Apr. 19, 1933, Brandeis Records, Microfilm Roll #22, ZAL.
61. Minutes of Hadassah National Board Meeting, Feb. 26, 1934, Hadassah Papers, ZAL.
65. Morris Rothenberg’s address can be found in the Stenographic Transcript of the thirty-seventh ZOA Convention, July 1–3, 1934, pp. 4–57, ZAL (hereafter: Transcript of the 1934 ZOA Convention).
66. Louis Lipsky’s address can be found in *Ibid.*, pp. 73–95.
73. Lewisohn’s address can be found in *Ibid.*, pp. 119–43.
74. Friedland’s address can be found in *Ibid.*, pp. 189–98. Also see the addresses of Maurice Samuel, pp. 143–59; Dr. S. Margoshes, pp. 198–204; and Dr. Greenberg, pp. 220–24.
75. Rosenblatt’s address can be found in *Ibid.*, pp. 292–303.
77. See Robert Szold’s comments on Palestine in Szold to Brandeis, Apr. 21, 1935, Brandeis Records, Microfilm Roll #24, ZAL.
78. Rothenberg to Brandeis, Nov. 21, 1934, Brandeis Records, Microfilm Roll #23, ZAL. Also see Rothenberg to Brandeis, Dec. 28, 1934, on the same microfilm roll.


83. For expressions of this view, see “Plain Words On the Mandate,” Jewish Frontier, Feb. 1935, pp. 6–7; “Solution by Surrender,” Jewish Frontier, Mar. 1935, pp. 6–7.


86. Minutes of Hadassah National Board Meeting, May 3, 1934, Hadassah Papers, ZAL; Mrs. Edward Jacobs to Brandeis, June 17, 1935, Brandeis Records, Microfilm Roll #24, ZAL.


90. Minutes of Hadassah National Board Meeting, May 3, 1934, Hadassah Papers, ZAL; Mrs. Edward Jacobs to Brandeis, June 17, 1935, Brandeis Records, Microfilm Roll #24, ZAL.


96. Transcript of the 1933 ZOA Convention, pp. 15–46, 58–72, 276–77.

97. Minutes of Hadassah National Board Meeting, May 3, 1933, Hadassah Papers, ZAL. But for some reluctance of Hadassah leaders to cooperate, see minutes of Nov. 8, 1933, and Apr. 11, 1934.

98. For example, see Morris Rothenberg's address in Transcript of the 1933 thirty-sixth ZOA Convention, p. 42, and Transcript of the 1935 ZOA Convention, p. 34.
Notes to Chapter II

99. For more on Wise’s remarkable career, see Urofsky, A Voice that Spoke for Justice.


101. Minutes of Joint Meeting, Hadassah National Board and Junior National Board, Apr. 16, 1934; Minutes of Hadassah Summer Executive Meeting, n.d. (1934), Hadassah Papers, ZAL.


104. “Abstract of an Address on the Boycott of Nazi Germany,” delivered at the Hotel Pennsylvania, Jan. 3, 1934, Silver Papers, MSS. and Typescripts File #34–7, AHSMA.


107. Friedman, No Haven for the Oppressed, pp. 75–76.


112. Minutes of Hadassah National Board Meeting, May 20, 1936, Hadassah Papers, ZAL.

CHAPTER II


5. Stenographic transcript of the thirty-sixth ZOA Convention, July 1–4, 1933, p. 78, ZAL (hereafter: Transcript of the 1933 ZOA Convention).

6. Minutes of Hadassah National Board Meeting, Mar. 1, 1934, Hadassah Papers, ZAL. Also see Dr. Jonas S. Friedenwald to Brandeis, Mar. 3, 1938, Brandeis Records, Microfilm Roll #22, ZAL.


15. Frankfurter to Neumann, July 22, 1933, Frankfurter Papers, Box 86, Microfilm Roll #2.


23. Not all Jews were willing to contribute to Jewish self-defense. Felix Warburg, a wealthy assimilated Jew, refused Stephen Wise's request for financial aid. Wise to Brandeis, May 5, 1936, Brandeis Records, Microfilm Roll #25, ZAL.


26. Wise to Brandeis, May 5, 1936, Brandeis Records, Microfilm Roll #25, ZAL; Minutes of Hadassah National Board Meeting, June 17, 1936, Hadassah Papers, ZAL.
Notes to Chapter II

32. Ibid., May 26, 1936, p. 10.
33. "Page Albert Viton," Jewish Frontier, July 1936, pp. 5–6; Syrkin’s letter can be found in Nation, June 24, 1936, p. 822.
45. Totah Testimony, Royal Commission Minutes, pp. 351–57.
47. Wise to Warburg, Mar. 8, 1937, Brandeis Records, Microfilm Roll #26, ZAL.
52. "Rejected," Jewish Frontier, June 1937, p. 3; Hurewitz, Struggle for Palestine, p. 72.
Notes to Chapter II

54. Dr. Samuel Margoshes, editor of the Yiddish daily newspaper The Day, was one of the few Zionists to defend partition. He acknowledged that the division of Palestine was bad, but he argued that it was better than any other British action that could be expected. Margoshes editorial, The Day, Apr. 19, 1937, Brandeis Records, Microfilm Roll #26, ZAL.

55. "Hadassah Petition to the U.S. Secretary of State and the British Ambassador in the U.S.—May 1937—Passed at the HADASSAH SPRING CONFERENCE," attached to Minutes of Hadassah National Board Meeting, May 11, 1937, Hadassah Papers, ZAL.


59. Minutes of Hadassah National Board Meeting, June 2, 1937, Hadassah Papers, ZAL.

60. Szold to Brandeis, June 10, 1937, Brandeis Records, Microfilm Roll #26, ZAL.

61. Wise's address can be found in the Stenographic transcript of the fortyieth ZOA Convention, June 1937, pp. 2–24, ZAL (hereafter: Transcript of 1937 ZOA Convention). Also see Wise's comments on pp. 253–59.

62. Robert Szold's address can be found in Ibid., pp. 31–39.

63. Lipsky's address can be found in Ibid., pp. 61–76.

64. Morris Rothenberg's address can be found in Ibid., pp. 412–18.

65. Senator Wagner's address can be found in Ibid., pp. 402–7.

66. Silver's address can be found in Ibid., pp. 96A–111.

67. Ibid., pp. 43–44, 47–50; Szold to Brandeis, June 30, 1937, Brandeis Records, Microfilm Roll #26, ZAL.

68. Szold to Brandeis, June 30, 1937, Brandeis Records, Microfilm Roll #26, ZAL; "Memorandum of Overseas Telephone Talk with Weizmann," June 28, 1937, Frankfurter Papers, Box 86, Microfilm Roll #2.

69. Weizmann to Frankfurter, June 29, 1937, Frankfurter Papers, Box 86, Microfilm Roll #2.

70. Weizmann to Frankfurter, June 29, 1937, Frankfurter Papers, Box 86, Microfilm Roll #2.

This letter is different from the one cited in the previous footnote.


72. Ibid., pp. 110–11, 144, 363.

73. Ibid., pp. 2–3.

74. Ibid., pp. 380–93.

75. Ibid., p. 375.

76. Ibid., p. 306–7.


Notes to Chapter II


83. Szold to Mack, Aug. 16, 1937. Brandeis Records, Microfilm Roll #26, ZAL. Szold’s analysis was essentially correct. Ben-Gurion’s criticism of the Peel Plan had been half-hearted. In a letter to his son, he wrote: “A Partial Jewish state is not the end, but only the beginning. . . . We shall bring into the state all the Jews it is possible to bring . . . we shall establish a multi-faceted Jewish economy—agricultural, industrial and maritime. We shall organize a modern defense force . . . and then I am certain that we will not be prevented from settling in other parts of the country, either by mutual agreement with our Arab neighbors or by some other means.” Quoted in Michael Bar-Zohar, Ben-Gurion: A Biography, trans. Peretz Kidron (New York: Delacorte Press, 1978), p. 91. Also see Michael Bar-Zohar, Ben-Gurion the Armed Prophet (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1968), pp. 57–58.


85. General Zionists were neither socialists nor ultra-religious. The B faction generally opposed Chaim Weizmann, believing that he was too pro-British in attitude. New York Times, Aug. 6, 1937, p. 3; Laqueur, History of Zionism, p. 519; Hurewitz, Struggle for Palestine, p. 77; Neumann, In the Arena, pp. 136–37.


88. Minutes of Hadassah National Board Meeting, Sept. 8, 1937. Hadassah Papers, ZAL.


91. Wise to Szold, Nov. 11, 1937, Robert Szold Papers, Correspondence File X/15, ZAL.


95. Brandeis to Wise, Sept. 23, 1937, Brandeis Records, Microfilm Roll #26, ZAL; Brandeis to Wise, Nov. 1, 1936, Robert Szold Papers, Correspondence File X/14, ZAL.

96. Wise to Brandeis, Dec. 10, 1937, Brandeis Records, Microfilm Roll #26, ZAL.


98. Szold to Rose Jacobs, May 18, 1938, Brandeis Records, Microfilm Roll #27, ZAL.

99. “Mrs. Szold’s Presentation of the Anti-Partition Position,” attached to Minutes of Hadassah National Board Meeting, Mar. 2, 1938, Hadassah Papers, ZAL. Also see Robert Szold to Brandeis, Mar. 3, 1938, Brandeis Records, Microfilm Roll #27, ZAL.

100. Szold to Brandeis, Apr. 13, 1938, and Szold to Brandeis, July 1, 1938, both in Brandeis Records, Microfilm Roll #27, ZAL.


102. Lipsky’s address can be found in Transcript of 1938 ZOA Convention, pp. 44–60.

103. Silver’s address can be found in Ibid., pp. 126–50.

104. Ibid., pp. 348–54.

105. Ibid., pp. 264–80. Also see Mack to Solomon Goldman, July 8, 1938, Brandeis Records, Microfilm Roll #27, ZAL.


110. Neumann to Wise, Oct. 23, 1938, Robert Szold Papers, Correspondence File X/16, ZAL.


113. Wise to Brandeis, Sept. 2, 1936, Brandeis Records, Microfilm Roll #24, ZAL; Wise to Brandeis, Apr. 16, 1936, Brandeis Records, Microfilm Roll #25, ZAL.

114. Transcript of 1937 ZOA Convention, p. 418.

115. Robert Szold to Brandeis, July 6, 1937, and Wise to Brandeis, July 5, 1937, both in Brandeis Records, Microfilm Roll #26, ZAL.


117. Palestine Statement of Policy Presented by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to Parliament by Command of His Majesty, May 1939 (London: 1939, reprint 1946); “British Statement of Policy, May 1939 (MacDonald White Paper), reprinted in Book of Documents Submitted to the General Assembly of the United Nations Relating to the Establishment of the National Home for the Jewish People (New York: Jewish Agency for Palestine, 1947), pp. 100–111. ZAL. Also see Hurewitz, Struggle for Palestine, chap. 7; Rose, Gentile Zionists, chaps. 8 and 9; M. Cohen, Palestine: Retreat from the Man-
CHAPTER III

1. For example, see Israel Goldstein's address in the Stenographic Transcript of the forty-second ZOA Convention, June 1939, pp. 368-73, ZAL. (hereafter: Transcript of 1939 ZOA Convention).
2. Ibid., pp. 172, 224.
3. Ibid., pp. 88-89.
4. Ibid., pp. 23, 61-65, 201.
6. See Solomon Goldman's comments in Transcript of 1939 ZOA Convention, pp. 41-45, 226-27. The British cabinet's decision to adopt an anti-Zionist policy was largely due to the government's desire to ensure Arab support in the event of a war with Hitler. However, there was some validity in Goldman's claim. By 1939, some English officials seemed to be grossly insensitive to the plight of the world's persecuted Jews. Chaim Weizmann reported that "Lord Halifax was strangely ignorant of what was happening to the Jews of Germany. During the St. James Conference he came up to me and said, 'I have just received a letter from a friend in Germany, who describes some terrible things perpetrated by the Nazis in a concentration camp of a name which is not familiar to me,' and when he began to grope for the name I realized it was Dachau he was talking about. He said the stories were entirely unbelievable, and if the letter had not been written by a man in whom he had the fullest confidence he would not attach the slightest credence to it. For five or six years now the world had known of the infamous Dachau camp, in which thousands of people had been tortured and maimed . . . and the British Foreign Secretary had never heard of the place . . ." Chaim Weizmann, Trial and Error (New York: Schocken Books, 1949, reprint 1966), pp. 404-5.
7. Minutes of Hadassah National Board Meeting, June 14, 1939, Hadassah Papers, ZAL.
8. Minutes of Hadassah National Board Meeting, May 23, 1939, Hadassah Papers, ZAL.
9. Minutes of Hadassah National Board Meeting, May 17, 1939, Hadassah Papers, ZAL.
11. Minutes of Hadassah National Board Meeting, June 14, 1939, Hadassah Papers, ZAL.
12. Minutes of Hadassah National Board Meetings, May 23, 1939 and May 17, 1939, Hadassah Papers, ZAL.
17. Ibid., cols. 2171-72, 2176, 2177.
Notes to Chapter III

24. Transcript of 1939 ZOA Convention, p. 381.
31. In May 1941, David Raziel, the Irgun's commander, was killed while on an espionage mission for the British in Iraq. Bell, Terror Out of Zion, pp. 51, 55-56.
32. Ibid., pp. 62-73.
34. Weizmann, Trial and Error, pp. 419-20.
35. David Ben-Gurion's message can be found in Transcript of 1940 ZOA Convention, pp. 136-39. Also see Chaim Weizmann's message on p. 113.
36. Transcript of 1940 ZOA Convention, pp. 154-55.
37. Ibid., pp. 65-66.
38. Ibid., p. 304.
39. Ibid., pp. 178, 332-34.
40. Ibid., pp. 6-45. For similar views see the comments at the convention of Rabbi Barnett Brickner, p. 84; Henry Monsky, pp. 46-48; Rabbi James G. Heller, pp. 86-90; Israel Goldstein, pp. 155-62; and Louis Lipsky, pp. 55-66.
42. Neumann, In the Arena, p. 167.
45. Thomas to James McDonald, June 6, 1941. MacDonald Papers, General Correspondence File #382, Herbert H. Lehman Papers, Columbia University, New York. On isolationism, see Manfred
Notes to Chapter III


49. Voss, Rabbi and Minister, pp. 292–93.


54. Ibid., June 24, 1940, p. 34, and Nov. 24, 1940, p. 14.


57. Lawrence H. Fuchs, The Political Behavior of American Jews (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1956), pp. 100–101, 72; also see chap. 11, "Sources of Jewish Internationalism and Liberalism."


59. Weizman, Trial and Error, p. 417.


61. Silver to Neumann, Dec. 2, 1940, Stephen S. Wise Papers, Box 119, File 20, American Jewish Historical Society, Waltham, MA.

62. On Dec. 15, 1940, New York Times reported on page 7 that the Germans had completed constructing the walls of the Warsaw Ghetto.


64. For the best account of the Patria incident, see Penkower, Jews Were Expendable, pp. 30–58. Also see Bauer, From Diplomacy to Resistance, pp. 108–9; Wasserstein, Britain and the Jews of Europe, pp. 60–68; New York Times, Dec. 19, 1940, p. 3.


67. "Report of a meeting with Mr. Ben-Gurion held at the Winthrop Hotel," Dec. 5, 1940, Emanuel Neumann Papers, Ben-Gurion file, ZAL.
Notes to Chapter III


69. "Report of a meeting with Mr. Ben-Gurion held at the Winthrop Hotel," Dec. 5, 1940, Neumann Papers, Ben-Gurion file, ZAL.

70. Ibid.
71. Ibid.
73. Ibid., pp. 74–75; New York Times, Jan. 25, 1941, p. 1; Jan. 26, 1941, p. 25; Jan. 27, 1941, p. 5. The Zionists use of the term Commonwealth will be discussed later in this chapter.
75. Transcript of 1941 ZOA Convention, p. 20. Also see the comments of Mendel Fisher on p. 25 and Neumann on p. 48.
76. Ibid., pp. 149–50.
79. Ibid.
80. Neumann's comments can be found in Transcript of 1941 ZOA Convention, pp. 167–69.
92. Weizmann's autobiography, Trial and Error, reveals the intensity of his devotion to Great Britain.
Notes to Chapter IV

95. Sherman, Biltmore Protocol, pp. 179–82A.
96. Ibid.
100. Ibid.
101. Rosenblatt, Biltmore Protocol, pp. 84–93. Rosenblatt believed that the Arab component of a Federated Palestine should include Transjordan. He also held out the possibility that Palestine might eventually become part of the British Commonwealth or a larger federation of the Levant states.
103. Ibid., pp. 459–60.
104. Ibid., pp. 444–46.
105. Ibid., pp. 135–44.
106. Ibid., p. 415.
107. Ibid., pp. 593–94.
108. Ibid., p. 434.

CHAPTER IV


4. For example, see R. Lichten to Arthur Lourie, Sept. 15, 1942, Emanuel Neumann Papers, AZEC File, ZAL.


7. Ibid., pp. 484–85.

8. Ibid., pp. 428–29.

9. In fact, Goldmann’s and Rothenberg’s comments account for only four of the more than eight hundred pages of the verbatim transcript of the conference.


11. Ibid., pp. 665–66. Morris Rothenberg and Robert Szold called on Zionists to offer the world a “comprehensive” and “permanent” solution to the problems of Jewish misery and homelessness. Ibid., pp. 432, 437. Also see Radiogram from British Zionist Federation, in Ibid., pp. 513–14.


15. Ibid., pp. 74–75.

16. Ibid., pp. 80–81.


19. Ibid., Nov. 26, 1942, p. 16.


24. During this time the American government remained firmly committed to a restrictionist immigration policy. From Dec. 7, 1941, to V-E Day, only 10 percent of the available visas for refugees were used. The 1930s experience demonstrated that it was not possible to raise the quota limit. Instead the battle centered on convincing the State Department to issue all the visas that were available. Wyman, *Abandonment of the Jews*, pp. 5–6, 124–37.


27. Ibid., March 3, 1943, p. 22.

28. In January 1944, under pressure from Congress and the Treasury Department, Roosevelt finally established the War Refugee Board, which has been credited with saving approximately 200,000
Notes to Chapter IV

Jews. How many would have been saved if the agency had been established earlier, we shall sadly never know. Wyman, Abandonment of the Jews, p. 285.


33. Minutes of Hadassah National Board Meeting, Dec. 9, 1942, Hadassah Papers, ZAL.


37. For example, see Weizmann to Halifax, Apr. 14, 1943, letter #23 in Letters and Papers of Chaim Weizmann, Series A, vol. XXI; Shulman to Silver, Apr. 5, 1943, Silver Papers, Manson File 1-81, AHSMA.


39. For background on the Bermuda Conference, see Wyman, Abandonment of the Jews, chap. 6; Feingold, Politics of Rescue, chap. 7; Morse, While Six Million Died, chap. III; Friedman, No Haven for the Oppressed, chap. 7.


42. AECZA Minutes, May 3, 1943, #59, ZAL.

43. Weizmann to Dugdale, Jan. 8, 1943, letter #364 in Letters and Papers of Chaim Weizmann, Series A, vol. XX.

44. Minutes of AECZA Office Comm. Meeting, June 1, 1943, Silver Papers, AHSMA.

45. Ibid.


47. Weizmann to Weisgal, Apr. 13, 1944, letter #151 in Ibid.

48. The idea of organizing a national conference was not a new one. Chaim Weizmann, among others, had suggested holding such a meeting. Minutes of Hadassah National Board Meeting, Jan. 6, 1943, Hadassah Papers, ZAL.


51. For a full list of those attending the Pittsburgh meetings see Kohanski, American Jewish Conference, pp. 320-21.


55. AECZA Office Committee Minutes, Feb. 4, 1943, Silver Papers, AHSMA.
56. Minutes of AECZA Office Committee Meetings, Feb. 4, 1943, and June 1, 1943, Silver Papers, AHSMA.
61. A detailed summary of Monsky’s address can be found in *Ibid.*., pp. 67-70.
63. *Ibid.*, p. 87-92. As part of an agreement to assure unity with the American Jewish Committee, Goldmann, Wise, and other Zionist spokesmen carefully avoided asking the Conference to endorse the Biltmore Resolution’s demand for the immediate creation of a Jewish state. They believed that the American and British governments were jointly preparing to declare that they would not discuss the future political status of Palestine until the end of the war. Such a development, Zionist leaders believed, would be catastrophic because it would link the American government to Great Britain’s anti-Zionist Middle East policy. American Zionists also understood that if this crisis situation developed, the financial and political resources of the American Jewish Committee would significantly strengthen the Zionist position in the United States. As a result, in return for solidarity on an anti-White Paper platform, Jewish nationalists toned down their rhetoric and program. Halperin, *Political World of American Zionism*, pp. 233-34; Neumann, *In the Arena*, pp. 190-91; Emanuel Neumann interview by Yehuda Bauer, July 21, 1967, p. 13, Neumann Papers, ZAL; Y. Ben-Ami to Bergson, Aug. 13, 1943, Committee for a Jewish Army Papers, 21/3/3H, Jabotinsky Institute, Tel Aviv.
64. Kohanski, *American Jewish Conference*, pp. 73-76.
67. Rose Halprin noted that “Dr. Silver’s magnificent address won over to the cause of Palestine many unaffiliated and previously unenthusiastic persons.” Minutes of Hadassah National Board Meeting, Sept. 8, 1943, Hadassah Papers, ZAL.
70. Minutes of Palestine Committee, pp. 73-77.
71. Rothenberg, Minutes of Palestine Committee, pp. 53-68, 239-50; Levinthal, Minutes of Palestine Committee, pp. 153-57.
72. Szold, Minutes of Palestine Committee, pp. 117-29; Greenberg, Minutes of Palestine Committee, pp. 190-98.
73. Neumann, Minutes of Palestine Committee, pp. 218-36. For other opponents of Robert Goldman, see Minutes of Palestine Committee: Rabbi David W. Pearlman, pp. 105-8; Herman Shulman, pp. 157-65; Rabbi David Shapiro, pp. 169-73; Harry Levin, pp. 184-90; Benjamin Shwadran, pp. 79-81.
Notes to Chapter IV

74. Minutes of Palestine Committee, pp. 266-70; Kohanski, American Jewish Conference, pp. 178-81.
75. For a very fine discussion of the American Jewish Conference as well as the American Jewish Committee's relationship with the Conference, see Halperin, Political World of American Zionism, pp. 223-51, 129-44.
77. Ibid., pp. 189-202.
78. Neumann to Abraham Tulin, Sept. 15, 1943, Tulin Papers, File #32, ZAI.
80. Weizmann to Lewis Namier, June 27, 1942, letter #301 in Letters and Papers of Chaim Weizmann, Series A, vol. XX; Weizmann to Wise, June 20, 1942, letter #298 in Ibid.; Neumann, In the Arena, p. 188.
81. Minutes of AECZA Meeting, Aug. 26, 1943, Silver Papers, AHSMA.
82. Jacobs to Silver, Sept. 27, 1943, Silver Papers, File #4-2-11, AHSMA.
83. American Zionist Emergency Council (AZEC) Minutes, Oct. 5, 1943, Silver Papers, AHSMA.
84. AZEC Executive Committee Minutes, Nov. 29, 1943, Silver Papers, AHSMA.
85. American Jewish Conference Digest of Minutes of Interim Committee, Jan. 25, 1944, Silver Papers, Manson File II-3, AHSMA; AZEC Executive Committee Minutes, Dec. 13, 1943, Silver Papers, AHSMA.
86. AZEC Minutes, Sept. 20, 1943, Silver Papers, AHSMA.
87. The American Zionist Emergency Council will be discussed in the next chapter.
88. Bergson to Chapter Officers of the Committee for a Jewish Army, Sept. 16, 1943, Bergson Papers, Hebrew Committee of National Liberation file #1 and Committee for a Jewish Army file #21, Jabotinsky Institute, Tel Aviv. The Bergsonites cooperated with Ben Hecht, journalist and Hollywood scriptwriter, in the preparation of a pageant dramatizing the crisis confronting European Jewry. "We Shall Never Die," produced by Billy Rose, staged by Moss Hart, with music by Kurt Weill, starred Paul Muni and Edward G. Robinson. It honored those Jews killed by the Nazis while the world kept silent and demanded that action be taken to prevent any more murders. Hecht's demand for rescue proved so successful at its March 9 premiere in Madison Square Garden that Hecht and the Bergsonites decided to have it performed in several other American cities.
89. Eri Jabotinsky to "Kitty and Ted," Jan. 11, 1944, Bergson Papers, Emergency Committee file #70, Jabotinsky Institute, Tel Aviv.
90. AZEC Minutes, Nov. 15, 1943, Silver Papers, AHSMA; "Memorandum Issued by the Interim Committee of the American Jewish Conference," Dec. 29, 1943, Wise Papers, Box 99, File 4, American Jewish Historical Society, Waltham, MA; New York Times, Dec. 31, 1943, p. 10; AZEC Executive Committee Minutes Jan. 3, 1944, Silver Papers, AHSMA; AZEC to various senators, Jan. 10, 1944, Bergson Papers, Hebrew Committee of National Liberation file #27, Jabotinsky Institute, Tel Aviv; Eri Jabotinsky to Täitel, Jan. 5, 1944, Bergson Papers, Emergency Committee file #70, Jabotinsky Institute, Tel Aviv; Minutes of interview with Senator Gillette, Jan. 17, 1944, Silver Papers, Manson File II-35, AHSMA; Gillette to Shapiro, Jan. 13, 1944, Silver Papers, Manson File II-35, AHSMA.
91. AZEC Executive Committee Minutes, Nov. 29, 1943, Silver Papers, AHSMA.
by the resolution did contribute to Roosevelt's decision to create the War Refugee Board in January 1944.


94. John Pehele to Edward Stettinius, March 20, 1944, Bergson Papers, microfilm roll #12, Yale University.


96. AZEC Executive Committee Minutes, March 20, 1944, Silver Papers, AHSMA.

97. Sack to Abba Hillel Silver, Aug. 29, 1944, Silver Papers, AHSMA; AZEC Executive Committee Minutes, Aug. 31, 1944, Silver Papers, AHSMA; Arthur Lourie, "Draft Statement on Emergency Rescue Shelter Resolution," Sept. 6, 1944, Silver Papers, File #4–2–24, AHSMA; Silver and Wise to Hugh Scott, Sept. 6, 1944, Silver Papers, File #4–2–50, AHSMA; AZEC Executive Committee Minutes, Sept. 11, 1944, Silver Papers, AHSMA; John McCormack to Silver, Sept. 14, 1944, Silver Papers, correspondence files, AHSMA: AZEC Minutes, Sept. 14, 1944, Silver Papers, AHSMA.


99. AZEC Executive Committee Minutes, Feb. 8, 1944, Silver Papers, AHSMA; "Draft Statement sent to FDR after meeting on March 9, 1944," Silver Papers, File #4–2–48, AHSMA.

CHAPTER V


3. Discussed in chap. 3.


9. Zaritsky to Abba Hillel Silver, Apr. 5, 1944, Silver Papers, File #4–2–19, AHSMA.


Notes to Chapter V

15. Minutes of an interview with Louis D. Brandeis, Aug. 20, 1941, Emanuel Neumann Papers, ZAL.
19. Minutes of American Palestine Committee, Publicity Committee, June 19, 1941, Neumann Papers, ZAL.
20. AECZA Office Committee Minutes, June 1, 1943; AZEC Exec. Comm. Minutes, Jan. 13, 1944, Silver Papers, AHSMA.
25. AECZA Minutes, May 5, 1942, Neumann Papers, ZAL; Neumann, In the Arena, p. 156; Voss, “American Christian Palestine Committee,” p. 245. On Bernstein’s activities, see chaps. 2 and 4 of this book.
27. Niebuhr’s views on Zionism will be dealt with later in this chapter.
28. Voss, “American Christian Palestine Committee,” p. 246; Wise to Neumann, July 29, 1941. Stephen Wise Papers, Box #128, File #8, American Jewish Historical Society, Waltham, MA. In 1946, the American Palestine Committee and the Christian Council merged to form the American Christian Palestine Committee.
33. Herman Nederlander, president of the Council of Jewish Organizations of Bensonhurst and Mapleton, to Proskauer, Jan. 16, 1944, Silver Papers, File # 4–2–15, AHSMA.
36. Silver to Bergson, Feb. 12, 1941; Bergson to Silver, March 7, 1941; Bergson to Silver, May 25, 1941; Bergson to Wise, May 7, 1941; all in Bergson Papers, Series I, Box 1, File 5. Yale University, New Haven, CT (hereafter: Bergson Papers).

37. Wise to Bergson, June 4, 1941, Bergson Papers, Series I, Box 1, File 5.

38. “First Proposal made by the Committee for a Jewish Army to the Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs, Dec. 3, 1941,” Bergson Papers, Series I, Box 1, File 5; Van Paassen to Wise, Dec. 3, 1941, Bergson Papers, Series I, Box 1, File 5.


40. See preceding chapter.


43. The Jewish Advocate, Jan. 13, 1944, Bergson newspaper scrapbooks, Jabotinsky Institute, Tel Aviv; American Zionist Emergency Council to various senators, Jan. 10, 1944, Hebrew Committee of National Liberation Papers, file #27, Jabotinsky Institute, Tel Aviv.

44. Eri Jabotinsky to Irving Taitel, Jan. 5, 1944, Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe Papers, file #70, Jabotinsky Institute, Tel Aviv.


46. AZEC Memo (Harry Shapiro) to Chairman Local Emergency Committees, May 11, 1944, Papers of the American League for a Free Palestine, file #49, Jabotinsky Institute, Tel Aviv.

47. New York Times, Aug. 9, 1944, p. 13; Trend of Events, June 9, 1944, “Palestine Assails Hebrew Committee,” Hebrew Committee of National Liberation Papers, file #40, Jabotinsky Institute, Tel Aviv; Trend of Events, Aug. 11, 1944, “Resignations From . . .,” Hebrew Committee of National Liberation Papers, file #40, Jabotinsky Institute, Tel Aviv.


51. Urofsky, We Are One!, p. 55.


54. American Zionist Emergency Council Minutes, Jan. 13, 1944, Silver Papers, AHSMA; Jewish National Home Hearings includes scores of supporting statements.


57. Ibid., pp. 150–56 (Epstein), 271–76 (Wise), 230–32 (Gold), 263–71 (Neumann).

58. Ibid., p. 372.

59. Ibid., pp. 192–93.


61. Ibid., p. 325.
Notes to Chapter V

64. Wyman, Abandonment of the Jews, pp. 172–74; Ganin, "Activism vs. Moderation," pp. 79–81;
68. Discussed later in this chapter.
70. Niebuhr's address can be found in the Stenographic Transcript of the forty-fourth ZOA Convention, Sept. 1941, pp. 124–42, ZAL.
72. See chap. 2.
73. Ben Rosenblatt to Stephen Wise, Nov. 6, 1940, Stephen S. Wise Papers, Box 333, File 18, American Jewish Historical Society, Waltham, MA
74. Solomon Goldman to Robert Szold, Apr. 1, 1941, Robert Szold Papers, File x/4, ZAL.
76. Lowdermilk, Palestine, p. 3.
77. Ibid., p. 5.
78. Ibid., page preceding title page.
79. Neumann, In the Arena, p. 176.
80. Neumann to Lowdermilk, July 28, 1942; Lowdermilk to Neumann, July 31, 1942; A. Revsusky to Lowdermilk, Sept. 3, 1942; in all Neumann Papers, Lowdermilk correspondence file, ZAL.
81. Neumann, In the Arena, p. 177; Neumann to Dr. and Mrs. Lowdermilk, Aug. 1942, Neumann Papers, Lowdermilk correspondence file, ZAL.
83. Neumann, In the Arena, chap. 14; Neumann to David Lilethenthal, Sept. 29, 1942, Neumann Papers, Lilethenthal File, ZAL.
86. Neumann to Lowdermilk, Jan. 26, 1944, Neumann Papers, Lowdermilk correspondence file, ZAL.

208
87. AZEC Memo, Weisgal to Steinberg, March 31, 1944, Neumann Papers, Lowdermilk correspondence with others file, ZAL.
89. AZEC Memo, Lourie to Steinberg, Feb. 9, 1945, Neumann Papers, Lowdermilk correspondence with others file, ZAL.
90. Typed Memo, n.d., n.a. (approx. late 1945), Neumann Papers, Lowdermilk correspondence with others file, ZAL.
92. List of names of people invited to be on committee of sponsors for testimonial dinner for Walter Lowdermilk, n.d.; Memo on Lowdermilk dinner, June 6, 1944; American Palestine Committee Press Release, n.d.; all in Neumann Papers, Lowdermilk Testimonial Dinner file, ZAL.
Notes to Chapter VI


117. The response of American Zionists to the threatened extermination of Hungarian Jewry is discussed in chap. 4 of this book.


120. For more on the binational state idea, see chap. 3 of this book.


122. Following the publication of a similar letter in the New York Times in February 1945, the AZEC decided to send a letter to the newspaper and discussed asking prominent Jews, including Albert Einstein, publicly to oppose Magnes's plan. AZEC Exec. Comm. Minutes, Feb. 19, 1945, Silver Papers, AHSMA.


125. Ibid., p. 267.


CHAPTER VI


2. AZEC Minutes, #23, Apr. 16, 1945, Silver Papers, AHSMA; Wise to James McDonald, April 9, 1945, James McDonald Papers, General Correspondence File #425 "Wise," Herbert H. Lehman Papers, Columbia University, New York. On the hostility of the State Department, see Peter Grose, Israel in the Mind of America (New York: 1983), chaps. 6 and 7; Ezekiel Rabinowitz, The Jews: Their Dream of Zion and the State Department (New York: Vantage Press, 1973), chaps. 6, 8, 9.

Notes to Chapter VI

“Interview with Dr. Emanuel Neumann,” by Yehuda Bauer, July 21, 1967, Emanuel Neumann Papers, correspondence file: Bauer, ZAL.


5. Neumann, In the Arena, p. 201.


7. Urofsky, We Are One!, pp. 88–93; Ganin, Truman, American Jewry and Israel, pp. 35–37; Neumann, In the Arena, pp. 206–7. For more on the Wise-Silver dispute, see chap. 5 of this book.


11. Epstein’s address in Transcript of 1945 ZOA Convention, pp. 18–23; also see p. 8.


Notes to Chapter VI


18. Goldstein address, Transcript of 1945 ZOA Convention, p. 57; Weizmann address, Ibid., p. 406.


26. Stone's articles were later published as Underground to Palestine (New York: Pantheon, 1946, reprint 1978).

27. Stone, Underground to Palestine, p. 47.


29. Ganin, Truman, American Jewry and Israel, pp. 28-32.

30. Wise to McDonald, July 23, 1945, McDonald Papers, correspondence file #71 "Wise," Herbert H. Lehman Papers, Columbia University, New York. For information on the Harrison mission, see Grose, Israel in the Mind of America, pp. 196-201; and Dinerstein, America and the Survivors of the Holocaust, chap. 2.


34. Philip Bernstein's report, AZEC Exec. Comm. Minutes, #78, April 10, 1946, Silver Papers. While other Zionist spokesmen and leaders around the world enthusiastically seized on the DP issue, Abba Hillel Silver coolly, and perhaps wisely, warned that overemphasizing the refugee issue might sabotage the Zionist crusade. As he had done during the wartime rescue debates, Silver counselled...
that the demand for mass Jewish immigration into Palestine should not be made on humanitarian grounds, but should be linked to the basic Jewish right to establish a state in Palestine. To do otherwise, Silver knew, was to invite the British and other opponents of Jewish nationalism to contend that Palestine lacked the natural and economic resources to accommodate the total Jewish refugee population. Silver reminded a ZOA audience that Zionism was not a "refugee movement." Even if the DP problem did not exist, he explained, Zionism would still be a "necessity" because "all the centuries of dispersion and the recurrent incidents of persecution . . . have persuaded the Jewish people that in order . . . to gain a measure of security, it needs a country of its own."

Silver and his principal assistant, Emanuel Neumann, knew that the very success of Zionism within the American Jewish community required a periodic reiteration of the basic tenets of Jewish nationalism. Neumann reminded American Jews that Zionism was a "revolutionary" movement in Jewish life, but that the tens of thousands of men and women who had joined the movement during the war years had been largely motivated by a desire to aid their persecuted brethren in Europe. Unlike the long-time veterans of American Zionism, the newcomers often lacked a coherent and deep sense of Zionist history and philosophy. A dangerous situation was developing, Neumann feared, because "in the past, the newcomer was a minority in our midst; today he is in the majority." Because Zionist organizations operated according to democratic principles, "old timers" had to "indoctrinate" and "convert" new members lest they divert the movement away from its great traditions. Transcript of 1945 ZOA Convention, pp. 146-53, 179-80. Also see Marie Syrkin, "Forum: Should Palestine Become the Jewish Homeland?—Yes: The Zionist Case," Forum, June 1946, pp. 912, 914-18.


Notes to Chapter VI


43. Aside from polemical works, the strongest case against the Mufti is made by Joan Peters, From Time Immemorial: The Origins of the Arab-Jewish Conflict over Palestine (New York: Harper & Row, 1984), pp. 360, 363, 371–72, 435–42. Peters argues that "there was a symbiotic relationship between Muftism and Nazism" and cites a letter from the Mufti urging that Hungarian Jews not be allowed to enter Palestine, suggesting instead that they be transported to Poland. Raul Hilberg and Lucy S. Davidowicz, the two historians who have systematically detailed and analyzed the Nazi genocide machine, give the Mufti no credit for inspiring or significantly abetting the German extermination of European Jewry. Both demonstrate that Hitler and Himmler were dedicated to the liquidation of world Jewry and needed little support or encouragement from the Mufti. See Hilberg, Destruction of European Jews, especially vol. 2, pp. 789–90, and vol. 3, p. 1071; Lucy Davidowicz, The War Against the Jews 1933–1945 (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1975). Randolph L. Braham's definitive study of the extermination of Hungarian Jewry makes barely any mention of the Mufti, only noting that out of deference to him the Germans refused to sanction the evacuation of any Hungarian Jews to Palestine. Braham, The Politics of Genocide, 2 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981), pp. 945, 108.

44. AZEC Minutes, March 19, 1945, Silver Papers, AHSMA.


46. Silver Address to Jewish National Fund Annual Dinner, Oct. 17, 1945, MSS. and Typescripts File #45–15 "JNF." Silver Papers, AHSMA.

47. "Statement by Dr. Silver, . . . at a Press Conference at the Mayflower Hotel," May 5, 1947, Silver Papers, MSS. and Typescripts File #47–4 "AZEC Press Statement," AHSMA. Also see Marie Syrkin, "Forum: Should Palestine Become the Jewish Homeland?"


214
Notes to Chapter VI

ditorial staff of the Nation also came to link Zionism with the American struggle against the Soviet Union. In May 1947, an editorial warned that if Britain allowed the Arabs to create a state in Palestine that “a depressed economy would offer to the adherents of the Communist system . . . to stir up the miserable population against its rulers.” “A Working Plan for Palestine,” Nation, May 10, 1947, pp. 533–34. Also see Tulin to Silver, Jan. 17, 1946, Tulin Papers, file #35, “Corresp.: A. H. Silver,” ZAL.
57. Memo, Tulin to Silver, Jan. 17, 1946, Tulin Papers, file #35, “Corresp.: A. H. Silver,” ZAL; Neumann, In the Arena, p. 216; Ganin, Truman, American Jewry and Israel, pp. 55–56. For an interesting account of the committee's activities, see Horowitz, State in the Making, chaps. 6, 7, 8.
59. AZEC Minutes, #30, May 9, 1946, Silver Papers, AHSMA.
60. Ibid., #30, May 9, 1946.
65. Hurewitz, Struggle for Palestine, p. 254; Sachar, History of Israel, p. 265; Horowitz, State in the Making, pp. 103–7; M. Cohen, Palestine and the Great Powers, pp. 81–90. In response to the British arrest of Jewish Agency leaders, the AZEC initiated a national protest that included the picketing of British consulates and the staging of a large public demonstration in New York’s Madison Square Park on July 2. AZEC Exec. Comm. Minutes, #91, June 29, 1946, and #92, July 1, 1946, Silver Papers, AHSMA.
66. Goldmann, Autobiography, pp. 225–41; AZEC Minutes, #30, May 9, 1946, Silver Papers, AHSMA.
68. New York Times, July 11, 1946, p. 7; Ganin, Truman, American Jewry and Israel, p. 84.
70. Goldmann, Autobiography, pp. 232–33; Ganin, Truman, American Jewry and Israel, pp. 88–
Notes to Chapter VI

89; Horowitz, State in the Making, p. 117; Urofsky, We Are One!, p. 133; M. Cohen, Palestine and the Great Powers, pp. 141-47.


76. Ibid., Dec. 10, 1946, p. 14; Neumann, In the Arena, pp. 231-32.


80. The speech is reprinted as "The Vital Role of Tactics," in Silver, Vision and Victory, pp. 115-23.


82. Hurewitz, Struggle for Palestine, chaps. 20, 21.


84. For an interesting insiders account of the U.N. drama, see Horowitz, State in the Making, pp. 151-248.

