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American Zionist Emergency Council, minutes, 1944.

## AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

### MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

January 3, 1944

A meeting of the Executive Committee was held Monday, January 3, 1944, at 4:00 P. M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

## PRESENT AT AFTERNOON SESSION

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Mrs. Judith Epstein, Leon Gellman, Rabbi Wolf Gold, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Chaim Greenberg, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Mrs. Rose Jacobs, Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Louis Lipsky, Emanuel Neumann, Mrs. Tamar Pool, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Herman Shulman, David Wertheim, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Louis Segal.

Dr. Nahum Goldmann, Charles J. Rosenbloom.

Miss Miriam Cohen, Rabbi Leon I. Feuer, Arnold K. Isreeli, Hans Lamm, Arthur Lourie, Harold P. Manson, Henry Montor, Harry L. Shapiro, Elihu D. Stone.

Dr. Joseph Cohn, Louis Rocker, Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt, Dr. Martin Rosenblueth, Robert Silverman, Meyer Steinglass.

MINUTES OF MEETING OF DECEMBER 13

The minutes of the Executive Committee meeting held December 13th were approved.

## FINANCIAL REPORTY

Mr. Rosenbloom, Chairman of the Finance Committee, presented a financial report for the period October 15 to December 31, 1943. The expenditures for this period amounted to \$70,734.65, leaving an unexpended balance of \$438,647.35 of the \$509,382.00 budgeted for the period October 15, 1943 to October 15, 1944. Of this unexpended balance, commitments have been made, for salaries, special services, etc. amounting to \$143,978.00. To date the expenditures of the Council have been kept well within the budget adopted.

## RESIGNATION OF MR. MONTOR

Dr. Silver reported that Mr. Montor had requested that he be permitted to return to the direction of the United Palestine Appeal on January 1st and his request had been granted after several talks with him had failed to dissuade him from leaving the Emergency Council. A motion was unanimously adopted expressing the Executive Committee's gratitude to Mr. Montor for his valuable assistance in promoting the work of the Emergency Council.

Dr. Silver further reported that he had asked Mr. Harry L. Shapiro, who had been working with Mr. Montor and who has had extensive organization experience

in the United Jewish Appeal, where he proved himself one of their best men, to carry on the work of the New York office. Rabbi Feuer will direct the Washington office. The work ought not to suffer too much, Dr. Silver believed. Mr. Montor has left us with a functioning organization, which should be able to carry on.

There was further discussion on this subject at the evening session.

#### AMERICAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE

Mr. Shulman reported that the organization of the Christian Conference was proceeding. Among the speakers to address the afternoon session, it was hoped to have a former Chairman of the Bar Association present the subject of the illegality of the White Paper, Dr. Lowdermilk the absorptive capacity of Palestine, Mr. James MacDonald the need for large scale immigration into Palestine after the war, and Professor Reinhold Niebuhr the Jewish Commonwealth.

A letter had been sent to the chairmen of the local emergency committees asking them to arrange for members of the American Palestine Committees in their communities to attend the Conference in Washington.

With regard to the plan to hold a mass meeting in Constitution Hall to conclude the Conference, Mr. Shulman stated that some/our friends in Washington felt that this would not be advisable, and a definite decision had not yet been taken as to whether or not to proceed with this plan, or alternatively, to conclude the afternoon session of the Conference with a dinner. Mr. Shulman thought that in the event the latter plan is adopted, it might be possible to have the mass meeting at another time.

# NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF ORTHODOX JEWRY X

Rabbi Gold reported on the progress being made with the organization of the National Conference of Orthodox Jewry for Palestine and Rescue. The Conference is to be held January 30 and 31 in New York, at the Hotel Pennsylvania, and it is being sponsored by the following organizations: Mizrachi, Mizrachi Women's Organization, Hapoel Hamizrachi, Young Israel, Union of Orthodox Organizations and the Rabbinical Council of America. Participating are the Agudas HaRabbonim (this group was not included in the Religious Bloc represented at the American Jewish Conference) /hundred congregations and about four hundred Rabbis belonging to various groups. In a number of cities, Rabbi Gold stated, local conferences have been held and delegates elected to the National Conference. Chief Rabbi Hertzog of Jerusalem and Chief Rabbi Hertz of England have been requested to speak to the Conference over the radio and have agreed to do so; and negotiations are now being conducted with the B.B.C. to make the necessary arrangements.

The recommendation was made that an outstanding dignitary of the Christian Church, preferably Bishop Tucker, be asked to address the Conference, and it was agreed that this would be most advisable.

## REQUEST BY MR. ROCKER

Mr. Rocker raised a question of organization and it was decided that Dr. Goldmann should see Mr. Shertok in London before any decision be taken.

## MIZRACHI OFFICE IN WASHINGTON

X . . . . .

Attention was drawn to the political work undertaken by the Mizrachi office in Washington. References were made to the material sent by this office recently to Congressmen and Senators and to the item which had appeared in the press about its activities.

Rabbi Gold stated that a Mizrachi office in Washington had existed for some time as a branch of the National Mizrachi office. It was pointed out, however, that it was specifically announced that the Mizrachi office was nowunder-taking political and not merely membership activities.

In connection with the material sent to Congressmen and Senators, Rabbi Gold indicated that there is a special contribution that Mizrachi, as a religious body, can make to the political work in presenting the religious point of view, but Mizrachi fully understood that whatever they undertook in this connection would first be taken up with the Emergency Council in order to avoid duplication. In reply to this, it was emphasized that it would be a disservice to the Zionist cause if a special political bureau as such was established by any one of the Zionist organizations in Washington, and it was agreed that all political action is to originate in the Emergency Council.

Attention was also drawn to the minutes of the Emergency Committee meeting of May 3, 1943, at which time the Emergency Committee had not yet opened its office in Washington; it had there been agreed that pending the opening of such office the Mizrachi would take no action towards opening an office of its own.

Dr. Silver pointed out that Mizrachi is, of course, not only free to make suggestions to the Emergency Council for political activity, but is charged with the responsibility of bringing in proposals for the defense of our religious position. It was agreed that no one party on its own should send material to people in Washington.

# PUBLICATIONS COMMITTEE X

Mr. Lipsky reported that a number of publications had been issued by the Emergency Council which had been approved by the Publications Committee. The first issue of "Palestine" was not altogether satisfactory, he stated, and a new format and approach were being worked on for further issues which he hoped would serve the purpose better.

Mr. Lipsky believed there should be better coordination between the various Committees of the Council with regard to the preparation and distribution of material.

The Publications Committee as such has not yet been fully organized, Mr. Lipsky reported. Dr. Silver urged that this Committee be built up as soon as possible, that ten to twelve people be invited to serve on it and that when so constituted the Committee meet regularly.

Dr. Silver reported that at the meeting of the Palestine Commission of the American Jewish Conference held that day recommendations were made on which it was necessary for the Executive of the Emergency Council to act. The Palestine Commission would like to have a number of publications on the subject of Palestine which will carry the imprimateur of the Conference, and they request the permission

of the Emergency Council to publish two pamphlets now being prepared by it - one on the absorptive capacity of Palestine and the other on the illegality of the White Paper.

It was unanimously agreed that the two pamphlets referred to above should be made available to the Palestine Commission of the Conference, to be published under its imprimateur. Other requests of a similar nature would be given favorable consideration as and when made.

Another recommendation made by the Palestine Commission was that every organization that is a member of the Conference should carry a notation on its letterhead reading "Member of American Jewish Conference," It was agreed that this was an excellent suggestion.

Mr. Neumann pointed out that there were aspects to the work of the Publications Committee other than those dealing with our own propaganda material, and suggested that the Emergency Council watch carefully/everything published in this country of interest to us and consider what use could be made of such books. As an example, Mr. Neumann mentioned Albert Viton's book "American Empire in Asia," in which there is a chapter on the Near East which is focused on Palestine and which is strongly pro-Zionist. In this connection, reference was made also to an article by Prof. Kallen in the current issue of The Contemporary Record, and to Ludwig Lewisohn's forthcoming book dealing with the Struma affair, "Grieve Upon These," to be published by Bobbs Merrill Company on the second anniversary of the Struma incident. It was indicated that the Publications Committee is considering the use to be made of Dr. Lowdermilk's book, of Frankenstein's "Justice to My People" and of a reprint of Rabbi Feuer's book "Why a Jewish State?"

## ARMY COMMITTEE

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The question of the statement to be issued by the Emergency Council on the League for a Free Palestine was discussed. When this matter had been taken up at a previous meeting it had been decided to issue such a statement after the American Jewish Conference had published its statement on the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe. The statement had been drafted some time ago and the date of its issuance must now be decided.

Reference was made to the reaction in some of the Yiddish papers to the Conference statement on the rescue committee. It was believed, however, that it was not yet possible to evaluate the reaction in the country as a whole. Copies of the Conference statement had been sent to the entire Anglo-Jewish press and to all the delegates to the Conference and favorable comment had already been received from some communities and groups.

The opinion was expressed that even if the reaction to the Conference statement was unfavorable in some quarters, it had been necessary to publish it. It was recommended that the statement of the Emergency Council on the League be not issued until January 10th, when Congress reconvenes, and that a conference of the Yiddish press be called for the day it is published. It was also urged that every effort be made to ensure that the general press handle our statement in a more satisfactory manner than they dealt with the Conference statement.

It was pointed out that the Emergency Council had already delayed too long in taking action against the Army Committee. It was the consensus that it was inadvisable to wait much longer before publishing the statement on the League.

The importance was stressed of issuing the statement before the League for a Free Palestine takes any action itself.

It was suggested that even more important than convincing the Yiddish press of the danger of the League was getting in touch with the people who form the fronts for the various Army Committee groups, and that some way should be found to reach these people personally.

Attention was drawn to the letter sent by the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe to Dr. Silver, signed by Mr. Bergson and Dr. William, inviting him to participate in a meeting with representatives of other organizations to be held January 6th. Dr. Silver said he could not attend but that it might be well to have someone else present at the meeting.

After further discussion it was decided to issue the statement on the League within a week, and to hold a conference of the Yiddish press the day it is issued.

A. L.



## AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

## MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

January 3, 1944

### EVENING SESSION

#### PRESENT

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Mrs. Judith Epstein, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Chaim Greenberg, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Mrs. Rose Jacobs, Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Louis Lipsky, Emanuel Neumann, Mrs. Tamar Pool, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Louis Segal, Herman Shulman, David Wertheim, Dr. Stephen S. Wise.

Rabbi Philip S. Bernstein, Rabbi Wolf Gold, Dr. Nahum Goldmann, Charles J. Rosenbloom.

Rabbi Leon I. Feuer, Arnold K. Isreeli, Hans Lamm, Arthur Lourie, Harold P. Manson, Henry Montor, Harry L. Shapiro, Elihu D. Stone.

Dr. Joseph Cohn, Dr. A. K. Epstein, Mendel Fisher, Philip Levy, Judge Bernard Rosenblatt, Robert Silverman.

#### ORGANIZATION OF WORK

Further discussion took place on the question of a successor to Mr. Montor. Dr. Silver pointed out that no new executive director had been appointed, as he had indicated in the afternoon. Rabbi Feuer was to conduct the office in Washington and Mr. Shapiro to carry on the work in New York.

Aside from the question of an executive director, it was urged that the entire plan of work, including questions of coordination and control, be discussed thoroughly. It was decided to take this matter up at a subsequent meeting of the Executive.

## DELEGATION TO LONDON

In accordance with the decision taken at the last meeting, a cable had been sent to Dr. Weizmann informing him that the Emergency Council had decided to send a liaison as soon as possible for a brief visit to report on the situation here and to bring back information as to what was taking place in London. Dr. Weizmann replied, however, that this would only delay matters and indicated that he wished to consult with American Zionists at the earliest possible time regarding future policy and therefore repeated his request that the Council send a representative delegation to London as soon as possible.

A cable received from Moshe Shertok was also reported. In it, Mr. Shertok stated that he hoped to leave for London in early January and application had also been made for priorities for Rabbi Fishman and Mr. Schmorak, the other members of the Palestine delegation. Shows Communication. Hungary

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In view of Dr. Weizmann's further cable, it was agreed that a delegation should be sent to London. (Dr. Goldmann would be leaving shortly, but he was going as a representative of the Jewish Agency). With regard to the composition of the delegation, it was urged that the two co-chairmen should go. Should that not be possible, the delegation should comprise a representative of each party.

Dr. Wise indicated that he could not go, and Dr. Silver believed that he should not leave this country at present since he would be needed here during the coming period.

After some discussion, it was decided to send a delegation of four to London, one representative of each party, on an exploratory mission for the Emergency Council. Dr. Goldstein had already been designated by the Zionist Organization as its representative; and Hadassah, Mizrachi and Poale Zion were requested to appoint their representatives within the next two days, so that application could be made without delay for the necessary priorities and visas.

## CONVERSATION WITH COL. HOSKINS

Dr. Goldmann reported on his conversation with Col. Hoskins, who had communicated with him on his return from London and informed him of his conversations with Dr. Weizmann there.

In this connection, Dr. Wise pointed to the difficult position in which the Zionists are placed by not having the privilege of using the diplomatic pouch for communication between Dr. Weizmann and his colleagues in this country. It was decided that whoever goes to Washington in the next few days should take up this matter with the State Department.

#### RESOLUTION FOR CONGRESS

Rabbi Feuer reported that he had sent a letter to the chairmen of all the local emergency committees asking them to visit their Congressmen and Senators when the latter were back in their communities during the Christmas recess, and discuss with them the advisability of introducing a resolution into Congress, the timing of the resolution, etc. With this letter he presented a series of points which the resolution would comprise. Reports are coming in from the local committees, Rabbi Feuer stated, but as yet it is difficult to make any kind of estimate on the basis of these reports. Among those Congressmen and Senators who are friendly to us, he indicated, there is virtually no difference of opinion about a resolution per se. They are favorably inclined. There is a difference of opinion, however, as to the timing of the resolution.

Judge Levinthal and Mr. Rosenbloom reported on meetings they had had with Congressmen and Senators, some of whom had expressed doubt, for various reasons, as to the desirability of introducing a resolution before August.

Mr. Stone stated that on the basis of impressions received from discussions with Congressmen we might be optimistic, but he thought the task of getting a resolution adopted would be a difficult one, especially in view of the fact that there will be forces against us. Despite the difficulties, however, he was convinced that we must make this attempt to obtain the support for our cause of the legislative arm of the Government. With regard to the timing of the resolution, Mr. Stone believed it should be introduced as soon as possible, perhaps some time this month. He pointed out that in an election year the calendar is very crowded, and before long there will be a rush for adjournment.

Mr. Philip Levy, who was present at the meeting, pointed out that the Army Committee is likely to press for a resolution on Palestine on the heels of the Gillette Resolution on rescue, and therefore, if the Emergency Council is to introduce a resolution it should not delay too long. He indicated that we could have some control over the resolution and could press for it to be brought out of committee only at a suitable time. He believed that if the support of the Foreign Relations Committee could be obtained, the successful passage of the resolution would be assured.

Dr. Goldmann agreed that it was important to have a resolution adopted by Congress. He believed, however, that to introduce a resolution and not have it passed would mean a major political calamity for us. Even if the resolution is buried, it will mean that. He feared that such a resolution has no possibility of being passed at this time because the executive branch of the government is against it. He thought the situation might change in three or four months, however, when it would not be too late to introduce a resolution. If Senators Barclay or MacCormick, or other administration leaders, would introduce the resolution, it will have a good chance of succeeding. Dr. Goldmann believed that it would be a good thing if we could find out what the executive branch of the government thinks about it. He stressed that the resolution, if introduced, should be a strong resolution, otherwise it would mean nothing.

Dr. Silver referred to the point made by Mr. Levy, namely, the fact that X the Army Committee may have a resolution ready the week Congress meets. It certainly would be much more advisable for us, as a responsible body, to introduce the kind of resolution that ought to be introduced, making contacts with the right kind of people, than to permit the Army Committee to jump into the vacuum.

Dr. Goldstein referred to the Conference statement on the Emergency Committee to Save the Jews of Europe and that of the Emergency Council on the League for a Free Palestine and the effect they might have in weakening the Army Committee, if properly exploited among people in Washington. The possibility of the Army Committee people introducing a resolution should not be permitted to influence us unduly, he believed. He also thought that we should wait for some word from the President before introducing the resolution.

Mr. Shulman agreed that it would be inadvisable to introduce the resolution before there has been a session with the President. He proposed again that the local emergency committees be asked to work on the following: a formal statement should be prepared in support of the Commonwealth which Congressmen would be asked to sign, and which should end with the statement that they continue to support our cause and will vote for our resolution if it is presented. Whether we introduce the resolution or not we will be able to make use of these statements.

Mr. Shulman believed that before a resolution is introduced, we must be more sure than we are at the present time that it is likely to pass. He agreed with Dr. Goldstein that we should utilize the Conference statement re the Army Committee as much as possible. The matter was much too serious to allow judgment to be guided by the Army Committee.

Rabbi Feuer thought we are exaggerating if we think the American Jewish Conference statement is going to have such an effect on the Army Committee.

Judge Rothenberg was in favor of quick action. He pointed out that we had allowed the rescue issue to get out of hand, and the public will not understand why we delay in introducing our resolution on Palestine. If a resolution is presented by the Army Committee and is killed, he indicated, it will mean the same to the public as if our resolution were killed.

Mr. Lipsky stressed the importance of finding out the attitude of the Government with regard to a resolution, informing them, however, of our decision to introduce it in any case. He, too, believed that we should make the effort to secure passage of a resolution.

Dr. Silver expressed the belief that the very introduction of the resolution may be helpful in forming the official attitude. He was in favor of introducing the resolution immediately Congress reconvenes. The leading men in Washington should be seen, he believed, as they return to the Capital and the right kind of people should be invited to sponsor the resolution. We have organized 200 committees all over the country and requested them to see Congressmen and Senators, Dr. Silver pointed out, because we intended to introduce a resolution, and many of them have seen their Congressmen and Senators, who have reacted favorably. Now we must have the courage to go through with the effort. We have a righteous case, Dr. Silver stated, and the American people will back us up. He believed that tactically it would be a blunder to delay.

After further discussion, it was unanimously decided to authorize the cochairmen of the Emergency Council to introduce this resolution at such time as they find it advisable after canvassing the situation in Washington. With regard to the wording of the resolution, two revised drafts were submitted (see attached) and Draft A was approved in general.

#### COMMITTEE ON ECONOMIC PLANNING

Mr. Neumann raised the question of the status of the Committee on Economic Planning which had been set up some months ago but had not yet met, and its relation to the Economic Committee set up in Washington, of which Mr. Robert Nathan was a member and which was linked with the American Palestine Institute of which Mr. Blinken was the head. The program of both groups, Mr. Neumann indicated, was substantially the same.

Dr. Silver pointed out that the Emergency Council is a political committee and its work should be primarily political. It had been thought that some economic work should be done, but it had not been contemplated, he believed, that the Emergency Council would undertake large scale economic research. He believed that the Committee on Economic Planning certainly has a place in the set—up of the Emergency Council, however. With regard to the body of experts in Washington, this group had interested themselves in the economic phases of Palestine, and had the approval of Dr. Weizmann. They had already done some important work, which they plan to publish under their own name. Now they have decided to make a thorough study which will last about nine months, on how to prepare Palestine for a large scale immigration, and Mr. Robert Nathan has volunteered his services to supervise the study. They wish to maintain an independent position, so that their findings will not be written off as Zionist propaganda,

Dr. Goldmann added that the investigation referred to by Dr. Silver was not being made under the name of the American Palestine Institute, but that Mr. Nathan has taken an office under his own name. The group has agreed that the results of their investigation will be submitted to Dr. Weizmann and will become the property

of the Jewish Agency, who will decide what use to make of it.

The question was asked as to whether the work of this group could not be coordinated with the work of the Commission on Palestine Surveys. It was pointed out that the work of Mr. Nathan's group was of the utmost importance and having it proceed outside the Zionist groups might be unwise. Reference was made in this connection to the case of the Esco Foundation.

After further discussion, it was decided that a small committee be appointed to consider this whole matter with Mr. Neumann.

The meeting adjourned at midnight.

A. L.



## RESOLUTION ON PALESTINE

RESOLVED by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that Congress herety reaffirm the policy of favoring the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people in accordance with the joint resolution unanimously adopted by the Sixty-seventh Congress on the thirtieth day of June, 1922. (Public number 73, Sixty-seventh Congress.)

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

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

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

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

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

## AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

## MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

## January 13, 1944

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Thursday, January 13th, at 4:00 P. M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

#### PRESENT

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Mrs. Judith Epstein, Leon Gellman, Rabbi Wolf Gold, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Chaim Greenberg, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Mrs. Rose Jacobs, Rabbi I. M. Kowalsky, Louis Lipsky, Emanuel Neumann, Mrs. Tamar Pool, Herman Shulman, David Wertheim.

Dr. Nahum Goldmann, Charles J. Rosenbloom.

Dr. I. B. Berkson, Rabbi Leon I. Feuer, Arnold K. Isreeli, Arthur Lourie, Harold P. Manson, Harry L. Shapiro.

Dr. Joseph Cohn. Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt, Robert Silverman.

## AMERICAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE

Mr. Shulman reported that the date of the Christian Conference had had to be postponed to February 24th, since this was the first day on which the necessary hotel accommodations could be had. It had been possible to arrange for the Conference to be held at the Statler Hotel in Washington. There will be sessions all day and the Conference will conclude with a dinner, to be held under the auspices of the American Palestine Committee.

A meeting of the American Palestine Committee is to be held the coming Tuesday, Mr. Shulman further reported, when it is hoped the program of the Conference will be put into final shape.

With regard to the membership campaign of the American Palestine Committee, Mr. Shulman reported that there are now well over 2,000 members. The first 10,000 letters sent out inviting people to join the American Palestine Committee show a return of about 10%. The lists used may perhaps not have been the best ones, Mr. Shulman believed, and his Committee is now planning, therefore, to use the Who's Who list. About 1,000 people responded to the advertisement in the New York Times, although about half of these are Jews. Some sent in contributions as well, amounting to \$250, despite the fact that funds were not solicited.

Mr. Magida has been engaged to assist in the work of the American Palestine Committee in Washington, it was further reported.

## NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF ORTHODOX JEWRY

Rabbi Gold reported that a good attendance is expected at the Conference, which is to be held January 30 and 31 at the Hotel Pennsylvania, New York City.

Delegates will come from all over the country, including the southern and western states.

## STATEMENT RE LEAGUE FOR A FREE PALESTINE

A report was made on the Conference called of the Yiddish press at the time of the issuance of the Emergency Council's statement on the League for a Free Palestine. Dr. Goldmann and Mr. Greenberg had conducted this conference. The reaction of the Yiddish journalists present had been very favorable. A fine editorial had appeared in the Morning Journal the following day, but there was no reaction in The Day. The Forward did not send any representatives. The publishers of the Yiddish papers had not been invited since Dr. Silver had met with them only recently.

The statement on the League had also been sent, in addition to the entire Anglo-Jewish press, to the chairmen of the local Emergency Committees, the chairmen of the Zionist districts, and to the Hadassah, Mizrachi and Poale Zion groups throughout the country. It had also been distributed among the members of the House of Representatives and the Senate.

Reference was made to the advertisements of the Army Committee and the New Zionist Organization which the Yiddish papers have printed, one of which included a picture of Rabbi Herzog and an indication that he supported the work of the Emergency Committee to Save the Jews of Europe. It was urged that Rabbi Herzog be advised of the harm being done here by the use of his name in the Emergency Committee's advertisement, which is misleading the Yiddish speaking public.

It was agreed that a cable or a letter should be sent to Rabbi Herzog by Mizrachi, giving him the whole picture.

Dr. Goldmann indicated that he had written to the Executive in Jerusalem suggesting that they request the Vaad Leumi to issue a clear statement to the effect that nobody was designated to represent Palestine Jewry in the United States; and also asking them to acquaint Rabbi Herzog with the whole story.

### PUBLICATIONS COMMITTEE

Mr. Lipsky reported that the second issue of "Palestine" is now ready and is, he believed, a considerable improvement on the first issue. His committee is now considering a number of proposals which have been made for various publications, and has made certain suggestions of its own. He outlined the procedure which is to be followed henceforth with regard to publications. As the various departments suggest the need of a publication to meet a problem which is at the moment their inmediate concern this suggestion will be passed on to the Publications Committee, together with an indication as to how many copies will be needed and which specific groups are to receive the publication. In addition, the Publications Committee will make suggestions for publications which may service the general needs of the American Zionist Emergency Council.

The reprint of Rabbi Feuer's book is now being considered. Dr. Lowdermilk's book is to appear the first week in March. Frankenstein's book was being read. publication of the Confidential Bulletin was being continued, and a number of pamphlets were being considered.

Prof. Friedrich's manuscript has been received and is, Mr. Lipsky believed, an excellent presentation of the American government's attitude to the Palestine

question. Although there are several things in it that are not so favorable to us, he believed that a scholarly approach like this would be valuable to us.

Mr. Neumann reported that he and Mr. Lourie had had a conference with Prof. Friedrich that afternoon. The manuscript had been considerably revised. It contains sharp criticism of our Government for giving us kind words without taking any responsibility but its recommendations with regard to future policy are very pro-Zionist. Mr. Neumann and Mr. Lourie discussed with Prof. Friedrich the advisability of publishing the manuscript as a report of the American Palestine Committee. or as an article for Harpers Magazine.

Mr. Shulman, who had just read the revised manuscript, expressed the opinion that the second part of it is very good, but he was much concerned about the first part, in which Prof. Friedrich indicates that United States policy towards Palestine has deteriorated since the time of the issuance of the Balfour Declaration. Since the American Palestine Committee has taken the position that it has always been the attitude of our Government to support the Jewish National Home, Mr. Shulman believed that careful thought/ be given to the question of publishing the memorandum.

It was agreed that Messrs. Lipsky, Neumann, Shulman and Lourie should discuss the Friedrich memorandum further and decide what use can be made of it.

## RESEARCH DEPARTMENT

- Dr. I. B. Berkson, who had just joined the executive staff as director of the Research Department, was introduced and welcomed. He outlined the general plan of work of his department as follows:
- 1) Classification and compilation of knowledge and material bearing on our problem, which can readily be available for our purposes. The material will be along three lines:
  - a) Development of Zionist policy; British policy as expressed in papers, debates, etc.; attitude of the Mandates Commission, of the Christian Churches, etc.
  - b) Actual development of the Jewish National Home in Palestine; what has been done in the way of economic development, in education, etc.
  - c) Arab affairs and Arab culture; also developments in various Arab countries, particularly as they relate to our problem.

The best people were sought for this work, Dr. Berkson stated, and the men who have been engaged have spent a life time in the study of Zionism and general Jewish problems. Two of them had lived in Palestine, - Dr. Schwadron and Dr. Weinryb. The person to work on Arb culture and affairs has not yet been appointed. It may be necessary to get two people, one who knows Arabic and will study the Arab press, and the other who can study the economic development of the Arab countries without necessarily having a knowledge of Arabic.

2) There will be long range and short range work. The former will consist of the preparation of monographs, e.g. the history of the economic development of Palestine. A program will be outlined of the monographs that would be wanted. Dr. Berkson said he had thought also of having the Research Department keep a record of information that might be useful for those who might go to the Peace Conference.

A skeleton report could be prepared and kept ready, so that in the event one is needed it could be worked up in a month in a shape that could be used.

3) Service to various departments of the Emergency Council. E. g., very few people have a correct knowledge of the King-Crane Commission report and the Weizmann-Fiesal agreement. The Research Department would prepare something on these subjects which could be used by all the departments.

Dr. Berkson indicated that in order not to be burdened with petty requests and in order to avoid duplication, his departmen will work through four channels: Mr. Lourie will forward requests from the Political Department and also from the various organizations represented in the Emergency Council; through Mr. Shapiro's office information will be supplied that will go to the various local committees; and the Research Department will deal directly with the press department, through Mr. Manson, and with the Publications Department, through Miss Schwartz.

The Research Department regards itself as an internal organization, and as a completely neutral political body. It will present the facts and the person preparing the memorandum will decide what to use.

## COMMUNITY CONTACTS

In the absence of Mr. Gross, Mr. Shapiro reported on the work of this Committee. 202 local/committees have now been organized, and 11 State and County committees. Copies of the suggestions for activities sent to the chairmen of these committees have been forwarded to the members of the Emergency Council, so that they have been kept informed.

As an example of the type/work being done by the local emergency committees, Mr. Shapiro reported on the activities in connection with the annual Mayors' meeting which was to open in Chicago January 17th. Mr. Joel Gross visited Mayor Murphy of Newark and asked him to present at this meeting a resolution on Palestine, which Mayor Murphy agreed to do. All the local emergency committees were then requested to contact their mayors, acquaint them with this resolution and urge them to support it; also to present a similar resolution to their City Councils on their return to their communities.

Mr. Shapiro read extracts from letters received from a number of local emergency committee chairmen which reported on their contacts with their mayors and the latters reaction, which in most cases was very favorable. This was a good indication, Mr. Shapiro stated, of how alert these local committees are. He believed that a good working group has been developed, and the Community Contacts department now has set itself the objective of organizing another 50-60 committees.

It was urged that the National Committee on Community Contacts, which had not met for some time, be called together soon.

## COMMITTEE ON CONTACTS WITH POST WAR PLANNING GROUPS

Mrs. Halprin reported on the first meeting of this Committee. There had been a very interesting discussion, she said, but a number of points came up which require clarification. Two of the members present, Miss Jane Evans and Mr. Sanford Schwartz, who are connected with post war work and are experts in that field, expressed the opinion that this committee should work under the auspices of the American Jewish Conference, and indicated that they were not prepared to work on a Zionist committee, but would join one under the Conference.

Miss Evans and Mr. Schwartz also warned against inviting post-war planning organizations to participate in our Committee pointing out, that if they sent representatives and heard our case, they would immediately balance this by asking the Arabs to present their case. They believed that it was necessary to have personal contacts with certain individuals in each of these groups, and that, Mrs. Halprin pointed out, would be a very slow process.

Mrs. Halprin reported that a successful interview had been had with Mrs. Roosevelt; and certain other contacts had been made.

Mrs. Pool thought it would be a mistake to disband the committee. It has made contacts that are valuable. She always felt, she said, that the work of the Committee on Intellectual Mobilization could not be separated from the Committee on Contacts with Post War Planning groups.

After further discussion, it was agreed that without a professional attached to the committee, it could not accomplish very much. Dr. Silver stated that the Committee on Post War Planning Groups will be considered as in "suspended animation". If a case comes up when the contact would be useful, Mrs. Halprin would be asked to make that contact.

# CHANGE OF DATES OF MEETINGS

A telegram was read from Rabbi Heller, in which he indicated that he had arranged to attend the meeting of the Emergency Council on the scheduled date (the third Monday in the month - January 17), and that sudden shifts of time make attendance of people like himself impossible. He asked that this message be transmitted to the meeting.

Dr. Silver indicated that the reason for the change in the meeting date was due to the fact that a meeting of the Executive of Union of American Hebrew Congregations was to be held in Chicago, Tuesday, January 18th, which it was essential for him to attend, since a resolution was to be introduced there which sought to revise the position taken by the UAHC previously. Dr. Silver referred to the fact that Rabbi Heller had been associated with the drafting of the resolution, but it was pointed out that the matter would come up at the meeting of the Administrative Committee of the Zionist Organization of America on January 23rd, when Rabbi Heller would be present.

In order to endeavor to stop the resolution from being adopted. Dr. Silver was attending the meeting in Chicago on the 18th and it was therefore impossible to hold the regular meeting of the Council on the night of the 17th.

The meeting adjourned at 5:30 P. M.

## MINUTES OF MEETING

## AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

## January 13, 1944

A meeting of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Thursday, January 13th, at 8:15 P. M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

#### PRESENT:

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Maurice Boukstein, Philip Cruso, Mrs. Judith Epstein, Moshe Furmansky, Leon Gellman, Rabbi Wolf Gold, Dr. Nahum Goldmann, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Chaim Greenberg, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Rabbi I. M. Kowalsky, Leib Jaffe, Jeannette Leibel, Irving Lipkowitz, Louis Lipsky, Israel Mereminski, Emanuel Neumann, Mrs. Tamar Pool, Zvi Quittman, Mrs. Bertha Schoolman, Louis Segal, Mrs. Rebecca Shulman, Herman Shulman, David Wertheim.

Dr. I. B. Berkson, Rabbi Leon I. Feuer, Arnold K. Isreeli, Arthur Lourie, Harold P. Manson, Harry L. Shapiro.

Dr. Joseph Cohn, Mrs. Irma Lindheim, Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt, Rabbi Jesse Schwartz, Herman L. Wiseman, Morris Weinberg.

## CABLE FROM MR. ELIEZER KAPLAN

A cable was read, which was received that day from Jerusalem, dealing with x the possibility of acquiring some of the army installations in the Middle East.

It was decided that a small committee be appointed to deal with this matter.

CONGRESS RESOLUTION

Rabbi Feuer reported on the progress being made with regard to introducing a resolution in Congress. At the last meeting of the Executive Committee a draft resolution had been discussed and it was decided then that the resolution should be introduced in Congress at the appropriate time.

The local emergency committees had been asked to contact their Congressmen and Senators during the Christmas recess. Reports are still coming in from the committees, but they are as yet incomplete. Rabbi Feuer read extracts from some of those received which indicated what the reaction has been on the part of Congressmen and Senators and also gave a good idea of how active the local committees have been. With few exceptions, Rabbi Feuer said, the reaction has been favorable.

Speaking of the activities of the Washington office in connection with the resolution, Rabbi Feuer reported that during the past few weeks an attempt was made to sound out Congressmen and Senators. The reaction in general had been exceedingly favorable. The impression received from these contacts was that if the timing was correct and under appropriate conditions the resolution could be introduced. During Dr. Silver's stay in Washington this week the ground work was laid. Tentative selections have been made for the sponsors. The preparations are at the stagenow,

Fabbi Feuer stated, when the resolution can be introduced in the Senate at short notice.

The next step will be for the Community Contacts department to build up public opinion in their communities. They will see to it that every Senator and Congressman will receive letters from every community in his district. Also, efforts will be made to have additional editorials appear in newspapers which will be sent to the Senators and Congressmen. The local committees also have been getting resolutions adopted by Christian groups.

During January and February the campaign to arouse public opinion in local communities will concentrate on communications to be sent to Senators and Congress men. During March this campaign will be intensified. In the meantime, what is hoped will be a very important, if not a decisive factor will be the convening by the American Palestine Committee of a Christian Conference in Washington. This Conference will be held at about the height of the campaign. It will be given the maximum publicity. For this purpose a press expert has been engaged in Washington.

If all these activities are properly synchronized and the general atmosphere is favorable, Rabbi Feuer believed that there was no question but that it would result in the successful passage of the resolution.

Supplementing Rabbi Feuer's report, Dr. Silver stated that he had spent that week in Washington, largely to sound out the members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. He found absolutely no objection either to our cause or to the advisability of introducing a resolution which would express the favorable attitude of the Senate toward Palestine and the Jewish Commonwealth. One or two expressed some hesitancy - but this had nothing to do with the merits of the case, but rather because they felt that the resolution might embarrass the State Department.

Previously, Dr. Silver added, other Senators had been contacted and they, too, had indicated their readiness to support the resolution.

Dr. Silver expressed the opinion that it was safe to move along with our purpose of introducing the resolution in the Senate; he believed that the House members should be canvassed a little more closely before introducing it in the House.

General satisfaction was expressed with the activities being carried on in Washington and by the local emergency committees throughout the country. The organization of the Community Contacts department has been, it was believed, an important advantage for our work. It has provided us with a quick way to get in touch with communities and States and to get speedy results.

Dr. Silver also reported on his conversations with Secretary Hull and Col. Hoskins.

MRS. LINDHEIM'S REPORT

Mrs. Irma Lindheim, who had just returned from London, where she had spent some time on behalf of the Jewish National Fund, brought a message to the Emergency Council from Dr. Weizmann. He urgently requested, she said, that the delegation to England should come immediately, and he feels it absolutely essential that it should include both Dr. Silver and Dr. Wise.

Mrs. Lindheim also saw Berl Locker the day before she left London, which was

the day he arrived there from Palestine. Palestine was going ahead at a terrific pace, but it seemed that elements in the Administration were definitely inciting the population to do things which would cause trouble.

Mrs. Lindheim expressed her belief that the activities of the Emergency Council and the pressure being brought to bear here were having a good effect in England.

## POLITICAL SITUATION

There was a lengthy discussion (complete report on file in the office) on the Zionist political situation, and it was decided that Dr. Silver and Dr. Wise immediately try to see the President, and if they are received and learn anything of importance, a special meeting of the Emergency Council would be convoked at once for further discussion.

## DELEGATION TO LONDON

It was agreed that in view of Dr. Weizmann's request, and in view of the fact that he apparently felt it essential that influential American Zionist leaders who represent American Jewry and are known in London as such be in London at this time to strenghten his hands, that at least one of the co-chairmen of the Emergency Council should be prepared to go to London together with the party delegation. It was thought necessary that one of the co-chairmen should remain in this country in case he is needed here. Dr. Silver indicated that if Dr. Wise cannot go to London he will be prepared to go. Before coming to a decision they hoped to see the President.

The meeting adjourned at 10:50 P. M.

A. L.

#### AMERICAN ZICNIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

## MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

## January 31, 1944

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Counci, was held Monday, January 31st, at 4:00 P. M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

## PRESENTS

Those present were: Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Dr. Israel Goldstein, Chaim Greenberg, Mrs. Rose Jacobs, Emanuel Neumann, Mrs. Tamar Pool, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Louis Segal, Simon Shetzer, Herman Shulman, Robert Szold, David Wertheim.

Marvin Lowenthal, Meyer W. Weisgal, Max Zaritsky.

Dr. I. B. Berkson, Rabbi Leon I. Feuer, Arthur Lourie, Harold P. Manson, Sulamith Schwartz, Harry L. Shapiro.

Dr. Joseph Cohn, Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt.

## COMMITTEE ON LABOR RELATIONS

Mr. Max Zaritsky, who had accepted the chairmanship of the Committee on Labor Relations, was warmly welcomed. Mr. Zaritsky stated that it would be the task of the Labor Relations Committee to rally to the Zionist cause the central, national and local organizations of the American Federation of Labor and the Council of Industrial Organizations. With the cooperation of the leadership of these two labor groups, he indicated, everything would be done to make it known to the world that American Labor understands and is in sympathy with our problem.

### CONGRESS RESOLUTION

Rabbi Feuer reported that two identical Resolutions, known as H. R. 418 and 419, had been introduced in the House of Representatives on January 27th, by Congress man James M. Wright, Democrat of Pennsylvania, and Congressman Ranulf Compton, Republican of Connecticut. The introduction of the Resolutions was accompanied by hearty statements of endorsement by Majority Leader McCormack and Minority Leader Martin.

It was hoped to have the Resolution introduced in the Senate the following day (February 1st), Rabbi Feuer stated. Senator Wagner would introduce it for the Democrats and Senator Taft for the Republicans, and it was also hoped that the introduction of the Senate Resolution would be accompanied by supporting addresses by Majority Leader Barclay and Minority Leader White.

The next step, steering the Resolutions through the hearings in the House and Senate Foreign Affairs Committees, and then through the House and Senate, will require Rabbi Feuer indicated, an intensive Zionist propaganda campaign.

Dr. Silver, supplementing Rabbi Feuer's report, stated that the latter and Mr. Leo Sach, as well as Mr. Elihu Stone, deserve a great deal of credit for the successful launching of the Congress Resolutions. The general feeling in Washington

has been very favorable, he said, and he felt hopeful that everything would go well. Of course, he warned, obstacles might be encountered, which must be expected in public life.

It was further reported that the American Jewish Conference, through its Palestine Commission, is giving vigorous support to the Resolutions before Congress. A method of procedure by which to muster the public opinion of American Jewry has been outlined by the Palestine Commission, and part of this program is already being put into effect.

## APPOINTMENT WITH THE PRESIDENT

In reply to a question as to the progress made with regard to obtaining an appointment with the President, Dr. Silver reported that a letter had been sent by Dr. Wise to the President asking for an appointment, and appointment was promised for February 2nd or 3rd. However, Dr. Wise had subsequently telephoned General Watson, aide to the President, and requested an appointment for February 14th, since he was leaving for the coast on January 30th and would not return until that time.

Dr. Silver stated that as soon as he learned of this, he telephoned Dr. Wise on Saturday and expressed the opinion that it was a serious mistake to postpone the appointment, and Dr. Wise indicated he would get in touch with General Watson to ask that the original date be restored. Dr. Wise was to telephone Dr. Silver on Sunday, but Dr. Silver did not hear from him and he left for the coast that day.

It was further reported that at a small meeting convened the previous Thursday by Dr. Wise it was learned that word had been received to the effect that it would be impossible to meet with the President without Judge Proskauer, representing the American Jewish Committee, and Mr. Held, representing the Jewish Labor Committee, being present, since two delegations would not be received. Dr. Wise had been requested to agree to a joint delegation. Mr. Szold stated that he had expressed the new at this meeting that under no circumstances should Dr. Wise and Dr. Silver accompany Judge Proskauer. Some of the other people present at the meeting had not agreed with him.

Dr. Silver stated that he had telephoned Dr. Wise about the report that it would have to be a joint delegation to the President, and indicated that under no circumstances should he and Dr. Wise go together with the others, because they were going for a different purpose.

In the ensuing discussion it was urged that Dr. Wise be contacted and asked to communicate with General Watson to arrange for as early an appointment as possible for Dr. Silver and, if Dr. Wise could not get back in time, for another member of the Executive to accompany him.

After further discussion it was agreed to get in touch immediately with the proper people in Washington with a view to ensuring that no statement is made except to a Zionist delegation; also to wire Dr. Wise asking him to arrange for an earlier appointment. It was further agreed that if we are advised that the appointment with the President must be together with representatives of the American Jewish Committee and the Jewish Labor Committee, we should refuse to participate in the delegation.

### DELEGATION TO LONDON

A cable received from Dr. Goldmann was reported. Dr. Goldmann indicated that he would cable again on January 25th concerning the American delogation and the advisability of Dr. Wise, Dr. Silver and Mr. Lipsky going to London.

It was also reported that a letter had been received that day from the State Department indicating that it would not be possible to provide air priorities for the delegation to London, but every effort would be made to find accommodation for them on fast surface ships when they will have been informed as to when the delegation is ready to depart.

With regard to his going to London, Dr. Silver stated that this depended on what we will learn should the interview with the President come off. If it will be indicated that no concrete proposals are to be made and will not be until after the war, then he would regard it as rather futile for him to go to London. If, however, it is learned that definite proposals are being considered, naturally it would be imperative for Dr. Wise and himself to go. The Resolutions in Congress will require a great deal of work, Dr. Silver pointed out, and he would therefore not wish to leave for London unless something concrete is going to be discussed there.

It was suggested that Dr. Silver make application for an air priority immediately in order to avoid delay in the event that it is necessary for him to go to London. The members of the delegation were requested to inform Mr. Lourie without delay when they are prepared to leave.

# COMMITTEE ON INTELLECTUAL MOBILIZATION

Mr. Marvin Lowenthal, who had undertaken to do a specific and important piece of work for this Committee, was introduced. Mr. Lowenthal expressed his pleasure at being back in Zionist work after all these years and hoped that he would be able to make some contribution to the work.

# AMERICAN PAIESTINE COMMITTEE

Mr. Shulman reported that the date of the Christian Conference had been changed from February 24th to March 9th. The postponement was due to the fact that the arrangements made at the Statler Hotel were found to be inadequate and it was found necessary to make some changes in these arrangements as well as in other mechanics of the Conference. Also, there had not been sufficient response as yet from the communities.

Mr. Shulman pointed out that holding the Conference on March 9th would fit in better than February 24th with the climax of the work on the Resolutions before Congress.

# PUBLICATIONS COMMITTEE

In the absence of Mr. Lipsky, Miss Sulamith Schwartz reported on the activition of the Publications Committee. The Lowdermilk book will appear on March 8th, but some copies would be available for use on February 15th. Mr. Lipsky was now working on the third issue of "Palestine", in which there will be a definite attempt to ling the 1922 Resolution with the present one before Congress. The Confidential Bulleti No. 4, which was about ready, would deal with the work of the Emergency Council. Pabbi Feuer's book was being reprinted, copies to be sold at 35 cents. Mr. Lowenth was working on Frankenstein's book "Justice to My People" and a pamphlet prepared be Mr. Lowenthal, "The Promise of Palestine", was now on the press.

Prof. Friedrich's memorandum is to be printed in a shortened version for the Christian Conference. There were also plans for its publication elsewhere.

#### PRESS DEPARTMENT

It was reported that the Press Department had been working day and night on

the Congress Resolution and the Orthodox Conference. The second Press book had appeared, and dealt with Palestine's contribution to the war effort.

The attention of the Executive was drawn to the three page spread in the PM of January 30th, which it was agreed was excellent.

With regard to radio, it was reported that although there has been no success as yet in making direct contact with the leading commentators, some of the local broadcasters have been using our releases.

# MR. SZOLD'S RECOMMENDATIONS

Mr. Robert Szold, who had recently returned from Palestine, was warmly welcomed back. He indicated that at this meeting he would discuss only such matters taken up by him in Palestine which required action by the Executive.

l one of these was the question of making it possible for the Yishuv to purchase/of the war materials in the Near East after the war, such as barracks, factories, lathes, machinery, etc., which will require the consent of the Palestine Government and the Middle East War Supply Board.

2. Another was the problem of the transitional period between war and peace, to which the members of the Jewish Agency Executive have been giving serious consideration. They feel they can handle the situation if they can obtain raw materials and machinery. Here again it is a question of getting the consent of the Palestine Government and the Middle East War Supply Board.

In connection with this matter, Mr. Szold pointed out that Palestine is now a semi-industrial country. If war orders cease, there will be an unemployment problem. One of the most sympathetic and best informed American army officers in Cairo, with whom he had discussed the matter of war orders for Palestine, had indicated that the army was moving on and would no longer require very much from Palestine, but advised that we approach the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. If they see fit to place substantial orders in Palestine for goods that they can use in eastern Europe, that would take up the slack after war orders cease.

Mr. Szold requested that a special committee be appointed to take up this matter with UNRRA. He stressed the great importance of doing so and of following the correct procedure. He pointed out that if would be a good thing for UNRRA as well if they could get supplies in Palestine and thus save cargo space. This might also serve to give work to some of the Jews who might otherwise require relief. This matter should also be taken up with the Joint Distribution Committee, Mr. Szold believed.

3. Rescue work; Palestine Jews are very much concerned about the rescue of their brethern abroad. They have done a considerable amount in this direction. They have been able to get packages into impossible places and they have been able to get people out of impossible places. They have spent substantial sums for this work. Mr. Kaplan advanced funds from the Jewish Agency Treasury for the purpose, not knowing when it would be repaid. The Agency gave Mr. Szold figures as to the amounts they are spending and they asked that America send a considerable sum of maney every month to help them.

Mr. Szold suggested that it might be worthwhile to ask Mr. Eliahu Dobkin to come over and tell us more about this work. He also suggested that representations be made to the J.D.C., and indicated that Dr. Schwartz, representative of the J.D.C.

who had been in Palestine recently, was apparently convinced of the desirability of doing this work and of the capacity of the Jewish Agency to do it.

In connection with the rescue activities of the Jewish Agency, a cable received from Mr. Shertok was read, stating that funds were desperately needed for this work and indicating that since Mr. Szold left the country the opportunities for assistance to refugees and the requirements had greatly increased.

Another recommendation made by Mr. Szold was that someone be sent to Cairo as a permanent representative, in connection with the Middle East Supply Center. He thought that an American would be highly desirable - one who knows Palestine and particularly industrial Palestine. The Jewish Agency has wanted to establish a Cairo office for many years, he pointed out. Mr. Szold indicated that he could suggest somebody for this post.

In the ensuing discussion on the rescue work, Mr. Shulman pointed out that a directive has already gone out from the War Refugee Board to the American diplomatic representatives asking them to make an immediate report on the possibilities of rescue. He indicated that the Rescue Commission of the Conference was in continual contact with the War Refugee Board. The J.D.C., Mr. Shulman reported, is making a monthly contribution to the Jewish Agency for rescue work. Apparently, as is indicated by the cable from Mr. Shertok, the Agency is not satisfied with the amount they are getting and are therefore asking for larger sums. If indications are received of real opportunities for rescue, it should be possible, Mr. Shulman believed, to obtain government grants to supplement the funds of the private agencies.

It was agreed that the question of the rescue work could be handled adequately by the Conference. Mr. Szold was requested to maintain contact with the Rescue Commission of the Conference. With regard to a suggestion that some qualified person be invited from Palestine to discuss possibilities, it was thought that Mr. Dobkin was the right man, if he knows English. If not, it was suggested that Goldie Myerson be asked to come.

With regard to the matter of securing war materials for the Yishuv, Dr. Silver referred to the committee already appointed, on the receipt of Mr. Kaplan's cable on this subject (reported in Minutes of January 13) headed by Mr. Neumann. This Committee was requested to get in touch with Mr. Szold.

As to Mr. Szold's recommendations concerning UNRRA, Mr. Szold was appointed chairman of a committee to deal with this matter and was requested to select two or three others to work with him.

#### HADASSAH'S OFFER TO UNRRA

Mrs. Pool reported that that the National Board of Hadassah had voted to offer to UNRRA the same cooperation they offered to the War Department at the outbreak of war in making available to them the services of their institutions and personnel in Palestine.

The meeting adjourned at 6:15 P. M.

## AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

## MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

## February 7, 1944

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Monday, February 7th, at 4:00 P. M., at 1720 - 16th Street, N. W., Washington D. C.

## PRESENT:

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Dr. Israel Goldstein, Chaim Greenberg, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Louis Lipsky, Emanuel Neumann, Mrs. Tamar Pool, Herman Shulman, Elihu D. Stone, Robert Szold, Mrs. Denise Tourover, Meyer W. Weisgal, David Wertheim.

Rabbi Leon I. Feuer, Arthur Lourie, Abram S. Magida.

Dr. Joseph Cohn, Isaiah L. Kenen.

## MEETING WITH PRESIDENT

Dr. Silver reported that on February 3rd, he received a letter from General Watson, aide to the President, stating that the President agreed to receive the following persons on February 14th: Dr. Wise, Dr. Silver, Dr. Goldstein, Mr. Monsky, Mr. Blaustein and Mr. Held. The letter went on to say: "I understand this Conference has been requested of the President in order to discuss the continuance of immigration into Palestine and the settlement of refugees therein. Will you please notify me of your ability to attend at that time."

Dr. Silver indicated that this letter had come as a surprise to him since he thought that it had been made clear that we were opposed to such a meeting. Following its receipt he had been in touch with Dr. Wise in Los Angeles, and Dr. Wise wired asking for a preliminary meeting with the President for only the Zionist representatives. Dr. Silver followed this up with a telephone call. It appeared, however, that confusion had arisen owing to the fact that two meetings were being arranged at the same time by different persons.

Mr. Monsky telephoned from Chicago a half hour ago, Dr. Silver reported, concerning the meeting called for the 14th, the invitation to which came as a complete surprise to him as well. He had seen Mr. Blaustein and Judge Proskauer in Pittsburgh, and they also did not know what the meeting was about. The latter had indicated to Mr. Monsky that if the Zionists would bring up the whole Zionist program at the interview with the President, they would have to speak against it, and they therefore requested that all those present at the meeting discuss only matters on which they all had similar views.

Dr. Goldstein, Dr. Wise, Mr. Monsky and he had not yet replied to the invitation, Dr. Silver said. He did not know what the other three had done. He asked for the instructions of the Executive Committee.

In the ensuing discussion, the dangers involved in such a meeting as proposed by the President were stressed. The Zionist representatives would be unable to take

up with the President the matters which they wished to discuss with him nor to obtain the information they are seeking from him. If they conveyed to him their position with regard to the future of Palestine - the position taken by the American Jewish Conference - and requested his help, some members of the delegation would no doubt oppose this position and the meeting would develop into a quarrel between two Jewish groups. There was also the danger that if this meeting were held, it might not be possible to have another interview with the President for a long time to come. At this interview, the President might make some statement about Jewish immigration to Palestine not being cut off, which would be hailed as a victory by the non-Zionists present. If this interview is granted and some statement is issued, the impression will be created that the administration is doing everything for us, and this will make only more difficult our fight for the full Zionist program. We would be placed in a very embarrassing and difficult position.

On the other hand, there was the undesirability of appearing to refuse an appointment with the President. It was believed, however, that it could be made clear that there has evidently been some confusion in setting this appointment; that what we had asked for was a meeting for two people with the President to discuss Palestine.

It was felt strongly that some way must be found of presenting our views to the President, and it was agreed that every effort should be made to arrange for a preliminary meeting with him for Dr. Wise and Dr. Silver. It was also suggested that Mr. Monsky be asked to accompany this delegation, which would make it a delegation of the Conference. With regard to the larger meeting proposed for the 14th, it was decided that it would be impossible for us to participate in a joint meeting with anti-Zionists and that our efforts be concentrated on obtaining a separate appointment.

## CONGRESS RESOLUTION

Mr. Szold pointed to the undesirability of retaining the word "ultimately" in the last part of the Resolution before Congress, reading "... so that the Jewish people may ultimately reconstitute Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth." In the light of the Biltmore resolution and the Palestine resolution adopted by the American Jewish Conference, the use of the word "ultimately" seemed to imply a change in our position. It might be interpreted, Mr. Szold pointed out, to mean that we would agree to another Mandate after the war, for example, whereas what we want is a speedy transfer of Jews, and Palestine reconstituted as a Jewish Commonwealth as soon as possible. Mr. Szold raised the question, therefore, as to what could be done to revise the wording of the resolution so as to exclude the word "ultimately" from the last sentence. He suggested that perhaps the matter might be explained to those who have introduced the resolution in the House and Senate and he believe that they might not object to making the change. Those who would oppose it, he pointed out, would oppose the resolution in either form.

In the course of the discussion that followed, the opinion was expressed that there might be serious opposition if we asked to have the word "ultimately" deleted. It would be creating an issue which might affect the fate of the Jewish Commonwealth section of the resolution. It was unfortunate that/word "ultimately" had been inserted, but in the circumstances it would be better not to press for its deletion at this stage. Perhaps it might be possible to do so later on and it was agreed that i should be borne in mind that we want to make the change and endeavor to do so at the proper time.

It was further pointed out that when the resolution came before the House it would be interpreted in the course of statements made on its behalf and it can then

be made clear in the supporting speeches exactly what is meant. NATIONAL PETITION Dr. Silver stated that the American Jewish Conference has authority to proceed with a national petition, and that we would take up the matter within a week. DELEGATION TO LONDON A further cable had been received from Dr. Goldmann on February 3rd, which stated that he had discussed with Dr. Weizmann and the Executive in London the question of the delegation from the United States and indicated that at the moment it was impossible to predict when a clear situation would arise although it might happen at any time. When the situation did become clear, Dr. Goldmann's cable stated, it would be important for the Chairmen of the Emergency Council and Mr. Lipsky, as member of the Jewish Agency Executive, to be in London, and he indicated that he would keep the Council informed of developments and advise the delegation as to the appropriate time to leave. Mr. Wertheim reported that the party delegation had met and decided that despite Dr. Goldmann's cable the delegation should proceed with its plans to leave for London. Dr. Goldstein indicated that he had already been granted an air priority and expected to leave within a week. Dr. Silver stated that he had made an application for a priority for himself but would like to be in this country until the resolution is out of the way. He raised the question of Mr. Lipsky going to London. Since nothing had been said about his going, he assumed that he was unable, or did not wish to go. As a member of the World Executive, Mr. Lipsky should be included in the delegation, Dr. Silver thought. Mr. Lipsky explained that since he was a member of the Zionist Executive as a representative of American Zionists, he felt that it was for the American Zionists to indicate whether or not they wished him to go to London. It was pointed out that in all of Dr. Weizmann's cables, he always mentioned Mr. Lipsky as one of those he wanted to come to London, as a member of the Executive. It was unanimously agreed that Mr. Lipsky be included in the delegation to London.

KEREN HAYESOD SUBSIDY TO JEWISH AGENCY OFFICE IN UNITED STATES

A telegram was read from Judge Rosenblatt, president of the Keren Hayesod in the United States, with regard to the Keren Hayesod subsidy to the Jewish Agency office in this country.

Mr. Weisgal explained that the Keren Hayesod had been paying \$3200. a month X for the expenses of the Jewish Agency office. When Dr. Goldmann was planning to leave for Palestine he arranged for payments to be made through December, 1943. He did not go to Palestine, however, and the matter of continued payments was to be taken up in London. The Executive Committee was being asked, therefore, to request the Keren Hayesod to continue its monthly payments of \$3200. until the final decision will have been made in London by the American delegation, together with the members of the Executive there.

It was the consensus that a telegram be sent to the Treasurer of the Keron Hayesod to this effect.

## AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

## MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

## February 7, 1944

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Monday, February 7th, at 8:15 P. M., at 1720 - 16th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

## PRESENT:

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Mrs. Judith Epstein, Leon Gellman, Rabbi Wolf Gold, Rabbi Israel Goldstein, Chaim Greenberg, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Louis Lipsky, Emanuel Neumann, Mrs. Tamar Pool, Herman Shulman, Elihu D. Stone, Robert Szold, Mrs. Denise Tourover, Meyer W. Weisgal, David Wertheim.

Rabbi Leon I. Feuer, Arnold K. Isreeli, Arthur Lourie, Abram S. Magida.

Dr. Joseph Cohn, Isaiah L. Kenen.

## VISIT OF NATIONAL ORTHODOX CONFERENCE DELEGATION TO SECRETARY OF STATE

Members of the delegation which had visited Mr. Hull that afternoon on behalf of the National Orthodox Conference reported on their interview with the Secretary of State. The subjects of rescue, abrogation of the White Paper and the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth were taken up with Mr. Hull, the larger part of the interview dealing with the subject of rescue.

With regard to the White Paper, the Secretary stated that he was anxious to see the problem solved. He indicated that he was in frequent touch with the British Government and that he expected to continue to discuss the matter with them. As for the resolution before Congress, Mr. Hull said that the merits of the resolution, its passage would depend upon the advice of the military authorities, who would probably be invited to testify before the Congressional Committees. The worst that could happen, he believed, would be deferment of the resolution.

#### CONGRESSIONAL RESOLUTION

The prospects for the resolution were discussed. Although the situation seemed favorable, Congress seemed to be friendly towards the resolution, and the friends of Zionism all over the United States had spoken in a magnificent way, two dangers were apparent: 1) that pressure will be brought to bear by the foes of the Jewish Commonwealth to strike out the resolution the words "Jewish Commonwealth" and 2) the War Department might take the initiative and send representatives to an executive session of the Foreign Affairs Committee. In view of the latter danger, every effort was being made to contact the War Department. Unfortunately, Mr. Stimson had been out of Washington and returned only that day.

If the War Department interferes, Dr. Silver pointed out, the hearings will be held and then the resolution will be put aside. That would not be a calamity, he believed. He felt certain that the resolution would not be voted down. The worst that might happen would be deferment, and our course should be to endeavor to get action and avoid deferment.

There then followed a discussion on the hearings to take place the following day. The schedule of speakers to testify on Tuesday was drawn up and the replies to be made to questions that might be asked our witnesses thoroughly discussed.

The meeting adjourned at 11:30 P. M.

A. L.



## AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

## MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

## February 8, 1944

Another meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Tuesday, February 8th, at 6:00 P. M., at 1720 - 16th Street, N. W. Washington, D. C.

## PRESENT:

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Leon Gellman, Rabbi Wolf Gold, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Chaim Greenberg, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Dr. James G. Heller, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Louis Lipsky, Emanuel Neumann, Mrs. Tamar Pool, Simon Shetzer, Herman Shulman, Elihu D. Stone, Robert Szold, Mrs. Denise Tourover, Meyer W. Weisgal, David Wertheim, Maz Zaritsky.

Dr. I. B. Berkson, Rabbi Leon I. Feuer, Arnold K. Isreeli, Arthur Lourie, Abram S. Magida, Leo Sach.

Dr. Joseph Cohn, Isaiah L. Kenen

HEARINGS IN HOUSE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

The hearings held that day in the House Foreign Affairs Committee were discussed, and the schedule of speakers to appear as witnesses on behalf of the resolution the following day drawn up.

#### MEETING WITH PRESIDENT

Dr. Silver reported on a conservation he had had in connection with the meeting sought with the President. Among the matters discussed was the possibility of postponing the appointment proposed for February 14th. At that meeting, Dr. Silver gathered, the President would make a general statement on his interest in the situation and his hope for continued immigration into Palestine. Photographers would no doubt be present and the occasion would presumably be used for publicity purposes on behalf of the White House.

Dr. Silver had pointed out the danger to our resolution if the President made such a statement, and it was suggested to him that the President might agree to make a statement something to this effect; that in view of the tragic position of the Jews in many parts of the world and in view of the hundreds of thousands of refugees who will have to be taken out of Europe after the war, it is our hope that the doors of Palestine will be open for the free entry of Jews and that full opportunities will be provided for colonization and the economic development of Palestine, so that the Jews may continue upbuilding the Jewish National Home. This statement might also make reference to the approval by our own Government and by other Governments of the undertaking to establish the Jewish National Home and the sympathy which the American people have manifested towards that idea.

Dr. Silver had suggested another form, including the words "Jewish Common-wealth", but the reply had been given him that the insistence on the inclusion of that term might endanger the acceptance by the President of the rest of the statement.

The person to whom Dr. Silver spoke said that the President was not yet ready to meet with the Zionists alone.

Dr. Silver asked for an expression of opinion from the Executive as to whether such a statement as he indicated would be helpful, (although he was not at all certain that it could be obtained), or whether we should insist on the inclusion in the President's statement of the term "a Jewish Commonwealth". The statement might be made to a joint delegation, Dr. Silver stated, or to no delegation at all.

It was pointed out that the immediate effect that such a statement from the President would have on our resolution must be considered. It might result in the Congressional Committees taking the position that the resolution is not necessary, or that there is no need to fight over the inclusion of the Jewish Commonwealth part of it. That part had already been challenged at the hearings. If the Congressional Committee has a way of avoiding this issue, the members would no doubt grasp at it.

It was believed that a statement from the President at this time which did not include a reference to the Jewish Commonwealth would be of no value, and that it would be preferable to request a postponement and concentrate on the resolution. If the resolution passes and the President has made no statement, it was pointed out, there are chances that he would then make a stronger statement.

The opinion was expressed that if we had been presented with alternatives, the situation would be different. Since the resolution is already before Congress, however, we were thus committed to following through on the resolution.

It was further pointed out that a postponement of the President's statement would be a gain from a variety of angles, that such a statement as indicated would not help, and that the President could issue it just as well later on.

After further discussion it was agreed to press forward with the Resolution rather than request a statement at this time from the President which would not mention the Jewish Commonwealth.

## AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

## MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

## February 21, 1944

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Monday, February 21st, at 4:00 P. M. at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

## PRESENT

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Maurice Boukstein, Rabbi Wolf Gold, Leon Gellman, Mrs. Judith Epstein, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Mrs. Rose Jacobs, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Louis Lipsky, Mrs. Tamar Pool, Emanuel Neumann, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Louis Segal, Simon Shetzer, Herman Shulman, David Wertheim.

Marvin Lowenthal, Meyer W. Weisgal,

Dr. I. B. Berkson, Arnold K. Isreeli, Arthur Lourie, Harold P. Manson, Harry L. Shapiro.

Isaiah L. Kenen.

## COMMUNITY CONTACTS COMMITTEE

It was reported that the number of local emergency committees has grown to 245. An additional 40 committees were expected to be organized shortly.

The emergency committees have been doing excellent work. Reference was made to the hundreds of favorable editorials which have appeared in the local press (about 400 up to the present), and it was suggested that these be published in a pamphlet. It was also suggested that these editorials be brought to the attention of the British Embassy.

Dr. Silver reported that Mr. Joel Gross had tendered his resignation from the chairmanship of the Community Contacts Committee. He had hoped to be able to persuade him to reconsider his decision, but the great pressure of work upon him makes it impossible for him to continue. Dr. Silver therefore moved that Mr. Gross' resignation be accepted with regret and that he be given authority to appoint someone to take his place. This motion was seconded and passed.

### PRESS DEPARTMENT

The accelerated activity of the Community Contacts Department is reflected also in the Press Department, it was reported. Commentators and columnists have been supplied with information which they have used in the press and on the air. In preparation is a memorandum to the emergency committee chairmen indicating the answers made to articles which have appeared in the press by such people as Freya Stark and Ned Nordness. Reprints have been made of Edgar Ansell Mowrer's article in the New York Post, the editorial which had appeared in the Philadelphia Enquirer and of Johannes Steel's article in the New York Post. The latter appeared following a broadcast by Mr. Steel along the same lines. These articles are to be published in pamphlet form.

The Press Department has arranged for a radio monitor service, so that we are kept informed of all radio broadcasts which refer to Zionism and Palestine. Another project recently undertaken is a news reel film which will be produced by Embassy News Reel and in which it is hoped Dorothy Thompson will act as commentator. The press book material is being widely used throughout the country. The next press book will be devoted to the Resolution before Congress. Twelve releases have been sent out in connection with the Resolutions.

#### COMMITTEE ON INTELLECTUAL MOBILIZATION

Mr. Lowenthal reported that he had contacted a number of leading commentators and columnists and had already seen two of them, as well as certain other persons. He had spoken to one of the editors of Readers Digest and had given him an idea for an article to be written by Dr. Lowdermilk, which the Digest will now doubt publish. Mr. Lowenthal further reported that he was leaving for Washington the following day where he has appointments to meet a number of leading commentators and journalists.

### PUBLICATIONS COMMITTEE

Mr. Lipsky reported that the first thousand copies of the Lowdermilk book are now in Harper's stock room in New York, and that a few hundred of these will be available for immediate use. He suggested that copies be sent at once to all members of the Senate and House Foreign Relations Committees.

The Dial Press is willing to publish Ernst Frankenstein's "Justice for my People". Under normal publishing conditions the earliest date they would put the book out would be late in August or early in September. It would then be included in their advertising and their regular contacts with book sellers. If we wished to have copies before that date, it could be arranged by June.

Rabbi Feuer's book, in its paper reprint, is now practically completed. Professor Triedrich's memorandum on "American Policy Towards the Jewish National Home in Palestine, 1917-1942" is now being multigraphed in two hundred copies for private distribution to a list of individuals chosen by Professor Friedrich and Mr. Lourie, Arrangements are contemplated with regard to printing the memorandum by the Council on Foreign Relations.

A pamphlet prepared by Wr. Lowenthal and entitled "The Promise of Palestine" will be ready in a day or two. Mr. Neumann's testimony at the hearings at the House Foreign Affairs Committee on the Arab problem is being printed in pamphlet form by us. The third issue of "Palestine" is on the press and will be both larger in format (12 pages) and more varied in content.

The question of the distribution of Dr. Lowdermilk's book was discussed. It was agreed that it would be desirable to have copies sent to the Congressmen and Senators by their constituents; but in the meantime it was decided to send copies directly from the Emergency Council to the members of the House and Senate Foreign Affairs Committees.

## AMERICAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE

Mr. Shulman reported that at present it was expected that 75 - 100 people from all over the country would attend the Christian Conference in Washington on March 9th. Acceptances for the Dinner which will close the Conference were coming in very rapidly. Vice-President Wallace has accepted the invitation to address the Conference. Senator Wagner would either act as chairman or deliver the keynote address.

Mr. Shulman referred to the advertisement of the American Palestine Committee which appeared in the New York Sun and papers in large cities throughout the country, and indicated that doubt had been expressed as to whether the names of the members should have been included. The advertisement should also have been shown to Senator Wagner before being published. It was explained that the only reason this was not done was that the advertisement had to be prepared quickly, that if it had not been used at that particular time the New York papers could not have taken it for many weeks.

It was agreed that hereafter when an advertisement of the American Palestine Committee is involved, it is to be approved by Mr. Shulman and Senator Wagner before being published.

## DELEGATION TO LONDON

It was reported that Dr. Goldstein had already arrived in London. With regard to the other three members of the party delegation, applications had been made for their priorities and transportation on a fast steamer was promised them. Then a letter was received from the British Passport Control Office stating that the authorities were unable to accede to the request for permission for these three delegates to proceed to London. A cable was sent immediately to the London office pointing out the importance of taking quick action in order to have this decision changed. No reply had been received as yet.

Rabbi Gold and Mr. Wertheim had also called on the British Embassy, and received the impression that the British Government was not responsible for the decision of the Passport Office. Apparently, the Jewish Agency office in London had not pressed for the visas.

A letter from Dr. Goldmann to Mr. Weisgal dated January 30th was read in which Dr. Goldmann expressed the opinion that the political situation in London did not call for a delegation at this time. If and when there will be a definite proposal, his letter stated, arrangements could then be made for the American delegation to proceed to London forthwith.

In the discussion that followed it was pointed out that if/definite proposals were expected for the present it would be most unwise for an American delegation to go to London and be placed in the position of having to wait around for something to happen. Although several weeks ago Dr. Weizmann had cabled a number of times urging a delegation to come it appeared that a change must have occurred in the political situation which no longer made the matter urgent.

With regard to Dr. Goldstein's visit to London, it was pointed out that in addition to the several missions with which he was charged he had been invited to launch the United Palestine Appeal campaign in Great Britain.

After further discussion it was decided to cable Dr. Weizmann referring to the several cables received urging a delegation to go to London and then being advised by Dr. Goldmann that no delegation was necessary, and to the report that the London office of the Jewish Agency failed to facilitate the granting of visas for the delegation; and inquiring of him whether there has been a change in the political situation.

# JEWISH AGENCY OFFICE IN THE UNITED STATES

The question of the Jewish Agency political bureau in the United States was raised. It was pointed out that when this bureau was opened the Emergency Council

was not functioning as it should have been. Since the Council is now functioning very well, however, and conducts an active office in Washington, with the Chairman of the Executive spending a great deal of time there, it was felt that the Jewish Agency political bureau was no longer necessary. It was believed that the Jewish Agency should adjust itself to the new situation thus created, and it was suggested that its office should either be closed down or should limit itself to Latin-American affairs.

After some discussion it was agreed that further consideration of this matter should await Dr. Goldmann's return. In the meantime, it was agreed to appoint a small committee to study the problem thoroughly.

The meeting adjourned at 6:00 P. M.

A. L.



Confidential No. 5

#### AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

#### MINUTES OF MEETING HELD FEBRUARY 21, 1944

A meeting of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Monday, February 21st, at 8:15 P. M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

#### PRE SENT

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Rabbi Philip S. Bernstein, Maurice Boukstein, Philip Cruso, Mrs. Judith Epstein, Leon Gellman, Mrs. S. Goldstein, Chaim Greenberg, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Dr. James G. Heller, Benjamin Itzkowitz, Mrs. Rose Jacobs, Leib Jaffe, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Rabbi I. M. Kowalski, Miss Jeannette Leibel, Louis Lipsky, Marvin Lowenthal, Isaac Naiditch, Emanuel Neumann, Dr. M. L. Perlzweig, Mrs. Tamar Pool, Zvi Quittman, Dr. Martin Rosenblueth, Mrs. Etta Rosensohn, Miss Dvora Rothbard, Sam Rothstein, Mrs. Bertha Schoolman, Louis Segal, Simon Shetzer, Mrs. Rebecca Shulman, Herman Shulman, Meyer W. Weisgal, David Wertheim.

Rabbi Barnet Brickner, Dr. Joseph Cohn, Samuel Dickstein, Jacob Fishman, Isaiah L. Kenen, David L. Meckler, Dr. J. D. Oppenheim, Dr. Michael Traub, S. J. Zachs.

Dr. I. B. Berkson, Arnold K. Isrceli, Hans Lamm, Arthur Lourie, Harold P. Manson, Harry L. Shapiro.

The Chairman warmly welcomed the guests who were present at the meeting: Dr. J. D. Oppenheim. President of the Surinam Zionist Organization; Dr. Michael Traub, for many years the representative of the Keren Hayesod in Australia and New Zealand; Mr. S. J. Zachs, member of the Praesidium of the Zionist Organization of Canada; Mr. Meckler, editor of the Morning Journal and Mr. Jacob Fishman, columnist of the Jewish Morning Journal.

Dr. Silver referred to the great loss sustained by the Zionist movement in the last few days in the passing of Mr. Nathan Gesang, president of the Zionist Organization of the Argentine, and an outstanding figure in the Zionist movement.

#### REPORT ON PAIESTINE RESOLUTION BEFORE CONGRESS

Dr. Silver reported on the developments in connection with the Resolution since the last meeting of the Emergency Council, and on the hearings which were held by the House Foreign Affairs Committee February 8th and 9th, and February 15th and 16th.

With regard to the hearings, Dr. Silver believed we could all entertain a deep sense of gratification at the manner in which our spokesmen presented our case before the Foreign Affairs Committee. They did full justice to our great cause. Everyone who participated contributed something of significance to the building up of our case, which was presented from all its angles: historically, legally, from its profound moral and humanitarian point of view, and from the angle of what we have achieved in Palestine. Many important documents that had a bearing on our movement were read into the record.

In addition to the Zionist witnesses, the following non-Jews testified in favor of the resolution: Dr. Henry A. Atkinson, Dr. Walter C. Lowdermilk, and Professor Carl J. Friedrich of Harvard University; as well as an official spokesman of organized labor. Quite a number of Congressmen also appeared at one or another of the seven sessions and registered their endorsement of the resolution.

The country at large spoke in a truly remarkable manner, through the medium of thousands of letters and telegrams that poured in, upon the Committee as a whole, the Chairman and the individual members of the Committee, as well as the members of both Houses, almost unanimously approving the resolution. Congressman Bloom read into the record the fact that of the thousands of telegrams and letters that came to him, only 10 were in opposition. Also significant was the readiness of people all over the country to telephone to their Congressmen; some to come personally to see them.

The opposition came from two groups - from the Arabs and the American Council for Judaism. The Arabs did not make a very impressive case for themselves. They defeated themselves, more particularly in the question period. The American Council for Judaism, which had four spokesmen, an unusually large number in view of the size of the group, did confuse many members of the Committee, who are not trained in the ideological subtleties of Jewish religion, race, nation, etc. It took considerable work to disabuse the Committee of the false impressions they had received from the spokesmen of the Council for Judaism, who had suggested that since the Jews are a religious community they will set up a theocracy.

In the American Council for Judaism, we have bitter enemies, Dr. Silver pointed out, who will stoop to any argument that will serve their purpose. They are working among the Congressmen and Senators in Washington, seeing many officials, and poisoning their minds against us.

The Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, Mr. Sol Bloom, was very cooperative. He had gathered together much relevant material on the White Paper,
including the speeches that were made in the House of Commons and House of Lords
opposing it and the legal case of the Jewish Agency against the White Paper, and had
it printed under the imprimateur of the Foreign Affairs Committee. Copies were given
to each member of the Committee before the hearings began. Mr. Bloom also asked
questions of the witnesses which indicated that he was eager to be helpful.

With regard to the net result of the hearings and the activities throughout the country as reflected in the prospects of the Resolution, Dr. Silver believed that if the Committee were left to itself to vote on the basis of what they had heard and read, and the impression they had received from their constituents, they would overwhelmingly approve it. Perhaps three or four would not yote for it. A few were hostile at the outset and remained so. If the Committee does approve the bill and it is brought to the floor of the House, there is no question, Dr. Silver said, but that it would be approved almost unanimously.

However, the Committee has not been left alone, and considerable pressure has been brought, and will be brought upon it by the War Department, which is probably being used in this instance, as in previous instances, as a foil for the State Department. It is now a public secret that the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee wrote to the War and State Departments soliciting their opinion on the resolution and he received letters from the Secretary of State and the Secretary of War. The first was non-committal, but merely referred to the letter of the Secretary of War, which stated categorically that the resolution would be harmful from the military point of view and even suggested that hearings be not held.

Dr. Silver further reported that Mr. Szold and he had called on General McCloy, Assistant Secretary of War, on February 17th. It was clear to them from their talk with General McCloy that the State Department had taken the initiative and elicited the kind of reply it wanted. General McCloy thought the Resolution went far beyond the 1922 Resolution. He said our first job was to win the war, that military considerations should take first place, and further indicated that should/minority urge action which might endanger the military situation, it would bring down upon that minority certain criticism. Dr. Silver did not know, he said, whether he and Mr. Szold made any impression on General McCloy.

Dr. Silver also reported on the informal meeting of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on February 17th which Messrs. Shulman, Lipsky, Neumann and Szold, Rabbi Feuer and Dr. Silver attended, and at which they got the feeling that as a whole the Senate Committee was with us, and that they would go more deeply into the question of the War Department's objections.

Concluding his report, Dr. Silver stated that the members of the Executive present in Washington met every day after the hearings, took stock and planned our course for the next day.

In the discussion that followed it was pointed out that while the War Department, under the prodding of the State Department, might wish to have the entire resolution voted down, they were probably realistic enough to know that it could not be done, in view of the pressure of public opinion. At the worst, the resolution would be deferred. Some of the Congressmen, however, in a desire to satisfy their constituents, might be ready to suggest amendments in the hope that a watered-down resolution might meet the objections of the War Department. It was necessary, therefore, to guard against that.

It was the consensus that any amendments to the resolution would be unacceptable, that we should make no compromise whatsoever in the wording. It was therefore decided that a committee meet with the Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee at the earliest possible moment and make this known to him as well as to the leaders of both parties and urge them to take no action on the resolution if they feel it cannot be voted out of Committee at the moment in its present form. It was agreed that our policy with regard to the resolution should be delay, no compromise.

It was further believed that every effort should be made to reach the Chief Executive. It was agreed that the time had come to have the constituency address themselves to the President, and it was decided to contact the local emergency committees at once and request them to organize speedily the dispatch of telegrams to the President urging him to speak out.

#### NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE WAR REFUGEE BOARD

Dr. Heller reported on the negotiations which the United Jewish Appeal had had with the War Refugee Board in an effort to define their relations with the Board. He also raised the question of the status of the Emergency Council vis-a-vis the War Refugee Board. It was agreed that the American Jewish Conference was the body which should deal with the Refugee Board and it was suggested that Dr. Heller meet with the Conference Rescue Commission.

#### RABBI BRICKNER'S REPORT

Rabbi Barnet Brickner, who had just returned from England, and who had spent nine days in Palestine, reported briefly on his visits to Palestine and to the fighting fronts where he had met Palestine Jewish soldiers.

Rabbi Brickner conveyed to the Council greetings from our friends in Eretz Israel, who wich us strength to carry on the work we are doing. They are counting tremendously on us for support. They are standing very, very firm. The Yishuv look truly beautiful. The progress that has been made all over the country is simply marvelous. The positions that we have occupied go deep into the Negev.

The Yishuv is doing a very remarkable work of rescue, Rabbi Brickner said. He had attended a meeting of the Actions Committee and listened to lengthy reports by Dr. Gruenbaum and Mr. Dobkin on what is being done by the most remarkably organized underground he had ever heard about. And Jews are being saved. The picture in Europe, as they see it, is much more pessimistic than even our leadership has any knowledge of. There are very few Jews left in Hitler's Europe. Hungary is considered the "Gan Eden". There are something like 700,000 Jews there.

The work that is being done to absorb the children is wonderful. To see the children who six months ago had the pallor of death on their cheeks, being absorbed into the colonies, is one of the inspiring things in the Yishuv.

Dr. Brickner referred to the feeling of American Jewish troops towards Palestine. All over the world wherever he contacted American Jewish troops, he found a great many of them vitally concerned about Palestine. They asked many questions. The American Jewish youth is not as indifferent to the Jewish problem as we were wont to think they were. They have a much keener understanding of what is involved in this war than other troops.

Rabbi Brickner was gratified to learn from non-Jewish soldiers who had an opportunity to spend their leave in Palestine that they have come back from there tremendously enthusiastic about the oasis in the whole Middle East, as they call it, the only civilized place in the whole Middle East. If it were at all possible to give every fifth American soldier an opportunity to pass through Palestine, there would be no doubt about what America would think about the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine.

One of the deepest impressions of this whole mission was the resoluteness of our people in Palestine. The most remarkable troops that he met anywhere in the world, said Rabbi Brickner, were the Jewish soldiers from Palestine. He contacted them in England, North Africa, Sicily and in Italy. They are prominent in the transport troops; all their vehicles carry the Mogen David, they operate under the Jewish flag — it is practically a Jewish army without that recognition. They constitute themselves as the advance guard of the Jewish people. Their work in connection with the refugees is a remarkably heroic chapter. These young men, who receive 16 a month, give up 1 a month for rescue work. They give of their rations for the refugees. They are doing tremendously important work. Their impact upon our American Jewish youth is overwhelming. Hebrew is their language. They are proud, self-conscious, politically deliberate, every one of them.

The meeting adjourned at 11:05.

#### AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

#### MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

#### February 28, 1944

A special meeting of the Executive Committee was held Monday, February 28th, at 8:15 P. M., at 1720 - 16th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

#### PRESENT:

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Maurice Boukstein, Mrs. Judith Epstein, Rabbi Wolf Gold, Chaim Greenberg, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Louis Lipsky, Emanuel Neumann, Mrs. Tamar Pool, Herman Shulman, Elihu D. Stone, Mrs. Denise Tourover, Meyer W. Weisgal, David Wertheim.

Rabbi Leon I. Feuer, Arthur Lourie, Marvin Lowenthal, Harold P. Manson, Leo Sach, Harry L. Shapiro.

#### CONGRESS RESOLUTIONS

Dr. Silver said that since the last meeting there had been a considerable number of developments. At that meeting he had informed the Committee that progress in Congress was satisfactory in the sense that both Committees were as a whole favorably inclined. Since then the War Department had intervened, through a communication sent by Secretary Stimson to the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate. The Foreign Relations Committee had then apparently sought the views of the State Department and the War Department and the State Department had contented itself with basing its reply on that of the War Department. A group representing the Zionist Emergency Council had been called by the Foreign Relations Committee and informed of the attitude of the War Department. Following the discussion which took place with the Committee, that body had decided not to act for a further fortnight in order to enable the Zionist representatives to canvass the situation with the War Department. Last Wednesday, however, at very short notice - so short that Senators Wagner and Taft had apparently not been informed in time to attend the meeting - Senator Connally had called a further meeting of the Committee to consider the Palestine resolution. General Marshall had been present and had made a very strong statement, on military grounds, in opposition to the passage of the resolution at this time. It was also known that General Hurley had been in Washington, had seen the President and had reported very unfavorably in regard to the further immigration of Jews to Palestine. It was understood that he stressed two issues: 1) the pending oil negotiations, and 2) the danger of arousing Arab opposition. It appeared that General Hurley was also to be invited to appear before the Foreign Relations Committee. Our contacts indicated that the oil angle was much more serious than we had believed.

A report was given by Mr. Sach of the reaction of various Senators to the meeting with General Marshall, from which it was clear that the General made a very strong impression in regard to the inadvisability, from the military standpoint, of pressing the resolution at this time. Some anxiety indeed had been expressed lest, instead of merely delaying action, the forthcoming meeting of the Committee might not pass an adverse vote.

Rabbi Feuer also stressed the extent to which the oil negotiations had affected the issue.

Dr. Silver reported on other conversations which had taken place with regard to the resolution. He had seen Secretary Knox, whose friendliness could not be doubted. Mr. Knox made the point, however, that the military, particularly in view of the situation in Italy, could afford to take no chances, and that although their anxieties with regard to possible Arab repercussions might be imaginary, even the possibly imaginary must be taken into account in a crisis. There was reference, too, to the delicate stage of the oil negotiations. A conversation with Mr. Ickes was also reported.

Rabbi Feuer reported on conversations which he had had with Congressman Sabath and Congressman Bloom in regard to the passage of the resolution. Congressman Bloom had discussed with him the desirability of having available, in case of need, an alternative resolution, a draft of which Mr. Bloom had prepared, and which was read to the Committee; but it was agreed, after some discussion, that the revised version was altogether inacceptable.

Other conversations were reported by Mr. Stone; and also by Mr. Neumann with Congressman Fairbanks who had suggested postponing action for four months and thereafter seeking to get the resolution passed in its present form; and by Mr. Greenberg with Sir Norman Angell, who also referred to present military exigencies.

A discussion then took place on what our policy should be in the event that action on the resolutions was postponed by the Committees concerned. It was pointed out that postponement of the resolution now, even for a few months, would mean probably the end of the resolution. Summer would come and the pressure of the election preliminaries would very soon be felt in Congress. It was urged, and this seemed the consensus of opinion, that even though the attitude of the military prevented our going ahead with the resolution now, we must continue our political action in the country in an intensified form. Extraordinary interest had been aroused and this must be kept alive.

proposed out that the action of the military formed part of a pattern. First there had been the Cremieux decree, then the Hoskins report, which had been fathered by the State Department for the sole purpose of putting a quietus on Zionist propaganda. The proposal for a joint statement had followed, and had been prevented only by herculean action. The attitude of certain elements in the Government had also been reflected in the efforts to call off the American Jewish Conference, on the ground of possible repercussions in the Near East. Finally, we had sought to get Congress to speak; precisely because of the negative attitude of the Administration. We were being silenced and the military situation was being unwarrantably used to achieve that end. We should not yield; because if we did so now we should have to yield all along the line. Whether the State Department or the War Department wants it or not, we would have to carry on a most vigorous agitation in favor of our program. The public press must begin to ask why it is militarily dangerous to allow refugees to go to Palestine and why we should be sold down the river for the sake of oil.

The Chairman, in summarizing the sense of the meeting, said that we may be obliged to have the resolutions go to a deferment, but that we must not place ourselves in the position of asking for a deferment, or intervening to obtain it. He added that he did not believe that the House or the Senate Committee would vote the resolution down. Furthermore, we must continue our agitation to get the Government to break down the White Paper policy and to act in favor of our program.

In the course of further discussion as to whether we should be prepared to accept an alternative resolution before the House Committee, it was moved that the position to be taken by the Council is that it adheres to the text of the original resolution submitted to the Congressional Committees and does not favor the introduction of any amendments. By a vote of 5 to 4 it was also resolved that we would not oppose an alternative resolution which might be submitted provided that it did not vary in substance from the original resolution.

The following votes were also taken:

- 1) It was unanimously resolved that Mr. Shertok be invited to come to America.
- 2) That authority be given to hold a public meeting at Madison Square Gardens on March 21st.
- 3) That a sub-committee of three persons be appointed to work out a program of action for the immediate future and also to consider the calling of other meetings throughout the country.

The meeting adjourned at 12:30 A. M.

A. L.

#### AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

#### MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

#### March 13, 1944

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Monday, March 13, 1944, at 8:15 P. M., at 342 Madison Ave., New York City.

#### PRESENT

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Maurice Boukstein, Leon Gellman, Chaim Greenberg, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Mrs. Rose Jacobs, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Judge Louis I. Levinthal, Louis Lipsky, Emanuel Neumann, Mrs. Etta Rosensohn, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Simon Shetzer, Herman Shulman, Louis Segal, Robert Szold, Meyer W. Weisgal, David Wertheim, Dr. Stephen S. Wise.

Dr. I. B. Berkson, Rabbi Leon I. Feuer, Arnold K. Isreeli, Arthur Lourie, Abram S. Magida, Harold P. Manson, Leo Sach, Harry L. Shapiro, Elihu D. Stone.

Zvi Quittman. Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt.

#### MINUTES OF MEETINGS

The minutes of the Executive Committee meetings held January 31st, February 7th, 8th and 28th, were approved.

Dr. Silver reported on the interview which he and Dr. Wise had had with the President on March 9th, at which they had been authorized to issue the following statement:

"The President authorized us to say that the American Government has never given its approval to the White Paper of 1939. The President is happy that the doors of Palestine are today open to Jewish refugees, and that when future decisions are reached, full justice will be done to those who seek a Jewish National Home, for which our Government and the American people have always had the deepest sympathy and today more than ever, in view of the tragic plight of hundreds of thousands of homeless Jewish refugees."

The interview had lasted almost an hour. (Report on file).

Dr. Silver said that had those who were unfriendly to Zionism in the State Department and elsewhere succeeded in silencing us now by bringing the military into the picture, it would have meant that the Zionists would have had to be silent for the duration of the war. Their technique had been similar to that in connection with the proposed joint statement, namely, to cover a political objective by alleged military exigencies. As soon as we learned of Mr. Stimson's letter it was clear to us that our approach must be no longer to Congressmen and Senators, but directly to the President. The statement of the President was in the circumstances a great achievement and an effective blow at the campaign which had been conducted against us. It cleared the air and, as Senator Tast had himself indicated at the American

Palestine Committee Dinner, if it was all right for the President of the United States to speak out, it was likewise all right for the layman to do so.

It was important further that the President had spoken after all the Arab protests were in, and despite them. This is the first time in our history that all the Arab countries had united in a demunciation of us and made their position known collectively in Washington. They sent cables of protest, which were directed primarily against Jewish immigration, to the President, the State Department, the Senate and the House, and despite all these protests the President spoke. That test of strength was for us highly important. The Arabs were jubilant for a day, but are already back where they were.

Another significant fact was that for the first time since the issuance of the White Paper in 1939 a responsible executive of our Government came out against the White Paper by name. The State Department had been saying during the past five years that the United States was not involved in the Palestine question except where it concerned American nationals. The President in his statement indicated that America had assumed an obligation in regard to the National Home and was concerned with the White Paper issue.

As a result of the President's statement, Dr. Silver said, Senators and Congressmen have now been coming to us asking whether they should press for passage of the resolutions. It is for us to decide whether we should push them at this time and in what way we should urge their passage.

Dr. Silver went on to say that a great fight faces us. We have now passed the stage of skirmishes and have entered the stage of great battles. This is the fight. All the powerful forces against our movement are arrayed - the hostile British administration, an organized Arab opposition, an unfriendly group in the State Department, and oil concessionaries. We are facing a stiff opposition that can strike powerful blows, as they did last week. They will fight us to the bitter end. We must fight back. We must make decisions and then go through with them. We cannot change our minds in midstream. We have gone through an ordeal in the last few weeks, and have come out of it. We must know that we may have to face up to difficult situations again and be ready to do so without flinching.

A discussion followed on further action with regard to the resolution, and the consensus of the meeting was summarized by Dr. Silver as follows:

It is agreed that we do not abandon our resolutions; that we carry on in the hope that they will be adopted before very long; that these resolutions say something much more than is contained in the President's statement; furthermore, that an expression from Congress would be invaluable by itself, with or without the statement of the President.

It is also agreed that we do not at the moment press for the resolutions, that we mark time for a little while and canvass the situation in Washington with an eye to discovering when is the right time to proceed. It is a question of timing.

With regard to the attitude to be taken by us henceforth, we can express our sames of gratitude to the President. On the other hand we can be justly critical of these who do not help us.

Dr. Silver left the meeting at this point and further discussion centered on the line to be taken with regard to the statement of the War Department. Dr. Wise said in conclusion that in the coming week the situation would be canvassed in

Washington and at the Executive Committee meeting next Monday, we will have a report from our colleagues in Washington, when a decision could be taken.

In the course of the discussion a proposal was made that/co-chairmen appoint a small committee to work with them which would meet frequently, watch developments from day to day and serve as a sort of strategy committee in carrying out the policies decided upon by the Executive Committee. It was decided to postpone discussion of this proposal for the next meeting of the Executive.

#### HISTADRUTH VOTE ON BILTMORE RESOLUTION

A cable received from Mr. Bernard Joseph explaining the vote taken at the meeting of the Mapai was read, as well as a cable received by the Poale Zion from Mr. Ben-Gurion. (Copies of cables already circulated to Emergency Council). It was agreed that this matter required a full discussion, and it was decided to place it on the agenda for another meeting.

The meeting adjourned at midnight.

A. L.



#### AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

#### MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

#### March 20, 1944

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Monday, March 20th, at 3:00 P. M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

#### PRESENT

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Maurice Boukstein, Philip Cruso, Leon Gellman, Rabbi Wolf Gold, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Mrs. Rose Jacobs, Rabb Max Kirshblum, Judge Louis I. Levinthal, Louis Lipsky, Emanuel Neumann, Mrs. Tamar Pool, Mrs. Etta Rosensohn, Louis Segal, Mrs. Rebecca Shulman, Herman Shulman, David Wertheim, Dr. Stephen S. Wise.

Dr. Nahum Goldmann, Marvin Lowenthal, Meyer W. Weisgal.

Dr. I. B. Berkson, Rabbi Leon I. Feuer, Arnold K. Isreeli, Arthur Lourie, Abram S. Magida, Harold P. Manson, Leo Sack, Harry L. Shapiro, Elihu D. Stone.

Dr. Joseph Cohn, Israel Mereminski, Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt.

The Chairman extended a welcome to Dr. Goldmann on his return from his visit to London.

#### MINUTES OF MEETINGS

The minutes of the Executive Committee held February 21st were approved.

#### RESOLUTION OF ACTIONS COMMITTEE

A letter was read containing a resolution adopted by the members of the Greater Actions Committee resident in the United States at their meeting held March 14th. (Attached)

The letter also reported the decision taken by this meeting to request the Emergency Council to delegate one of its representatives to render, from time to time, reports of its activities to the meetings of the Actions Committee.

A motion was made and unanimously passed that the resolution of the members of the Actions Committee be noted and that the suggestion be accepted of delegating one of the members of the Emergency Council to report to the Actions Committee from time to time.

#### RESOLUTION BEFORE CONGRESS

Rabbi Feuer reported that in accordance with the decision reached at the last meeting of the Executive Committee to undertake a survey of the situation as it obtains in the Capitol at present with reference to the pending resolutions, Mr. Sack, Mr. Stone and he had met with Congressmen Celler, Wright, Compton, Rowe, Bloom, McCormack and Ellison on March 15th and 16th and discussed the matter

thoroughly with them, particularly in the light of the President's statement. All of these Congressmen were agreed that it would be difficult to bring the resolution out of the House Foreign Affairs Committee in its present form at this time. If it were brought up for discussion in the Committee, a demand would be made to have representatives of the State and War Departments testify, Some members of the Committee were anxious to have action taken on the resolution, in order, apparently, to be able to say to their constituents that they were ready to act favorably but were helpless in the face of the testimony of the military. And even if the resolution were voted out of Committee, Rabbi Feuer and his colleagues in Washington gathered from these conversations, there was a strong likelihood of a lengthy debate on the floor of the House and attempts to amend and emasculate the resolution. We have already been warned, Rabbi Feuer stated, that there are some members who would attack and try to delete the last phrase of the resolution dealing with the Commonwealth, either because they have been reached by our opponents or because it is an unusual procedure for Congress to commit itself with regard to a specific political formula for another country. There is also a strong likelihood that the military objection would be made a subject of debate.

In the course of these conversations, Rabbi Feuer stated, it was hinted, and in some cases openly suggested that a milder resolution would have a far greater chance of success and that such a resolution might even be obtained rather quickly. This, of course, would indicate that the objections to the resolution are political and not military.

With regard to the action taken by the House Foreign Affairs Committee on Friday, March 17th, to defer the resolution, Rabbi Feuer reported that Mr. Sack, Mr. Stone and he had seen Mr. Bloom on the 15th and inquired of him whether in view of the President's statement he thought that it would be possible to get favorable action on the resolution. Mr. Bloom's advice was that taking into account the intervention of the military in its present form the resolution did not have any possibility of being voted out of Committee. Rabbi Feuer and his colleagues left Mr. Bloom's office with the definite impression that he had agreed that it was advisable not to take any action at present and that the status quo would be maintained; and they also felt convinced after this meeting that Mr. Bloom was no longer friendly to the resolution. The next day, as Rabbi Feuer learned Friday afternoon, notices were sent out to the members of the Foreign Affairs Committee calling them to a meeting Friday morning. Mr. Wright, too, was very much surprised, since he had also understood from Mr. Bloom that nothing would be done. On learning about the meeting, at which Assistant Secretary of War, John J. McCloy, testified and a letter from Mr. Stimson was read, Rabbi Feuer and Mr. Stone immediately went to see Mr. Bloom, who was not friendly and insisted he understood that they had wanted him to call a meeting of the Committee. He stated that one of the reasons for his action was that he was forced to it by the Foreign Affairs Committee, who had on two occasions voted to call before the Committee representatives of the State and War Departments. Some members felt that it was imperative for them to give their constituents an explanation of the inactivity of the Committee in connection with the resolution. The second reason was Mr. Dickstein's intimation on the floor of the House that he would call the resolution out by petition. When he learned of that Wr. Bloom made up his mind at once to call a meeting of the Foreign Affairs Committee

Mr. Bloom pointed out that the action of the Committee meant only that it has taken the advice of the War Department and issued a statement that at this time it is unwise to do anything. The resolution is pending and can be brought up for actic at the appropriate time. Mr. Bloom again expressed the opinion that an amended resolution, which omitted reference to the Commonwealth, would have a chance, and when he was asked how the military objections could be overcome by amendments, when

they were directed to the resolution in its entirety, he was reluctant to reply.

Summing up his report, Rabbi Feuer stated that it was his opinion, based on the conversations that he had, that the Commonwealth resolution could not be passed at present, that the President's statement has made no difference to that situation in that the statement had no relation to the military objections.

Dr. Silver referred to the feeling among some Congressmen that despite the military objections, a different kind of resolution has a chance of passage, and their belief that we have made it difficult to have a resolution on Palestine passed because of our insistence on including the reference to the Jewish Commonwealth. There is the danger, Dr. Silver pointed out, that these people may introduce a different kind of resolution which might be a face saver for themselves. He also referred to the recent activities of the Bergson group who have apparently been urging some of the Congressmen to think in terms of a modified resolution.

Mr. Stone stated that he had received a message from Boston that a Congressman is planning to introduce another resolution on Palestine in the House within a week or ten days which will not include any mention of the Commonwealth. If such a resolution is introduced and is passed, it would mean the end our resolution. Any resolution on Palestine that is passed by Congress now will be the only resolution on Palestine which Congress will consider.

It was felt that the threat of another resolution on Palestine being introduced in Congress should not affect our action with regard to our resolution. It was believed that it should be made known to people in Congress that we accept the advice of the military that nothing shall be done at present and indicate that we will advise them when we wish to have the resolution revived; and that we should publicize the fact that the resolution was deferred because of military considerations and without reference to its merits.

With regard to our program of activities at this point, the view was expressed that we have reached a stage in our campaign which calls for reconsideration of the whole situation, that while in our effort to get the resolution through Congress we had to arouse the public in behalf of that program, it was now necessary to consider the line to be taken in the new circumstances.

It was agreed that this matter required a thorough discussion and it was decided to meet again in the evening for this purpose.

RESOLUTION FOR MADISON SQUARE GARDEN MEETING

A draft resolution which had been prepared for presentation to the meeting to be held at Madison Square Gardens on March 21st was read. A number of changes were suggested and a committee of three was appointed to draw up the final form of the resolution.

DR. GOLDMANN'S REPORT ON VISIT TO LONDON

Dr. Nahum Goldmann, who had returned from London a few days before, reported briefly on the Zionist political situation in London and on the reaction there to the developments in connection with the Congressional Resolution. (Report on file).

NATIONAL PETITION

The Palestine Commission of the American Jewish Conference has requested the

Emergency Council to reach a decision on the proposal for a national petition. The Commission had canvassed the members of the Interim Committee of the Conference and obtained their permission to proceed with the plan; and the mechanics for setting it in motion are more or leass ready. The Emergency Council would have to cover the cost, which would be high, and it was for us to decide whether the Conference should proceed.

A discussion ensued on the advisability of undertaking this project at this time. It was pointed out that now that the resolutions have been deferred and we must mark time, a national petition would provide work for the local committees. Some members of the Executive felt that with the consituency feeling somewhat disturbed about the deferment of the resolution, it was necessary to give them some stimulus for further activity; and that unless we give them a project of major importance to engage their energies during the coming months, the great asset we have gained in the effective machine we have built up for the mobilization of public opinion would be dissipated.

On the other hand, it was believed that this was not the psychological moment for a petition and that we should await a more opportune time. It was also felt that it ought not to be undertaken for the sole purpose of giving our people something to do.

After some further discussion it was decided to go into this matter more thoroughly at a future meeting.

"HARVEST IN THE DESERT"

A letter was read from Judge Levinthal suggesting that the Emergency Council order 5,000 copies of Maurice Samuel's book "Harvest in the Desert". Judge Levinthal highly recommended the book and indicated that the Zionist Organization was also ordering 5,000 copies.

It was decided that this matter be referred to the Publications Committee and that the Committee be given full power to act on Judge Levinthal's recommendation.

The meeting adjourned at 6:00 P. M.

# RESOLUTION ADOPTED AT MEETING OF MEMBERS OF THE GREATER ACTIONS COMMITTEE RESIDENT IN NEW YORK March 14, 1944

The members of the Zionist Actions Committee note with great satisfaction the very significant work conducted by the American Zionist Emergency Council in recent months in the presentation of the Zionist case before American public opinion; in the hearings before the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives and the nation-wide Zionist propaganda which ensued as a result of these activities, thus placing the Zionist solution openly and courageously before the American people as the only answer to the overwhelming Jewish tragedy.

The Actions Committee expresses the hope that the American Zionist Emergency Council will be encouraged to continue its work in the same spirit and devotion which has characterized its activities hitherto.

#### AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

#### MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

March 20, 1944

#### EVENING SESSION

PRESENT

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Maurice Eoukstein, Rabbi Wolf Gold, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Louis Lipsky, Emanuel Neumann, Mrs. Tamar Pool, Louis Segal, Herman Shulman, Mrs. Rebecca Shulman, Robert Szold, Meyer W. Weisgal, David Wertheim.

Dr. Nahum Goldmann, Marvin Lowenthal.

Rabbi Leon I. Feuer, Arnold K. Isreeli, Arthur Lourie, Abram S. Magida, Harold P. Manson, Leo Sack, Harry L. Shapiro, Elihu D. Stone.

Isaiah L. Kenen, Israel Mereminski, Judge Bernard A. Rosenbaltt.

#### PROGRAM

The discussion begun during the afternoon session on the action to be taken with regard to the pending Resolutions and with regard to the further action to be carried out by the local emergency committees was continued.

It was the consensus that we must continue to extend our political contact and educational work in Washington. It was felt that this work should be carried on irrespective of the resolution and what may come in the future, and that, if necessary, additional people should be engaged to carry on these extended activities in Washington.

Dr. Silver raised the question again of the danger of a weaker resolution being introduced in Congress by groups hostile to us, which danger made the matter of the deferment of our resolution more serious than it might otherwise have been. The introduction of such a resolution would put our whole movement in an embarrassing situation, and we would be placed in the position of wanting to fight it but being unable to do so. We would be accused of preferring to keep Jews out of Palestine rather than yield on the Commonwealth. Dr. Silver referred to the editorial which appeared in the New York Post that afternoon, which, like a similar editorial which had appeared a short time before, spoke of the necessity of considering Palestine as a haven of refuge for Jews from Europe and not worrying now about what will be the future political status of that country. These editorials seemed to be preparing the ground for the introduction of a resolution which would make mention only of immigration into Palestine and omit any reference to the Common wealth. It was necessary, Dr. Silver said, to get into touch with the leaders of both political parties at once and inform them that we accept the decision of the military and do not wish them to consider any other resolution.

Dr. Goldmann expressed the opinion that nothing worse could happen to us than agreeing to modify our resolution. Such a modification would be most pleasing

to the British Colonial Office, and there would furthermore be a grave split in the Zionist movement. He recognized that the danger of others introducing a modified resolution existed and agreed with Dr. Silver that quick action was necessary in order to forestall any attempt to introduce such a resolution. He also believed that a statement should be issued explaining that a modified resolution means nothing and thereby put ourselves on record to that effect. If necessary, he believed, we could fight such a resolution if it is introduced. Dr. Goldmann further pointed out that even though the President's statement did not mention the Commonwealth, its importance lay in the circumstances in which it was issued. A resolution passed by Congress that does not do so would be of no value. Congress will not pass more than one resolution on Palestine. Once Congress speaks, we must insist on a full statement.

Dr. Goldmann warned against overestimating the muisance value of the Bergson group. He realized that we face a difficult situation because of them, but he believed we should not allow them to drive us to action we would not otherwise take. The Zionist movement has had similar difficulties to face in the past when they had to fight the Revisionist group.

With regard to our program, Dr. Goldmann pointed out that it was not wise to use high pressure methods continuously. Such methods would be more effective, he believed, if the work is carried on quietly for a time. He, too, stressed the great importance of educational work in Washington. The cooperation of America is essential in the final solution of the Palestine problem and it is necessary to concentrate on educating members of Congress and others. The Conference recently held in Washington was, he believed, of great significance in this respect.

As far as a program for the whole country was concerned, Dr. Goldmann referred to the decision of the Jewish Agency Executive to press its demand once more for a Jewish military force and indicated that the next few months would have to be devoted to supporting this demand. In addition, we should continue with our political demands.

Discussing the President's statement, Dr. Silver referred to the broadcast from Cairo on March 18th in which Arnim Meyer, the CBS newscaster, stated: "An eye-witness told me yesterday that when King Ibn Saud, whose favor America is courting, first heard the report a week ago that President Roosevelt had expressed himself in favor of a Jewish Palestine the Saudia-Arabian King became exceedingly engry and referred to it as a stabbing in the back." Dr. Silver believed that we should make the most of the President's statement. In its implications, it was the most promising thing we have had in the last five years. Dr. Silver pointed out that this statement was obtained as a result of great pressure of public opinion, and believed that the pressure should be continued in order that the President be kept aware that the American people look to him to take concrete action to give evidence of his good will.

Dr. Silver also stressed the importance of making every effort to overcome the hositility of the members of the State Department.

With regard to the President's statement, Mr. Szold pointed out that if we press too far the matter of interpreting this statement it might invite a different kind of interpretation from some of our enemies, which migh possibly lead to a modification of the statement. He agreed that we ought to make the most it, but should be careful not to invite a modification of it.

Mr. Szold also raised the question again of the committee of strategy propose

at the previous meeting. Since the Executive Committee is too large a body to meet more frequently, he favored the suggestion that there be a committee of three, in addition to the two co-chairmen, to study the situation constantly. He believed that such a committee, which would be at the disposal of the co-chairmen all the time, would add to the efficiency of the Executive considerably.

Mr. Boukstein urged that in contacting Government officials in Washington, not only the men at the top be reached but also the officials of second and third rank, since they are consulted on matters of interest to us and it is important to educate them as well.

Mr. Mereminski made a number of suggestions. He recommended that a circular be sent to the local emergency committees requesting them to have letters sent to the President expressing their satisfaction with his helpful statement and indicating that they were awaiting concrete efforts which would ensure a large Jewish immigration to Palestine and which would lead to a Jewish Commonwealth. The constituency should also be asked to write to the Foreign Affairs Committee expressing their surprise at the decision to defer the resolution, indicating that they recognize that it was due to military considerations, but since the objections of the military were without reference to the merits of the resolution they felt certain that they would not agree to any change in the wording but would bring the complete resolution out of Committee as soon as a change in the military situation warranted it. Mr. Mereminski suggested that these letters to the Foreign Affairs Committee should also urge the members of the Committee not to allow the temporary deferment of the resolution to bring about a modification of its content.

Mr. Mereminski pointed out that our constituency were given to expect too much and are now disappointed. They should be told, he believed, that they must work but must not expect results for some time. The President's statement, they should be informed, was obtained in large measure as a result of their activities. He also suggested that in all our approaches we should stress the fact that even the Arabs now feel that the White Paper cannot stand. He believed that we should concentrate on visits to Mr. Hull and the President in an effort to have practical steps taken to abrogate the White Paper. He urged that we bear in mind that in Palestine things are happening which are endangering our economic and industrial position in the country. If we are not realistic, he pointed out, we will be told that immigrants cannot be brought into Palestine because there is not sufficient food for them.

With regard to the activities of the Bergson group, Mr. Mereminski urged that the Zionist constituency be informed that whereas in Palestine their colleages in the Irgun are demanding a maximum Zionist program the group here is minimizing the program and as evidence of this fact they should be told about Bergson's approact to the Jewish Labor Committee with whom they sought a partnership on the grounds that they were only working for Jewish immigration into Palestine.

Mr. Mereminski also urged that attention should be paid to the invitation extended by the British Parliament to a delegation of the American Congress to visit England.

in which
In the course of further discussion, many of those present participated,
further suggestions were made by various members present. Mr. Shulman, who took
over the chair when Dr. Silver left the meeting in order to keep a speaking engagement, summed up the sense of the meeting as follows:

It was agreed that not only do we not revise our resolution but that we do

everything in our power to prevent the introduction of a resolution by any other group; that the leaders of Congress be seen and every effort made to persuade them not to support a modified resolution.

That a letter be sent to the local emergency committees notifying them that the present line is that for the moment we accept the deferment of the resolution, that we hope it will be a short deferment, and that we do not wish to compromise on the wording of the resolution. The danger involved in a modified resolution should be explained to the constituency, and they should be asked to make this clear to their Congressmen.

In addition, it was agreed that a conference should be called in order to outline a complete program of action for the country.

A motion was also made that it be recommended to the co-chairmen that a committee of three be appointed to work with them in drawing up a program of action for the coming months.

The meeting adjourned at 11:00 P Mo

A. L.



#### AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

#### MINUTES OF MEETING HELD MARCH 27, 1944

A meeting of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Monday, March 27th, at 8:15 P. M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

#### PRESENT

Dr. Stephen S. Wise (presiding), Miss Julliet Benjamin, Maurice Boukstein, Philip Cruso, Moshe Furmansky, Rabbi Wolf Gold, Paul L. Goldman, Dr. Israel Goldstein Mrs. S. Goldstein, Mrs. Esther Gottesman, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Benjamin Itzkowitz, Mrs. Rose Jacobs, Leib Jaffe, Rabbi I. M. Kowalsky, Israel Mereminski, Rabbi Irving Miller, Isaac Naiditch, Emanuel Neumann, Mrs. Tamar Pool, Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt Samuel Rothstein, Mrs. Bertha Schoolman, Louis Segal, Simon Shetzer, S. Shocken, Mrs. Rebecca Shulman, Herman Shulman, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, Elihu D. Stone, Mrs. Zip Szold, Robert Szold, Meyer W. Weisgal, David Wertheim.

Dr. I. B. Berkson, Arnold K. Isreeli, Rabbi Leon I. Feuer, Hans Lamm, Arthur Lourie, Abram S. Magida, Harold P. Manson, Harry L. Shapiro.

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

#### MINUTES OF MEETINGS

The minutes of the Emergency Council meeting held February 21st were approved. In connection with the Resolution of the Actions Committee, reported in the minutes of the Executive Committee meeting held March 20th, it was suggested that the names of the members of the Actions Committee who endorsed it be noted together with the Resolution.

The Chairman extended a welcome to Mr. Shocken; and to Rabbi Irving Miller, who has undertaken to serve as chairman of the Community Contacts Committee.

### POLITICAL REPORT

Dr. Silver reviewed, in chronological order, the developments in the political work during the past few months. He referred to the possible effect on the issuance of the expected statement on Palestine of the deterioration of the military situation in Italy and also of the oil negotiations. In the past few months the attitude of official Washington had returned to where it had been for almost a year, that is, to an attitude negative and withdrawing. It remained to be seen, Dr. Silver stated, whether the improvement registered by the President's statement of March 9th, which he believed was due to the pressure of public opinion, will continue and will culminate in some action.

Dr. Silver observed that what was transpiring in the Near East with regard to oil might call for a reorientation of our thinking. The American Government, through the oil negotiations, is becoming involved in problems of the Near East and is likel: to have a real political stake in that part of the world. Therefore our approach towards our own Government may have to take on a different character. It will be important to bring out the coincidence of the interests of our own Government with those of the Jewish National Home. The implications of the developments in regard to oil also require study. Up to now we have assumed that these oil negotiations

are inimical to us and will cause great harm to the Jewish National Home. With our State Department taking a pro White Paper line they may do that. But they need not necessarily. Some of our best friends in the Government are in favor of the oil line. They foresee an arrangement there which will not do harm to our cause. Others, like General Hurley, see it in terms of sacrificing the Jewish National Home.

Rabbi Feuer reported on the developments in Washington during the past week. Acting in accordance with the decision of the last Executive Committee meeting he and his colleagues in Washington began, and will continue to do everything possible to safeguard against the introduction of a resolution by the League for a Free Palestine. Rabbi Feuer pointed out that it cannot be guaranteed, of course, despite all efforts, that such action can be averted; and, he said, there is some reason to believe that the Bergson group are contemplating introducing a resolution sooner or later. Every effort will be made, however, to forestall it.

Rabbi Feuer also reported on a meeting which Mr. Sack, Mr. Stone and he had had with Congressmen Celler, Dickstein, Ellison and Weiss. (Mr. Bloom and Mr. Sabath had also been invited but did not attend). At this meeting the question of the pending resolutions and our future course with regard to them was discussed in detail. It was the consensus of opinion of the Congressmen that without interference the resolutions would have passed overwhelmingly. Congressmen Dickstein stated that close to fifty Representatives voluntarily offered to sign the petition which he had threatened to circulate to bring the Resolution out of Committee. (In view of what transpired he decided to abandon this idea for the time being).

The danger of a weaker resolution being introduced was discussed with the Congressmen, and they agreed completely that this would be harmful to the Zionist cause and pledged themselves not to support any move to introduce such a resolution but stand by the Commonwealth resolution. They did not think it likely that such a resolution would be introduced in the near future because they felt that with the attitude of the War Department so well known in Congress no individual Congressman would be likely to be foolhardy enought to sponsor it; and also because if such a resolution were introduced, it would be referred to the Foreign Affairs Committee which, from the point of view of consistency, could do nothing but pursue the same course as they had adopted with the Commonwealth resolution.

Rabbi Feuer referred to the danger involved in a situation where the Foreign Affairs Committee would have two resolutions before it and might, following the path of least resistance, report out the weaker resolution. If it should come about that there would be two resolutions before the Committee, we would have two alternatives, Rabbi Feuer believed — either to stand firm by our resolution, which the Committee would have to consider first, and depend upon its going through by a majority vote, or agreeing to make some concession in the wording of our resolution in return for some concession on the part of the opposition in the Committee.

Continuing his report on the meeting with the four Congressmen, Rabbi Feuer stated that they were of the opinion that we ought to continue our public activities and propaganda. They suggested using an additional device, namely, circularizing the Congressmen with a questionnaire, to be sent to them by their constituents between now and election time, requesing them to express themselves as to their attitude on the Commonwealth resolution. This is a usual procedure and one which is adopted by many groups to sound out Congressional opinion.

Rabbi Feuer reported, too, on an interview with Senator Brewster, who is a member of the Senate Committee which is making an inquiry into the oil situation,

during which the Senator developed the point that a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine would be valuable to the United States. Senator Brewster also referred to the article by Ben-Horin which was to appear in the forthcoming issue of "Harper's" entitled "The Soviet Wooing of Palestine", which worried him considerably.

With regard to further action in connection with the resolution, Rabbi Feuer indicated that this week, in recognition of the approach of March 31st, Senators Clark, Bridges and Johnson are planning to deliver addresses calling the attention of Congress to the impending immigration deadline. It was urged that a Senator friendly to the Administration also be asked to speak in this connection.

#### DR. GOLDSTEIN'S REPORT

Dr. Israel Goldstein, who had returned the previous week from London, reported on conversations he had had with various members of the British Government as well as with the Archbishops of Canterbury and Westminster, President Benes, the American Ambassador and the American head of UNRRA. Dr. Goldstein said he had gone to see the last named in order to draw his attention to the fact that Palestine can meet some of the needs of UNRRA. (Report on Dr. Goldstein's conversations on file).

Dr. Goldstein stated that his feeling was that the constitutional provisions of the White Paper would not be implemented (there has been some concern in London on this question), that immigration will continue, that the Commonwealth idea is under consideration, and that we ought to go on pressing our case. With regard to the delay in the issuance of a statement on Palestine, Dr. Goldstein indicated that the view in Zionist circles in London was that this was due to the changed time table of the war.

Dr. Weizmann's opinion as to what we ought to do here, said Dr. Goldstein, was that we should indicate to our Government that we have been let down by them in connection with the Congress Resolution, and that they owe us ome compensation, which should take the form of pressing the British Government to reach a decision as soon as possible and to communicate that decision to the American Government. If the British Government were to reach a decision themselves and communicate it to no one, they would not be bound by it, but by communicating it to the United States Government they would be committed to it. It was felt in London that the visit of Mr. Stettinius to London at this time might of importance in this connection.

## JEWISH MILITARY FORCE

It was decided to postpone discussion of this matter to the meeting of the Executive the following Monday, when Dr. Goldmann could be present; and it was further decided that in the meantime Dr. Goldmann be asked not to make any further public statements concerning the proposal to press again for a Jewish Military Force.

#### ACTS OF TERROR IN PALESTINE

The question of the Emergency Council issuing a statement to the press condemning the acts of terror in Palestine and the kind of statement that should be issued were discussed. A draft statement which had been prepared was read which, in addition to condemning strongly the terroristic acts, also made reference to the restraint practised by the Yishuv during the years of Arab terror and to the Government's appearement of the Arabs.

The opinion was/that any attempt to explain the reason for the acts of terror might be construed as a desire on our part to justify them. Dr. Goldstein conveyed

Mr. Shertok's view that we must not leave any loopholes that might give that impression. It was felt that the Council should issue a statement of pure condemnation only, associating itself with the statements already issued by the Jewish Agency Executive in Palestine and by Dr. Weizmann.

Some of those present felt that the Emergency Council was not called upon to issue any statement, that the Yishuv and the Jewish Agency had spoken and it was not advisable to publicize the matter. A motion was made to the effect that the Council merely adopt a resolution condemning the acts of terror and leave it to the Zionist organs in the country to express themselves very strongly against these acts in Palestine.

Other members felt, however, that the situation called for a statement by the Emergency Council. It was pointed out that we have been quick to issue statements against the Palestine Administration, when the situation has called for such condemnation, and if we ignore the present occurrences it might be used against us. The subject of terror in Palestine has been heard on the radio for the past three days and, it was felt, the American Zionists could not be silent. We ought to go on record as condemning the terroristic acts, but at the same time we should draw attention to the situation in Palestine which brought them about.

After further discussion a vote was taken on the three motions made: 1) to issue no statement to the press, but to direct the Zionist organs to express themselves on the subject; 2) to issue a statement of pure condemnation only, quoting the statement issued by the Jewish Agency Executive; 3) to issue a statement condemning the acts of terror and also referring to the situation in Palestine which brought them about. By a majority vote, the second motion was passed.

# CONFERENCE OF LOCAL EMERGENCY COMMITTEE CHAIRMEN

Dr. Silver placed before the Council, for its approval, the proposal made at the meeting of the Executive Committee held March 20th to call a conference of the Local Emergency Committee Chairmen. It was the considered judgment of Mr. Shapiro and Rabbi Feuer, Dr. Silver stated, that it would be advisable to have another meeting, similar to the one held in Cleveland in December, to last one or two days in order to acquaint the heads of the local committees with what has been done and is being done, and in order to outline to them clearly our line for the proximate future. The Executive wished to have the authorization to proceed with such a meeting, to be held in Washington shortly after Passover.

It was pointed out that many proposals with regard to program had been made at the Executive Committee meeting of March 20th including a recommendation that a sub-committee be appointed to work out a detailed program of action for the coming months. Such a committee had been appointed but it had not yet been possible for the members to meet. At the next meeting of the Executive it would no doubt bring in a number of recommendations, including perhaps one with reference to the holding of a conference.

It was recommended that action on the question of the conference be postponsed until the next meeting, when it could be taken up in connection with the entire program of further action.

Dr. Silver pointed out that the question of the conference was purely an administrative matter, that the group of local chairmen to be called in are not to lay down new policies. The meeting that was called in Cleveland was never discussed by the Council. Furthermore, it would take four or five weeks to complete arrangements for a conference, and by the time it was held our program would have been

thoroughly discussed.

NEXT MEETING

It was urged by some members that the program of future action in connection with the resolutions before Congress be taken up by the full Council. It was pointed out that it may take more than one meeting to get our line clear, and that, if necessary, additional meetings of the Council should be held. It was argued that it was the function of the larger body to deal with policy and the purpose of the Executive to carry out that policy. It was therefore moved that the meeting to be held next week be an all day meeting of the Emergency Council and that it be devoted to a discussion of program.

It was pointed out that even the Executive is too large a body to permit of efficiency in working out a detailed program, and that little progress would be made if the details were to be worked out by the larger body. An amendment was therefore moved that the Executive hold sessions next Monday morning and afternoon and the Council meet in the evening.

Dr. Silver pointed out that a procedure has been followed in the last few months which met with the approval of this body. The Executive met the first and third Mondays of each month and the full Council in the evening of the third Monday. This procedure was followed religiously, and when necessary additional meetings were held. No matters of importance were acted upon without being discussed by the Committee. At the last meeting of the Executive, he pointed out, which included an afternoon and evening session, questions were raised looking toward our program for the next few months. As had already been stated, it was recommended that a committee of five be appointed to meet quickly and decide on a program of activities for the proximate future. A report from that Committee was to be expected in time for the next meeting.

After further discussion the motion and the amendment were voted upon, and by a majority vote the motion calling for sessions of the plenum for Monday morning and afternoon, to be followed by a meeting of the Executive in the evening, was carried.

The meeting adjourned at 11:50 P. M.

# AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

### MINUTES OF MEETING HELD APRIL 3, 1944.

A meeting of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Monday, April 3rd, at 10:00 A. M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

#### PRESENT

Dr. Stephen S. Wise (presiding), Kurt Blumenfeld, Maurice Boukstein, Philip Cruso, Mrs. Judith Epstein, Moshe Furmansky, Leon Gellman, Rabbi Wolf Gold, Dr. Nahum Goldmann, Paul L. Goldman, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mrs. Sam Goldstein, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Dr. James G. Heller, Mrs. Rose Jacobs, Leib Jaffe, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Miss Jeannette Leibel, Louis Lipsky, Marvin Lowenthal, Rabbi Irving Miller, Isaac Naiditch, Emanuel Neumann, Mrs. Tamar Pool, Mrs. Etta Rosensohn, Miss Dvora Rothbard Samuel Rothstein, Mrs. Bertha Schoolman, S. Shocken, Mrs. Rebecca Shulman, Herman Shulman, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, Elihu D. Stone, Robert Szold, Meyer W. Weisgal and David Wertheim.

Dr. I. B. Berkson, Rabbi Leon I. Feuer, Arnold K. Isreeli, Hans Lamm, Arthur Lourie, Abram S. Magida, Harold P. Manson, Harry L. Shapiro.

Dr. Joseph Cohn, Isadore Cooperman, Samuel Schwisberg.

The Chairman welcomed Mr. Schwisberg, member of the Praesidium of the Zionist Organization of Canada.

The suggestion was made, and approved, that the Executive meet that afternoon, instead of in the evening, as previously scheduled, and the plenum meet again in the evening.

#### PROGRAM

A discussion took place on the program of the Council for the coming months.

Mr. Szold recommended that the War and State Departments, as well as the people dealing with the oil question be contacted and asked to agree that as soon as the military situation has improved they will permit us to go ahead with our resolution; and that the agreement of the Congressmen and Senators be secured to bringing out the resolution before Congress as it was at present, and no other when the time comes.

Dr. Goldstein pointed out that the most important factor in the future of Palestine is the British Cabinet. He believed that we ought to point out to our government, and primarily to the President and the State Department, that they have let us down, and that therefore they owe us some compensation, which should take the form of pressing upon the British Cabinet the importance of its reaching a decision at this time, without necessarily making this decision public, but communicating it to our government. This would ensure that the British Government would not be able to reverse itself later on. Dr. Goldstein referred to the feeling in London that the presence of Mr. Stettinius with his aides there might be used as an opportunity of pressing a decision on the British Government.

Dr. Wise referred to the effect the negotiations on the pipeline in the Middle East might have on the future of Palestine as a matter requiring careful consideration.

Mr. Furmansky said that although he strongly endorsed the excellent work done by the Emergency Council in the last few months, he considered the recent events a defeat and deplored any attempt to consider it a partial victory. Although he recognized that the military situation and the oil negotiations were important reasons which contributed to this defeat, he felt we ought to take into account another reason - the lack of full Jewish organization and unity in the fight against the White Paper. He thought it would be a mistake to take a rigid attitude towards the formula we have adopted. He believed a general re-evaluation of the situation was needed as well as a realistic approach to the resolution and to the fact that the White Paper still stood.

Mrs. Epstein stated that the fact that there has been no crystallization of policy against us on the basis of the White Paper is a tribute to our work, because it was due to the hue and cry which we have set up that such a crystallization had been avoided. She pointed out that all the objections raised to the resolutions referred primarily to the immigration of Jews into Palestine; the issue had not centered on the Commonwealth part of the resolution. We were committed to an ideology but not to any particular line of action in achieving our objective.

Mr. Shulman summarized Dr. Silver's review of the present situation at the last meeting of the Council, and made a number of recommendations for activities to be undertaken. Although we had expected an early formulation by Great Britain of its policy on Palestine, the formulation has now apparently been postponed. The delay was no doubt due to the developments in the war and perhaps to the oil situation. Our feeling that there would be no announcement to the effect that the White Paper would be abrogated has been borne out by the facts. On the other hand, there has been some indication that the White Paper immigration policy will be broken. Although there has been no definite announcement to this effect, the recent statements made by President Roosevelt and Mr. Eden hold out hope. Mr. Shulman believed that the White Paper policy would be broken through the admission into Palestine of Jews in excess of the 25,000 certificates still available.

With regard to the resolution before Congress, it is true that we did not succeed in having it passed, but it is also true that we have placed the Palestine issue on the American agenda. It is believed that Palestine will be discussed at the forthcoming Dominions Conference and also with Mr. Stettinius in London. It is true, too, that for the first time in five years we succeeded in having the President make a statement on Palestine.

Any action that we take today must be taken against that background that we have a pending resolution in Congress. The decision we have taken is that we should not press for our resolution at present and that we should guard against a weaker resolution being introduced. We must take action to put that decision into effect. With regard to the danger of another resolution being introduced, Mr. Shulman referred to Mr. Mereminski's suggestion that our people all over the country request their Congressmen and Senators not to support another resolution and to indicate that they will be prepared to support our resolution when the military ban is removed.

With regard to the executive branch of government, we should attempt to secure a more definitive statement from the President. Since, he felt, it might be difficult to obtain a public announcement at this time, the next course would be to endeavor to secure a statement announcing American policy which would not be made

public, but which would be submitted to Mr. Churchill through diplomatic channels. This would not meet with objections from the War Department because no publicity would be given to the statement. It would serve the purpose of making our policy known to Great Britain, and it could be presented to the Dominions Conference and referred to in the consultations with Mr. Stettinius. In addition to securing such a statement from the President, Mr. Shulman recommended that we press the suggestional already made that the Administration designate some official of the government with whom we can take up our Zionist problems.

With regard to our propaganda, while it is proper for us to seek the support of the Republicans and Democrats, we must definitely avoid an anti-administration policy. In all probability the decision regarding Palestine will be made by the present leaders, and we must be careful to avoid being labelled anti-administration. Nor should we seek the support of known reactionaries.

Dr. Goldstein referred to the fact that some people are saying that the White Paper is dead. This is not the case, he pointed out. The White Paper is not dead as long as the Jewish National Fund is barred from buying land in all parts of Palestine; and with regard to immigration, it was not known how many immigrants will be admitted beyond the 25,000 still permitted to enter under the White Paper. We must continue to agitate against the White Paper and use it as a touchstone regarding British honor generally in connection with post war problems.

With regard to the question as to whether we would have had a better chance to pass a resolution on the White Paper only, his observation in London was that the same objections that were raised against the Commonwealth were raised against immigration. When he suggested to members of the British Government that at least the White Paper should be abrogated, the same objections were offered. He believed that we must keep on pressing on both these objectives. It seemed to him, Dr. Goldstein stated, that there was no choice but to accede to the request of the War Department regarding the resolution but we ought to be more closely in touch with the War Department officials than we have been.

Concerning the President's statement, Dr. Goldstein believed we should accept it at its face value. There is a long range problem and an immediate problem. That interpretation gives us the possibility of pressing the government again on the resolution when the military situation improves.

Dr. Goldstein, too, was of the opinion that we must be careful about taking an anti-administration attitude.

Mrs. Schoolman thought we must use the first opportunity to press for the resolution. With regard to the possibility of another resolution being introduced, she felt that care should be exercised in the method and procedure of opposing such a resolution. We should limit ourselves to the members of the Foreign Affairs Committees of both Houses instead of canvassing all the Congressmen, she believed.

With regard to urging the Chief Executive to exert pressure on Great Britain, Wrs. Schoolman suggested that perhaps the United States and Great Britain are not one in their thinking on Palestine, nor do they desire to be. She referred to the President's cable to Emir Abdullah stating that nothing would be done without consulting both Arabs and Jews; and to the fact that who supports the President's line of thinking, has always emphasized that Jews and Arabs should get together in Palestine. If there is some competition here between Great Britain and America we ought to face it. We must obtain from our own government a clarification of the picture.

Dr. Goldmann said that although he was one who believed that the White Paper is dead in the minds of British statesmen, he did not think we should rely on that. As long as a new policy will not be announced by the British, he pointed out, the White Paper policy will not be abrogated, and as long as it is not abrogated, it is in effect. He believed we were wrong in concentrating on the date March 31st, because the man in the street thinks that since nothing happened on that day we suffered a defeat. We must go on fighting the White Paper policy and asking for a new policy. The articles and editorials that appeared in the press in the last few days he said, are all to the good.

Dr. Goldmann did not think that we should press the Administration too much at this time to announce publicly, or otherwise what American policy on Palestine is, because he did not believe the President would make up his mind until Mr. Churchill arrived at a decision. He believed the whole matter of the political status of Palestine was in a fluid state, with neither the Governments of Great Britain or America having come to any decision. At this stage, said Dr. Goldmann, the two Governments only know that immigration to Palestine will have to continue. He felt certain that the thinking of the American Administration had not gone beyond that. He believed, therefore, that the time had come for the Zionists to step into the picture again and play even a greater role than before in influencing the Governments of the United States and Great Britain to reach a decision. He referred to the committee appointed by Mr. Welles at Dr. Weizmann's suggestion when the latter was in this country, and recommended that the Administration be approached at this time with a similar suggestion, namely, that the Zionists be given an apportunity to discuss Palestine with the President's Committee on Post-War Problems. Many of the members of this Committee, Dr. Goldmann pointed out, know very little of the facts about Palestine, and they are the real advisers to the President on post-war problems.

We should not give up the Commonwealth resolution, and as long as we do not give it up we will not achieve a united front of American Jewry. If we desire such unity, we will have to drop the Commonwealth. The same situation arose in England, when the Anglo-Jewish Association asked Dr. Weizmann to abandon the idea of the Commonwealth for a few years. The Commonwealth fight, however, is not the whole program. We should also fight for a ruling that after the war all those Jews who wish to go to Palestine will be enabled to do so, and the assistance of UNRRA should be requested to help them settle in Palestine. If it is left entirely to the Keren Hayesod, Dr. Goldmann pointed out, there will be only a small trickle of immigrants into Palestine after the war.

With regard to further action concerning the resolution, Dr. Goldmann recalled the decision of the last meeting not to press for it at the moment and to oppose any resolution which the Bergson group might introduce. He thought the introduction of another resolution at this time was hardly likely, because if the military would now agree to a resolution on immigration it would mean that they object to the Common-wealth and that would be interpreted as an intervention regarding the future status of Palestine. In any case, however, we should inform our friends in the Senate and House that we will not be satisfied with a weaker resolution.

Concerning the oil developments, Dr. Goldmann reported on conversations he had had with people informed on this question, and indicated that we must consider very carefully the attitude we should take towards the oil situation. He pointed out that there might be danger involved, from the point of view of the future of Palestine, particularly in the immediate future; but it was also possible that the building of the pipeline by the United States Government might prove to be of great benefit to Jewish Palestine.

#### UNITED PALESTINE APPEAL AND WAR RELIEF CONTROL BOARD

Dr. Heller reported that the U.P.A. had been advised by the President's War Relief Control Board, which is authorized to control funds collected in the United States for relief abroad, of a new ruling, namely, that agencies collecting monies for relief purposes will not be permitted to use any of these funds for political purposes. Representatives of the U.P.A. (Judge Rosenblatt, Mr. Lipsky and Dr. Heller and also Rabbi Feuer) had met with members of the Control Board and after it had been explained to them how the U.P.A. differed from the other organizations under its jurisdiction they changed their attitude somewhat and indicated that they would permit the allocation of funds to the Emergency Council by the Keren Hayesod and Keren Kayemeth on the condition that the U.P.A. would make it known to the agencies through which its funds are collected that a half million dollars out of these funds were being spent by the Emergency Council. The Board was willing to have the U.P.A. circularize the Welfare Funds in such a way as to permit them to determine whether or not to pass on this information to the individual contributors.

The Administrative Committee of the U.P.A., Dr. Heller reported, decided to take up this matter with the Emergency Council before arriving at a decision. Recognizing that the procedure demanded by the Control Board would involve the U.P.A. in difficulties with some of the Welfare Funds, some members of the Administrative Committee hesitated to accept it. Others felt that the U.P.A. should circularize the agencies and request them to inform the individual contributors; otherwise the U.P.A. would have to withdraw its support from the Emergency Council.

After some discussion, it was decided to postpone further consideration of this matter until a later time.

The meeting adjourned at 12:45 P. M.

A. L.

#### AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

#### MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

#### April 3, 1944

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Monday, April 3rd, at 2:30 P. M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

#### PRESENT

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Maurice Boukstein, Mrs. Judith Epstein, Leon Gellman, Rabbi Wolf Gold, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Mrs. Rose Jacobs, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Louis Lipsky, Emanuel Neumann, Mrs. Tamar Pool, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Louis Segal, Herman Shulman, Robert Szold, David Wertheim. Dr. Stephen S. Wise.

Dr. Nahum Goldmann, Marvin Lowenthal, Rabbi Irving Miller, Meyer W. Weisgal.

Dr. I. B. Berkson, Rabbi Leon I. Feuer, Arnold K. Isreeli, Arthur Lourie, Abram S. Magida, Harold Manson, Harry L. Shapiro, Elihu D. Stone.

#### REPORT OF PROGRAM COMMITTEE

Mr. Shulman, on behalf of the Program Committee, consisting of Emanuel Neumann, Rose Halprin, David Wertheim, Meyer Weisgal and Leon Gellman, presented a provisional report setting forth the program of activities for the Emergency Council for the ensuing months. The report was considered and discussed section by section. (Report of discussion on file). As amended the report was recommended for acceptance by the full committee as follows:

The committee emphasizes certain basic assumptions with regard to our political objectives, viz: (1) the importance of American government support vis-a-vis Great Britain with regard to the Jewish Commonwealth; (2) the need to bring about a decision during the war; /reject any proposition that the decision be postponed; (3) it is necessary to bring about a pro-Zionist crystallization of policy on the part of our government, and a recognition of the fact that its interests in the Near East are not incompatible with Zionist interests.

To pursue the above, it was agreed that the following specific action be undertaken:

- (1) To continue our efforts to secure from the President of the United States an early public pronouncement of American policy concerning Palestine; failing the securing of such a public pronouncement, an attempt should be made to get the President to communicate such a statement to the British Government through diplomatic channels if possible in time for the meeting of Dominion Premiers. (This action is dependent upon the character of the reply of the President to the communication of Drs. Wise and Silver).
- (2) To explore the possibility, subsequent to the return of Mr. Stettinius from London; of the President appointing a personal representative to whom the

Zionist leaders shall have access for discussion of Zionist problems; that a similar attempt be made with the President's Committee on Post-War Problems.

- (3) To continue our campaign to win and retain the support of both the Democratic and Republican parties for our program and, if possible, to have our program incorporated as part of the platform of both parties at the forthcoming national convention. (To this end, a small committee was to be appointed to formulate plans of action).
- (4) To undertake energetic action to secure the entry of a maximum number of Jews into Palestine beyond the White Paper quota at the earliest possible moment (The above decision does not involve the Emergency Council entering into rescue activities).
- (5) To endeavor to secure an authoritative statement from our government to the effect that no commitment prejudicial to Zionist aspirations would be made part of the quid pro quo for the Saudi Arabian oil deal. (A committee of three to be appointed to make a thorough study of the oil situation and of Zionist policy in relation thereto).

In the field of public relations it was decided: '

- (1) To undertake a nation-wide campaign for membership in the American Palestine Committee and for the formation of local American Palestine Committees wherever possible. While directed from the central office in New York, this work should form one of the principal activities of the local Emergency Committees, with the active cooperation of all constituent Zionist organizations; that an outstanding non-Jew should be engaged to devote all his time to the pursuit of this work.
- (2) That the permanent committee of the National Conference on Palestine, or a sub-committee thereof, should seek to secure an appointment with the Secretary of State to present to him the resolution adopted at the recent National Conference on Palestine; that this committee should also arrange, through Secretary of State, an appointment with the British Ambassador to submit to him for transmission to the Prime Minister a copy of that resolution.
- (3) That an effort be made to secure the adoption of the resolution of the American Palestine Conference by as many organizations throughout the country as possible; that tours be arranged for outstanding personalities like Lowdermilk, Poling and others to promote this work.
- (4) To continue the effort to secure the adoption of pro-Zionist resolutions in the various State Legislatures.
- (5) That a program be inaugurated with the cooperation of the local Emergency Committees to secure commitments from members of both Houses: (a) that they will not sponsor or support any resolution other than the pending resolution; and (b) that they will support the pending resolution when the military situation clarifies.
- (6) To undertake the publication of a bi-monthly magazine along the lines of "Foreign Affairs"; that this magazine should be educational rather than propagandistic in character and devoted to the consideration of Palestine and Near East problems by the country's foremost political and economic writers. (This was referred to the Publications Committee for action and to report back to the Executive Committee).

- (7) That a group of individuals be selected by the Emergency Council whose responsibility shall be to keep in touch with friends in Washington; a further suggestion that means be devised for social gatherings in Washington, to which influential persons should be invited for discussions of our affairs and at which their advice and guidance would be sought was to be given further consideration before action was taken.
- (8) That the present activities in the newspapers, magazine and publishing fields be intensified, with greater emphasis being placed on radio possibilities.
- (9) That steps be taken forthwith to prepare a book on "The United States Congress Speaks on Palestine" along the lines of "The War Congress and Zionism" published during the last war. (Referred to Publications Committee with power to act).
- (10) That a Zionist Library of Information be established in Washington. (This was referred to the Director in Washington to submit a report to the next meeting).
- (11) That the Program Committee continue to study the advisability of the launching of a petition and to submit its recommendations to the next meeting of the Executive.
- (12) That a national conference of local Emergency Committees be called as soon as possible, to which the above program of activities, as well as others that may be evolved, should be presented.

The meeting then adjourned.

A. L.

# CORRECTION TO MINUTES OF EMERGENCY COUNCIL MEETING HELD APRIL 3, 1944 (NO. 7)

The first paragraph under the heading "PROGRAM" should be amended to read:

"Mr. Szold recommended...; and that the agreement of the Congressmen and Senators be secured to bringing out the resolution before Congress with the inclusion of the provision for the establishment of a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth, and that no resolution without that provision should be accepted."

# AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL MINUTES OF MEETING HELD APRIL 3, 1944

Another meeting of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Monday, April 3rd, at 8:15 P. M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

#### PRESENT

Dr. Stephen S. Wise (presiding), Maurice Boukstein, Philip Cruso, Mrs. Judith Epstein, Leon Gellman, Rabbi Wolf Gold, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Isaac Hamlin, Benjamin Itzkowitz, Mrs. Rose Jacobs, Leib Jaffe, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Miss Jeannette Leibel, Irving Lipkowitz, Louis Lipsky, Marvin Lowenthal, Rabbi Irving Miller, Isaac Naiditch, Emanuel Neumann, Zvi Quittman, Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt, Miss Dvora Rothbard, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Sam Rothstein, Mrs. Bertha Schoolman, Louis Segal Mrs. Rebecca Shulman, Herman Shulman, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, Elihu D. Stone, Meyer W. Weisgal, David Wertheim.

Rabbi Leon I. Feuer, Arnold K. Isreeli, Hans Lamm, Arthur Lourie, Abram S. Magida, Harold P. Manson, Harry L. Shapiro.

Isadore Cooperman.

# RECOMMENDATIONS OF PROGRAM COMMITTEE

The recommendations which had been drawn up by the Program Committee and discussed by the Executive Committee that afternoon were presented to the meeting. (See Minutes of Executive Committee meeting of April 3rd).

With regard to the recommendation made that the President be requested to name someone with whom we could take up our problems from time to time, Judge Rothenberg expressed the opinion that there was a good deal of risk involved in such a step, since the person named might be found not to be a reliable friend. Mr. Neumann explained that it was not the intention that this person should be an intermediary between us and the President, but one with whom we could take up current matters. Mr. Stone said that no matter whom the President might appoint, Wallace Murray, the head of the Near East Department, would neutralize him. He urged that the President be informed of the part Wallace Murray is playing in the Near East Department in opposition to our aims.

Mr. Shulman explained that the purpose of this recommendation was to be able to take up matters relating to Palestine with some one in authority other than Wallace Murray, such as was the case when Mr. Welles was in the State Department.

It was pointed out that the decision of the Executive Committee on this recommendation was that Mr. Stettinius' return be awaited before making the suggestion to the President.

After further discussion it was moved and seconded, and unanimously passed, that the recommendation of the Program Committee as submitted to the Emergency Council by the Executive Committee, be approved.

#### JEWISH MILITARY FORCE

In view of Dr. Goldmann's inability to attend the meeting, it was decided to postpone discussion on this matter until the next meeting of the Executive, two weeks hence, when he could be present.

#### DEATH OF MAJOR GENERAL ORDE WINGATE

The death of Major General Orde Wingate, in an aeroplane accident in Burma, was noted with deep regret and those present rose in memory of this heroic figure who had been such a devoted friend of the Jewish National Home. A small committee was appointed to draw up an appropriate tribute (attached), to be included in the records of the Council, and also to be sent to Mrs. Wingate.

There was some further discussion regarding the program. A statement was made by Dr. Silver in general terms on the nature of the tasks before the Zionist movement in America.

#### SUGGESTION RE STRATEGY COMMITTEE

Dr. Wise referred to the suggestion made at a previous meeting that a small committee be appointed to work with the co-chairmen in carrying out the policies set down by the Council. As co-chairman of the Emergency Council, he said, he thought it wise to name a small committee with which the two co-chairmen would be free to consult without calling together the whole Committee. He referred to the fact that last week, at the Council meeting, he had indicated that it would be a mistake to have only three anti-Administration Senators speak on the floor of the Senate on the Palestine question, and nothing was done about it. He proposed that a small committee be named, preferably representative of the parties, which would be regarded as a committee of consultation with the co-chairmen to meet as frequently as may be desired so that every step to be taken in the next few months may be considered and followed up. He thought it desirable that responsibility should be shared.

Mr. Boukstein made a motion to this effect, which was seconded.

Mr. Gellman moved a substitute resolution to the effect that the suggestion to set up a committee of consultation be referred to the Program Committee to be taken up together with the other recommendations it is considering.

Mr. Wertheim stated that his party would not agree to the setting up of such a committee. Strategy and day by day activity are policy, he said. A committee of three will not be acceptable to the parties, because it cannot be a party committee. He supported Mr. Gellman's resolution.

Mr. Lipsky pointed out that there was a simple way to deal with this. There are two co-chairmen and they can call in for consultation any member of the Council. If they wish to have a committee they can appoint one. He suggested that the chairmen exercise their authority in appointing advisers.

Mr. Neumann agreed that the co-chairmen are free to call in any of the members for advice. The motion made by Mr. Boukstein, however, is different. We have a splendid Council and a splendid Executive Committee. What is proposed now is that we add a third committee. Those of us who are veterans in this work, said Mr. Neumann, know that previous efforts to establish such a third committee had only resulted in difficulties.

Dr. Silver said he saw no objection to referring this suggestion to the Program Committee who would report back to the Executive Committee, if they are ready to bring in such a report.

Mr. Segal pointed out that when the co-chairmen take counsel of any member of the Executive the co-chairmen themselves are responsible and must report to the Executive. We have the fullest confidence in both co-chairmen to take counsel with anybody they wish. Rabbi Kirshblum urged that the undoubted right of the chairmen to consult with individual members did not entitle them to set up a standing committee for that purpose.

After further discussion the motion made that the matter be referred to the Program Committee, to report to the next meeting of the Executive, was put to the vote and unanimously passed.

The meeting adjourned at 10:15 P. M.

A. L.



### TRIBUTE TO MAJOR GENERAL ORDE WINGATE

everywhere who knew of the intense devotion to the cause of the Jewish National Home of this brilliant and fearless British soldier. Coming of a deeply religious family, Wingate saw in the reestablishment of the Jewish National Home a fulfillment of prophecy and a great and historic act of reparation and justice. In the course of his duties in Palestine, in the years 1937 to 1939, he had established with the Jewish colonists unique relations of mutual affection and respect. His loss will be felt throughout Palestine as the personal loss of a devoted and noble friend. Wingate's great ambition to become a leader of a Palestine Jewish fighting force was not destined to be realized, but the memory of Wingate, of his faith in the new Jewish life in Palestine and of his conviction that ultimately and inevitably the Jews will again establish a Jewish Commonwealth in their own land will remain as a source of inspiration and of hope."

April 3, 1944.

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## AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

## MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

### April 17, 1944

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Monday, April 17th, at 4:00 P. M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

#### PRESENT

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Philip Cruso, Mrs. Judith Epstein, Leon Gellman, Rabbi Wolf Gold, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Chaim Greenberg, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Mrs. Rose Jacobs, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Louis Lipsky, Emanuel Neumann, Mrs. Tamar Pool, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Herman Shulman, Meyer W. Weisgal, David Wertheim, Dr. Stephen S. Wise.

Dr. Nahum Goldmann, Marvin Lowenthal.

Dr. I. B. Berkson, Rabbi Leon I. Feuer, Arnold K. Isreeli, Arthur Lourie, Abram S. Magida, Harold P. Manson, Leo Sack, Harry L. Shapiro.

Dr. Joseph Cohn, Louis P. Rocker, Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt.

#### MINUTES

The minutes of the Executive Committee meeting held April 3rd were approved.

MESSAGE FROM DR. WEIZMANN

Dr. Wise reported on a message from Dr. Weizmann which had been conveyed to him by Mr. G., who had just returned from London, in regard to the possible repercussions on British policy of actions or statements at this time likely to jeopardize close relations between the United States and Great Britain.

#### OIL DEVELOPMENTS

Mr. Lourie read a memorandum which he had prepared on the oil situation. (Attached). Mr. Shulman, chairman of the sub-committee, (consisting of Mr. Neumann, Mr. Szold, Mr. Wertheim and himself) which has been appointed after the last meeting to study the entire oil problem, presented a report on the meetings held by this committee and the conclusions at which they had arrived. (Dr. Goldmann and Mr. Mereminski had also attended the first meeting). (Report of sub-committee on file).

The suggestions made by the sub-committee were noted and the committee was requested to study the matter further. It was agreed that an effort should be made to see Mr. Ickes and Mr. Knox.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS OF PROGRAM COMMITTEE

Mr. Herman Shulman, chairman of the Program sub-committee, presented the following recommendations on behalf of his committee:

It was the opinion of the committee that this is not the time to launch a national petition movement.
 Some of the members of the committee discussed the possibility of interesting one of the moving picture companies in making a film based on the Lowdermilk book. Preliminary investigations are being made, and the committee recommended that the Emergency Council undertake this activity.

3) The committee recommended that a) the Executive Committee meetings be held in executive session with the Directors of the New York and Washington office and the Secretary to be the only non-members of the Executive to attend these meetings; b) that meetings of the Executive be held at the minimum every two weeks and if possible more frequently; and c) that for the time being no further committee, such as the strategy committee which had been suggested, be appointed.

Petition - In the discussion which followed on the sub-committee's recommendation re the matter of the petition, Mr. Wertheim stated that although he himself had been in favor of postponing action, the Poale Zion Central Committee is on record as favoring taking affirmative action on the petition at this time. The Central Committee believes it should be announced at this time that we accept the idea of the petition and that all arrangements be, made and at the proper time, perhaps in three or four months, we should proceed with the petition. Mr. Wertheim suggested an amendment to the Program Committee's recommendation, namely, that we accept the proposal for a petition now but not announce it until the proper time.

It was pointed out by other members of the Program Committee that the Committee also agreed that steps be taken without delay to secure statements of support from non-Zionist organizations to be available if and when the petition is launched; and that the local Emergency Committee Chairmen be consulted at the conference to be convened in May.

After further discussion it was agreed that the matter of the petition will be kept alive and that additional information will be obtained without committing ourselves to launching it.

Executive Committee Meetings - The proposal that the Executive Committee meetings be attended only by the members of the Executive, the Secretary and the Directors of the New York and Washington offices was approved, with the addition that the heads of the English and Yiddish publicity departments also attend these meetings.

With regard to the frequency of the Executive Committee meetings, it was suggested by Dr. Goldstein that the meetings be held every week. A further proposal, made by Dr. Wise, that the bi-weekly meetings be continued as heretofore but that they start earlier in the afternoon and whenever necessary additional meeting of the Executive be called, was adopted.

The recommendation of the Program Committee advising against the appointment of a strategy committee at this time was approved.

# BERGSON GROUP X

Mr. Isreeli referred to the advertisements which the Emergency Committee to Save the Jews of Europe have placed in the Yiddish papers recently with the

emphasis on the opening of the doors of Palestine to Jewish immigrants. One of these advertisements drew attention to a meeting to be held in Carnegie Hall, Saturday, April 29th. Mr. Isreeli felt that now was the time for the Emergency Council to place an advertisement in the Yiddish papers, which should include the "Open Letter" to the "Protestant" of Mr. Van Paassen, which is not known to the Yiddish press and readers.

It was the consensus that something should be done to show up the Bergson group and counteract the effect of their activities among the large group of readers of the Yiddish newspapers. It was pointed out that the Emergency Rescue Committee was spending large sums of money (perhaps \$50,000) for advertising in these papers, and that these advertisements were doing much to confuse the minds of the Zionists who read the Yiddish press.

Attention was drawn to the fact that the American League for a Free Palestine, the newest arm of the Bergson group, had recently issued some additional material which contained an announcement of an inaugural convention to be held in June.

Dr. Goldmann expressed himself as in favor of adopting Mr. Isreeli's suggestion and recommended placing three full page advertisements in the "Day", the "Forward" and the "Morning Journal", and perhaps in one Anglo-Jewish paper, and including in these advertisements Van Paassen's letter. He also urged that reprints of Mr. Van Paassen's letter be sent to non-Jewish members of the Emergency Committee to Save the Jews of Europe, as well as to members of Congress, etc.

Rabbi Kirshblum stated that although most of us would not oppose spending money to advertise in the three Yiddish papers, he did not believe that publishing Van Paassen's letter would do any good. His experience has been, he said, that public attacks on this committee have the opposite effect to what is intended. Rabbi Kirshblum thought we ought to point out to the Jewish public, which is keenly interested in the future of Palestine, that the Emergency Council is the responsible body which has connections with the Government and that the Bergson group is jeopardizing all opportunities for keeping the good will that we have gained.

Mr. Cruso expressed the opinion that it was time to work out a systematic campaign against the Emergency Committee. He would not oppose paid advertisements, if that is necessary, but that must be supplemented by special syndicated articles, etc.

Dr. Silver pointed out that we have a history on this subject to guide us. The American Jewish Conference came out with a forceful statement against the Emergency Rescue Committee and there was a terrible boomerang in the Yiddish press and in some of the English papers. Then two months later we came out with a statement and that had a negative result. Now a third attack of the same character is being suggested, and Dr. Silver thought that this, too, would meet with success. During the last few months we were active and they were quiet. Now there is a comparative lull in our work and they are seeking to make themselves felt again. The thing for the Emergency Council to do is to undertake energetic work of its own. The American League for a Free Palestine is planning a conference in Junc. The way to neutralize that is for the American Palestine Committee to continue its agressive campaign among the non-Jewish forces in the country, which was started in Washington. Dr. Silver was of the opinion that full page advertisements, although very provocative, would yield no results. The day after an advertisement appears there will be articles in the Yiddish papers attacking us. There were other means of circularizing our views, such as distributing Van Paassen's letter

as widely as possible, and having a few articles written by people of authority placed in the Anglo-Jewish and Yiddish papers.

Mr. Lipsky thought it was inadvisable to leave the Yiddish field untouched by us and that if the Bergson group use articles, we should use articles; and if they use advertising we should do the same. They write very good advertisements Mr. Lipsky pointed out, and we ought to compete with them. Our advertisements must be effective. In addition we should take better advantage of the publications of our groups, particularly the Hadassah Newsletter, with its circulation of 100,000, and the New Palestine, with a circulation of 80,000 - 90,000. We should make these two organs effective in relation to this problem and other of our problems.

It was decided to refer this matter to the Program Committee for further study and action.

UNRRA

Mrs. Epstein recommended that a sub-committee be appointed to investigate the possibility of securing representation for the Jewish Agency in the UNRRA before the next meeting which is to take place in June in Canada.

Dr. Goldmann indicated he would report to the next meeting on the Jewish Agency negotiations with UNRRA. He suggested that perhaps the Emergency Council might support the Agency's efforts to secure representation by sending a delegation to Mr. Herbert Lehman.

The meeting adjourned at 6:30 P. M.

#### AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

### MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

May 1, 1944

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Monday, May 1st, at 3:00 P. M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

#### PRESENT

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Mrs. Judith Epstein, Rabbi Wolf Gold, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Chaim Greenberg, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Mrs. Rose Jacobs, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Rabbi I. M. Kowalsky, Louis Lipsky, Emanuel Neumann, Louis Segal, Herman Shulman, Robert Szold, Meyer W. Weisgal, David Wertheim.

Marvin Lowenthal.

Rabbi Leon I. Feuer, Arnold K. Isreeli, Arthur Lourie, Harold P. Manson, Harry L. Shapiro.

Dr. Joseph Cohn, Rabbi Jesse Schwartz.

A message regretting his inability to attend was received from Dr. Wise, who was in Chicago.

#### MINUTES

The minutes of the meeting of the Executive Committee held April 17th were approved.

#### COMMITTEE ON INTELLECTUAL MOBILIZATION

Mr. Lowenthal reported that during the past three months he had been almost entirely occupied with making contacts with newspaper columnists, radio commentator and editors. He had talked with a large number of the leading men in these fields. Details of some of these contacts were reported.

In the radio field, Mr. Lowenthal referred to the recent broadcasts on Palestine on the "People's Platform" program, in which Mr. Neumann and Dr. Atkinson had stated the Zionist case and Dr. Hitti and Murray Harris, a British anti-Zionist, presented the Arab and British case respectively. In connection with the Arnim Meyer broadcasts from Cairo, over the C.B.S. network, which were very unsympathetic to Zionism, Mr. Lowenthal had contacted the C.B.S. and had been informed that Mr. Meyer was not the regular Cairo broadcaster, but was a member of the O.W.I. who was only filling in for a short time. The C.B.S. News Bureau assured Mr. Lowenthal that speedy action would be taken in this matter and no subsequent anti-Zionist broadcasts by Mr. Meyer have been heard from Cairo.

Mr. Lowenthal reported further that he had arranged/the Dial press to publish the Frankenstein book; that he was working on a plan to have English writers now in this country sign a letter appealing to the people of England; and that there were plans under way with regard to radio publicity. He also referred to the final Book

and Author Luncheon of the 1943-44 season at which Dr. Lowdermilk spoke on Palestine.

With regard to the article "Report on Palestine", by Frederick C. Painton, which appears in the May issue of the Reader's Digest, Mr. Lowenthal stated that about two months ago he had been in touch with one of the editors of the Reader's Digest in connection with having them publish an article on Palestine and had been informed that they already had a man in the Near East who was going to prepare two articles — one on Henrietta Szold and the other a general article on Palestine.
Mr. Lowenthal indicated that later on this week, when the Reader's Digest will no doubt have received thousands of letters of protest, he would endeavor to induce the editor to publish an article stating the Zionist case.

There was some discussion on the Painton article and the steps to be taken in connection with it. The suggestion was made that we ask the Reader's Digest to include a digest of the Lowdermilk book in a forthcoming issue. It was pointed out, however, that we have been stressing too much our achievements in Palestine and neglecting the political arguments for Zionism, and that in our answer to the Reader's Digest article we should state the Zionist political case.

It was pointed out that the man who is the editor of the foreign editions was a teacher at the University at Beirut; and that an Arab edition is also published by the Reader's Digest, which, it was suggested might be tied up in some way with a Government agency, such as the O.W.I.

A motion was made and passed that a formal letter of protest be sent to the editor of the Reader's Digest, asking for the privilege of a rejoinder and indicating why an article replying to Painton's "Report on Palestine" is desirable.

With regard to the recent broadcast by Peter George, over the N.B.C. network, which was violently anti-Zionist, it was reported that the N.B.C. was being requested to provide an apportunity to reply.

#### PUBLICATIONS COMMITTEE

Mr. Lipsky recalled the decision of the last meeting of the Executive Committee to refer to the Publications Committee the proposal to publish a book on "The United States Congress Speaks on Palestine" which would demonstrate the sympathy and support of the members of the United States Congress for the Jewish National Home. The Publications Committee had discussed the matter at one of its meetings. No decision was arrived at by the Publications Committee as to the kind of statements it was desirable to obtain for the book, the publisher, etc., but Mr. Weisgal had made certain suggestions and was asked to investigate the matter further.

In the meantime, however, the Washington office had proceeded to communicate with Senators and Congressmen requesting their permission to include in this book certain statements made by them, or in cases where no such statements had been made or where those available were not adequate, asking for brief statements to include in the book.

It was pointed out that the letters sent by the Washington office to the Senators and Congressmen asking permission to include statements made by them in the book were not sufficiently specific, and it was agreed that subsequent letters should be revised.

With regard to the procedure to be followed in this project, it was apparent

that there had been some confusion and it was agreed that in the further work to be done in connection with the book there should be better coordination between the Publications Committee and the Washington office.

With regard to the contents of the book, reference was made to the Statement signed a few years ago by 68 Senators and 194 Congressmen, which was very effective. It was believed that if opinions of a majority of Congressmen and Senators could be obtained and published in a book that it would be of great political significance.

Rabbi Feuer reported that replies from members of Congress to the requests for permission to publish statements made by them were coming in regularly now and so far they were all favorable.

Mr. Neumann reported that Prof. Friedrich's memorandum was being published by the American Council for Public Affairs.

## AMERICAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE

Mr. Shulman reported that the Committee has been pursuing its efforts to find a prominent non-Jew to serve as Director of the American Palestine Committee. Rabbi Feuer had had a talk with the Rev. Walton Cole in this connection; Mr. Magida had discussed the matter with Dr. Marsh, who suggested Dr. LeSourd, Dean of the Boston University Graduate School; and Prof. Friedrich had suggested a man associated with Harvard University. The matter had been taken up by the Program Committee and inquiries were being made concerning the men suggested for the post.

Mr. Shulman further reported that his committee was embarking on a large scale membership drive with the help of the local emergency committees. A committee is now being appointed by Dr. Atkinson and Dr. Marsh to visit Secretary Hull and present to him the resolution adopted by the Christian Conference.

It was pointed out that in view of the fact that on June 30th the American League for a Free Palestine will have its inaugural convention it was important for the American Palestine Committee to be very much in the public eye at that time, and it was essential to accelerate the work of the American Palestine Committee in that respect.

The importance was also stressed of appointing an Executive Director for the American Palestine Committee as soon as possible.

#### COMMUNITY CONTACTS

Mr. Shapiro, in the absence of Rabbi Miller, reported that the Conference of Local Emergency Committee Chairmen was to take place in Washington May 23rd and 24th. The committees have been asked to appoint delegates, and to date over fifty reservations have been received. On Rabbi Miller's return to New York the program for the Conference would be drawn up.

It was suggested that reports be made to the Executive on the activities of the local committees, and Rabbi Feuer was requested to present such a report at the next meeting.

#### NATIONAL PETITION

Rabbi Gold referred to the article which had appeared in the London "Economist" on "Zionism in America" which started out by saying "Most Jews in the United

States are not Zionists", and expressed the opinion that the question of the national petition should be reopened. Since it would take three months to carry through a petition, Rabbi Gold believed work should be started on it now.

It was recalled that the decision of the last Executive Committee meeting had been that the petition would be kept alive, that is, that additional information would be gathered, the chairmen of the local emergency committees consulted at the Conference, etc.

It was believed that sooner or later the petition will have to be launched. In the meantime, the Program Committee was requested to study the matter further.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS OF PROGRAM COMMITTEE RE BERGSON GROUP

Mr. Shulman presented the recommendations of the Program Committee with regard to a campaign to be launched against the Bergson group. (On file).

In the discussion that followed it was pointed out that members of the American Palestine Committee are being approached to join the League, and that although it is realized that it is not wise to befuddle the minds of members of Congress by writing to them about the League, it might be necessary to approach them, because many of them will approach us. It was urged that forty or fifty people in the House and Senate be selected to be seen individually, or in small groups, by the leaders of our movement, and that it be made clear to them that there is no need for another organization, that it is harmful to have these uncoordinated methods, that the Jewish group behind these organizations is not responsible, etc.

It was suggested that a good way to approach members of Congress on this matter would be by arranging a few social gatherings.

Dr. Silver thought that to start with a few Congressmen and Senators should be contacted.

A proposal was made and approved that it be suggested to Senator Wagner that he send to the members of the American Palestine Committee membership cards and in his letter accompanying these cards inform them incidentally about the new group which is being organized and warn them against this group.

In addition to contacting non-Jews, it was suggested that it was necessary to take into consideration the fact that Jews as well may be attracted to the League. It was pointed out that the people who make public opinion are completely confused and it was urged that a conference be called of the editors and writers of all the Yiddish and some of the Anglo-Jewish papers, at which Dr. Silver and Dr. Wise should make the situation clear to them.

The role that the Zionist groups must play in this fight was stressed. It was pointed out that the creation of the League for a Free Palestine would undermine every one of the organizations, particularly the Z.O.A., and it was believed that the Zionist organizations should develop a campaign of their own, through their organs, etc., between now and the end of June.

After further discussion the recommendations of the Program Committee were accepted.

It was reported that rumors had been heard in Washington to the effect that the Bergson group were making contacts with a view to having a resolution on immigration into Palestine introduced in Congress, and that Mr. Willkie had been

approached by them and had consented to act as their counsel. It was agreed that Mr. Willkie should be seen by Dr. Silver or Mr. Shulman. In connection with Mr. Willkie and others like him who are ready to be of help to the Zionist cause, it was pointed out that it was not sufficient merely to warn them against the Bergson group. A place should be found for them in our work. In the case of Mr. Willkie, perhaps he could be offered the chairmanship of a legal committee of the American Palestine Committee.

Mr. Shulman referred to the fact that Turkey is not admitting immigrants who do not have certificates for Palestine. It may be necessary to launch a campaign designed towards having the doors of Turkey opened to refugees. The Bergson group is in touch with the War Refugee Board and is probably planning such a campaign. They should not be permitted to get ahead of the responsible bodies with a campaign for the admission of refugees into Turkey. It was agreed, however, that the Conference should deal with this problem of Turkey.

## REQUEST OF HAPOEL HAMIZRACHI

A letter was read from the Hapoel Hamizrachi requesting representation on the Emergency Council.

It was pointed out that the Hapoel Hamizrachi is not a "Sonderverband" in the World Zionist Organization and it was decided that they be advised that in view of the fact that the Emergency Council is constituted in accordance with the organization of the World Zionist Organization, and since they are not a separate body in the World Zionist Organization, it is not possible to grant them representation on the Council.

### YOUNG ZIONIST ACTIONS COMMITTEE

A letter was read from the Young Zionist Actions Committee of New York pointing to its accomplishments in the few months of its existence, as the sole group in New York which has been implementing the decisions of the Emergency Council in terms of concrete, mass political action, and making the following requests: 1) that the Young Zionist Actions Committee be recognized by the Emergency Council as its youth constituent in New York City; 2) that they be given direct representation at the meetings of the Council so that it can transmit to them its sentiments and decisions; 3) that they be given the use of office space and facilities of the Council for their continued work as in the past; 4) that the Emergency Council finance specific major projects of theirs which are approved by the Council but are beyond the means of their limited budget.

It was pointed out that the Young Zionist Actions Committee, with which over twenty youth organizations are affiliated, is a fine group of young people, whose interest and assistance we ought to have and it was believed that they should be encouraged.

It was decided to refer the requests of the Young Zionist Actions Committee to the Program Committee, who are to invite their officers to meet with them.

#### AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE

There was a discussion on the American Jewish Conference and its future.

It was reported that at a meeting of the Executive Committee held last week to take stock, there had been a lengthy discussion during which blame was allocated

for the inactivity of the Conference. It was felt that the individual organizations were not willing to give up enough of their sovereignty. Some groups made the charge that the Zionists did not give the Conference a chance to function in connection with the Resolution before Congress and because of that its prestige was weakened.

At that meeting it was decided, in order to strengthen the Conference, that an Executive Director be appointed, and also an Administrative Committee to carry on the day to day work. These recommendations were adopted, an Administrative Committee was appointed by Mr. Monsky and the co-chairmen were charged with the responsibility of finding an Executive Director.

With regard to the forthcoming session of the A.J.C. in September, it was necessary to consider what kind of statement regarding Palestine should be presented to the second session of the Conference. The resolution adopted by the first session had been of a general nature and for the second session it was believed a statement that will be more specific and more detailed than last year will have to be worked out.

Following a discussion, in which different aspects of the functioning of the American Jewish Conference were considered, it was decided that a committee be appointed, consisting of representatives of the four Zionist bodies in the Council, to study the whole question. Dr. Silver indicated that he would work with this Committee.

The meeting adjourned at 6:00 P. M.

A.L.

#### AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

### MINUTES OF MEETING HELD MAY 1, 1944

A meeting of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Monday, May 1st, at 8:15 P. M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

#### PRESENT

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Miss Julliet Benjamin, Philip Cruso, Mrs. Judith Epstein, Moshe Furmansky, Rabbi Wolf Gold, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mrs. S. Goldstein, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Mrs. Rose Jacobs, Miss Jeannette Leibel, Louis Lipsky, Marvin Lowenthal, Isaac Naiditch, Emanuel Neumann, Mrs. Tamar Pool, Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt, Louis Segal, Mrs. Rebecca Shulman, Herman Shulman, Meyer W. Weisgal, David Wertheim.

Dr. I. B. Berkson, Rabbi Leon I. Feuer, Arnold K. Isreeli, Hans Lamm, Arthur Lourie, Abram S. Magida, Harold P. Manson, Harry L. Shapiro.

M. Simon of Cleveland, Dr. Ludwig Lewisohn, Dr. Judith Lieberman, Rabbi Jesse Schwartz.

#### PASSING OF SECRETARY FRANK KNOX

Dr. Silver paid tribute to Colonel Frank Knox, Secretary of the Navy, who died on April 28th. In the passing of Colonel Knox, said Dr. Silver, the Jews of America lost a good friend and the Zionist movement a staunch and faithful supporter. We deeply mourn his passing. Colonel Knox was one of our most dependable friends in the highest circles of Government and his endorsements of and sympathy for our cause proved very helpful in the years gone by. To the very end of his life he remained a friend. As recently as five weeks ago Dr. Silver spent an hour with him on the business of the Emergency Council and found in him a wise and understanding friend. Dr. Silver was certain he voiced the sentiments of the Council in expressing a sense of bereavement at his passing.

It was decided that a Committee be appointed by Dr. Silver to draft an appropriate resolution to be inscribed in the minutes and sent to the bereaved family of Colonel Knox. (Attached).

## COMMITTEE ON RELIGIOUS FORCES

Rabbi Gold presented a report on the activities of this Committee, of which he is Chairman. He spoke of the National Orthodox Conference for Palestine and Rescue which was held in New York January 30-31, and on which there had not been an opportunity to report to the Emergency Council before this. The Conference had been a great success from every point of view, approximately 1200 delegates from all over the country attending, among them prominent rabbis and lay-leaders of Orthodox communities. The Conference had been well covered by the Yiddish and Anglo-Jewish press. Among the resolutions adopted were those demanding the abolition of the White Paper, the immediate opening of the doors of the Holy Land and the establishment of the Jewish Commonwealth. A resolution of thanks and appreciation to the American Zionist Emergency Council for aiding towards the unity of Orthodox Jewry in America had also been passed.

Subsequent to the Conference, a delegation of six rabbis and six lay representatives of important sections of Orthodox Jewry in this country visited the Secretary of State, Mr. Cordell Hull, and left with him a memorandum.

Rabbi Gold, in his report, referred to the dangerous and damaging activities of the Agudath-Israel, the effect they are having in confusing the minds of the orthodox Jewish masses, and the need of counteracting these activities.

The Committee on Religious Forces, Rabbi Gold further reported, has been reorganized and a number of influential and active individuals have accepted membership. At the last meeting the following recommendations were made for the program to be carried out by the Committee: 1) to publish a book on Zionism, in English, from the religious point of view, to be circulated widely among Clergymen in this country and all English-speaking countries; 2) to publish a bi-monthly English bulletin expressing the religious point of view on Zionism; 3) to request the Mizrachi to issue books in Hebrew and Yiddish concerning the anthology of religious Zionism; 4) to institute a campaign among the orthodox congregations of this country for the passage of resolutions supporting our demands for the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine.

To carry out this program, a budget of \$10,000 is required for the ensuing year, which is the amount allocated for this work when the Committee was originally set up.

Rabbi Gold further recommended that a delegation of the religious forces in Zionism visit the Archbishop of York and present to him the views of American Jewry on Palestine.

In the discussion that followed, the question was raised as to whether the Committee on Religious Forces includes all the religious groups. It was pointed out that if the Committee undertakes a broad approach, there should be invited to participate in its work the Conservative and Reform religious groups. It was felt that the recommendations should be given careful consideration.

Rabbi Gold stated that when the Committee was in the process of organization members of the Conservative Rabbinate were invited to serve on it. He would be very glad, he said, if representatives of other religious organizations would serve. He indicated that the Committee, as at present constituted, included in addition to representatives of the Mizrachi groups, representatives of Histadruth Harabbonim, Agudas Rabbonim, Young Israel, Union of Orthodox Congregations. There were about twelve members in all.

After further discussion, it was decided to refer the proposed program and budget of the Committee on Religious Forces to the Executive Committee for action.

## ARCHBISHOP OF YORK

After discussion of Rabbi Gold's recommendation that a delegation call on the Archbishop of York it was decided to have a delegation of the Christian Council endeavor to arrange an interview.

Rabbi Schwartz indicated that the Archbishop of York was expected in Montreal May 7th and if it is not possible to meet with him in this country perhaps arrangements could be made for members of the Canadian Christian Council to see him in Montreal.

#### COMMITTEE ON LABOR RELATIONS

It was reported that the Committee on Labor Relations had not met as it was considered preferable to work through the American Jewish Trade Union Committee for Palestine which had recently been organized. In the absence of Mr. Zaritsky, Mr. Segal reported on this Committee.

The American Jewish Trade Union Committee for Palestine was organized six weeks ago, at a conference called by Mr. Zaritsky. About forty members of labor unions attended, representing the most important unions in the Jewish labor movement, including the I.L.G.W.U., the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union, the Cap and Millinery Union, etc. It was gratifying that both camps of the labor movement, the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O., were represented. At the conference a lengthy discussion took place on the objectives of the Committee and it was unanimously decided that the purpose of this Committee is to bring to the attention of labor in America the Zionist aims of the Jewish people, including support for the pending resolutions in the House and Senate.

With regard to the organizational tie up, the conference decided that the Trade Union Committee would do everything possible to help the Zionist movement, but would not become part of it. The officers of the Committee would keep the Zionist movement and the Labor Zionists informed of their activities.

During the past five or six weeks, about fifty more labor representatives (in addition to the original forty) joined the Committee. William Green and Philip Murray have accepted honorary chairmanship. The Committee did not approach non-Jewish labor people until they had contacted the Jews in the field. In the last few days they began to approach non-Jews for honorary membership in the Committee and participation in the program.

The first step taken by the Trade Union Committee was to issue a Declaration of aims. They also sent a letter to each Congressman and Senator and to the Governor of each State advising them of their platform, and they have thus far received 100 replies. The Committee plans to request the Central Labor Councils to adopt resolutions endorsing their program. Mr. Green has agreed to send such a letter to the Councils. The program will also be brought to the attention of labor conventions, that of the Amalgamated, the Cap and Millinery Union, etc. with a view to having them adopt Palestine resolutions.

The Committee is considering calling regional conferences throughout the country, the first of which has been organized for the New England area, and will be held in Boston. June 11th.

Mr. Segal referred to Mr. Sidney Hillman's statement to the Trade Union Committee. This was the first time in the history of the Jewish labor movement in this country that the head of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union has endorsed the Zionist program.

Another plan being considered by the Committee is to have a labor delegation from American, consisting of one of the heads of the A.F.L. and C.I.O. and the chairman of the Committee, go to London and bring to the attention of the British Trade Union Congress their stand on Zionism.

The good contacts which have been made by the Trade Union Committee with the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O., concluded Mr. Segal, give reason to look forward to a situation where, when a Jowish question is considered by these bodies, the Trade Union Committee on Palestine will be consulted.

It was agreed that a very valuable job has been done in the organization of the Jewish Trade Union Committee for Palestine, and that we can look forward to important achievements by them. With the British Labor Party Executive having taken a very pro-Zionist attitude at its recent meeting, the union of the two labor groups can be an important factor.

#### COMMITTEE TO STUDY THE OIL SITUATION

Mr. Shulman reported that several meetings of this sub-committee, of which he was chairman, had been held, some of which were attended by Dr. Goldmann and Mr. Mereminski as well. Mr. Lourie had prepared a memorandum outlining all the facts in the situation (circulated with Minutes of Executive Committee Meeting of April 17th) and on the basis of that factual resume certain recommendations were made by the committee and presented to the Executive. Among the recommendations was one to the effect that in the view of the Committee the proposed pipeline was not necessarily inimical to the interests of the Jewish National Home and that we must be on guard to protect our political and economic interests. It was therefore decided to make an investigation to see whether the pipeline adversely affected the Jewish National Home. It was agreed that the Emergency Council should take no position as between the opposing groups. In view, however, of the provisions of the proposed agreement, in particular Article VIII and XI, it was agreed that we should seek to secure from our Government a definite affirmative attitude towards the Jewish National Home. The obligation of building up the Jewish National Home must be accepted at the beginning; otherwise it was felt that the Government attitude would be pro-Arab. It was also proposed that representations be made to our Government with regard to fixing a favorable price for oil in Palestine and such conditions of employment as will enable Jews to compete for work on the pipeline. It was also recommended that efforts be made to have our Government recognize the position of the Jewish Agency and consult with it before a final agreement is made.

The Committee was asked to study the Iraq Petroleum agreement as it concerns Palestine and Syria.

The Executive Committee decided that all negotiations with regard to the oil situation should be centered in the oil sub-committee acting together with Dr. Goldmann. Thus there would be joint action on the part of the representatives of the Jewish Agency and the Emergency Council. This would include representation of the Council at all important interviews.

Following the meeting of the Executive when this program was considered, appointments were made with Mr. Ickes and Col. Knox (the appointment with the latter was cancelled when Col. Knox fell ill) and a committee consisting of Mr. Neumann, Mr. Lipsky and Mr. Shulman was designated by the chairman to meet with them. Mr. Neumann and Mr. Shulman saw Mr. Ickes last week. They indicated briefly to him that since the announcement of the pipeline proposal, there had been considerable concern among American Jews. They expressed the hope that definite assurances would be given that no commitments would be made which would adversely affect the Jewish National Home.

Mr. Ickes stated that as far as he knew there was no connection between the two matters. He emphasized that he spoke only for his own Department.

Mr. Neumann and Mr. Shulman discussed with Mr. Ickes the economic problems involved for Palestine and pointed to Paragraphs VIII and XI of the proposed agreement between the Petroleum Reserves Corporation and the oil companies. They pointed out to him that in asking for assurances that no commitments would be made detrimentation.

Dr. Silver expressed the opinion that perhaps the Committee was moving too fast to conclusions. He believed there was still a good deal of exploratory work to be done. It was clear that the State Department has a great deal to do with the matter, and the next step, therefore, should be to consult with them. Dr. Silver did not think we should wait for Mr. Stettinius, but should make formal representations to Mr. Hull for an interview.

The Committee was authorized to continue its contacts, with the State Department, the Navy Department, etc.

DR. WEIZMANN'S TALKS WITH MR. STETTINIUS

It was reported that in response to a cable sent to Dr. Weizmann by Dr. Silver, Dr. Weizmann had cabled that he had had useful talks in London with the Under Secretary of State.

#### POLITICAL REPORT

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Dr. Silver referred to the recent intensified/Zionist propaganda including the statement of the Archbishop of York, the article in the Reader's Digest, the radio broadcast of Peter George, and the Associated Press report of the interview in Cairo with the Finance Minister of Abdullah. Perhaps it is merely a coincidence, but it appears that an organized counter-offensive has been launched against us, perhaps due to the effectiveness of our own propaganda. More of this may be expected in the future. It simply means that we will have to intensify our propaganda.

With regard/the Palestine Resolution before Congress, an opportune moment is being awaited. The question of timing is a difficult one to determine. The minds of the people in this country are concentrated on the coming invasion. Our friends in Washington whom we are consulting/feel that the Resolution will be brought out as soon as it can be. We are hoping that the meeting of our Community Contacts chairmen may be some sort of focal point on which to take action. Very few people in Congress are of the opinion that the deferment of action on the resolution means indefinite deferment. They are all expecting action on it before very long.

We have been contacting some of our friends about the introduction of pro-Palestine planks in the platforms of both political parties.

Dr. Silver referred to the Drew Pearson statement reporting that the President had had a conversation with Mr. Churchill and that the latter seemed to be in complete agreement with him on the abrogation of the White Paper; and that they

were both opposed to the Jewish Commonwealth. How much credence is to be put in that report it is difficult to know.

Dr. Silver referred to possible contacts with the Senate committee appointed by Mr. Hull to consult with him on post-war problems.

Dr. Silver said he had been thinking in the last few months about our line of propaganda, and had come to the conclusion that while we have done a good job in emphasizing the urgency of our claims in view of the crying need of so many help-less refugees, and the need of opening the doors of Palestine to these unfortunates, he was not certain that we had done such a good job in spreading the philosophy of Zionism, either to the non-Jews or the Jews. The result is that our propaganda is beginning to backfire a bit. Our over-emphasis on the matter of refugees has given our opponents an opportunity to say that if that is what we are interested in, why not concentrate on refugees and forget about politics.

Our over-emphasis on the subject of relief, which is not basic to Zionism, has also been responsible for this situation with regard to our propaganda in that we have failed to meet the real arguments against Zionism made by the Arabs, and by the non-Jewish and Jewish opponents of Zionism. We are being attacked not because of wanting Jews to go to Palestine but because we talk of a Jewish State. The political phase of our movement we have neglected. We have even been hesitant about using the term "political".

It is important that we rediscover the classic highway for our movement which it has followed not only since the First Zionist Congress but long before it, and that we make an effort to stress in our education, with Jews and non-Jews, the fundamental principles of Zionism. It is only a matter of emphasis.

Mr. Weisgal read a letter which he had received from Dr. Weizmann.

In the discussion which followed, Dr. Goldstein expressed the opinion that the question of the propaganda of the Council deserves careful consideration at a special meeting.

Rabbi Feuer stated that he had felt that we may have been permitting ourselves to drift into a mistaken policy with regard to our program of action in America. We have been the recipients of warnings that we must not upset the British, and there was a danger of our orienting ourselves as a result to cautious action. Rabbi Feuer was beginning to think that we must concentrate on an American policy. The policy of depending on a few people is a continuation of a policy which has been followed for twenty-five years and has been a failure. We ought to reexamine the situation and see whether we cannot, as a result of our strength, capture the militant support of American opinion.

Mr. Shulman recalled that at a recent meeting of the Executive Committee, a program of action was suggested, in which our dissatisfaction with the advice that we wait for a solution till the end of the war was stressed and the proposal put forward that representations be made to the President with a view to obtaining a statement from him at this time, which did not need to be accompanied by publicity, but which would place his views on the future of Palestine on record, and that this statement be sent to England. This seemed to be the concrete thing to do. Because the President has not been available for the past few weeks it was not possible to see him. But there are available people close to the President who could be seen. It was of the utmost importance that these recommendations of the Program Committee be carried cut. Mr. Shulman, too, felt worried about relying on a few people, and for that reason was particularly pleased to note the attitude taken recently by the British Labor Party Executive. We must continue our public

relations work on a large scale, said Mr. Shulman.

Mr. Shulman stressed the importance of the suggestion made by Dr. Silver that special attention be paid to the Senate committee appointed by Mr. Hull.

Wr. Naiditch, speaking of our propaganda, agreed that we should stress fundamental Zionist ideology. We are not a relief organization and we must develop the philosophy of Zionism, especially for the youth. We have been using a war propaganda. The Resolution before Congress was important because the fundamentals of Zionism were brought out in the discussions on it.

Mr. Weisgal said that we all know that we have a great many enemies here, including agents of the British Government who were present at the hearings on the Resolution, and who sent back reports that the Zionists are doing everything to alienate relations between the United States and Britain. With regard to Rabbi Feuer's statement that we must not rely on Great Britain, Mr. Weisgal pointed out that our first objective must be to make sure that our own Government and State Department are friendly. We can conduct our propaganda here, however, without jeopardizing the friends that we have abroad. If we adopt the policy that Rabbi Feuer enunciated we will be treading on dangerous ground,

Mr. Wertheim, referring to the opinions expressed that we must put more emphasis on Zionist philosophy in our propaganda, thought that the ideas of rescue and Geulah cannot be separated. We have done nothing inconsistent in stressing rescue. The article in the Reader's Digest is a reaction to the publicity given the Zionist cause, and not a reflection of a mistaken propaganda line. Mr. Wertheim thought the line we pursued during these past months was correct, and it was necessary only to intensify our efforts.

Mr. Furmansky pointed out that Dr. Silver did not pose the problem of refugee propaganda versus Zionist philosophy as a result of ideological dangers in American Zionism. He posed it rather because of political difficulties we may face in the future. We have done two things in the last few years that may prove detrimental to Zionism, namely, over-stressing the refugee problem as such, and stressing political forms for Palestine. It is very easy to convince an assimilationist to accept the idea of a Jewish State in Palestine once it is a fact and he does not have to fight for it. But it is dangerous to concentrate on the political aspects of Palestine - as dangerous as to over-stress the refugee problem.

Mr. Furmansky urged the importance of Chalutzint in this country. Without it, he believed, there is no future for Zionism here, and Zionism will not be able to answer an immediate actual need which Palestine will present immediately after the war, namely, the question of manpower. The problem should be gone into thoroughly

Mr. Meumann stated that the problem which Mr. Furmansky raised is a separate issue, which has nevertheless some bearing on our main problem. He agreed with Dr. Silver's statement with regard to our propaganda. It was not suggested there there is an antithesis between stress on refugees and the stress on Zionist ideology, but it was a question of emphasis. The problem lies in the situation itself. The whole world is preoccupied with this overwhelming tragedy. Mr. Neumann recalled Dr. Weizmann's statement at the Biltmore Conference that the weight of the Jewish tragedy was going to affect the solution of the Jewish problem

The number of Jews has been reduced. Proposals will now be brought forward that will take the edge off the problem of refugees. The question is whether we stress the immediate refugee problem or the eternal refugee problem. That is something that the non-Jews do not yet understand, nor do many Jews. The average non-Jew thinks we have to do with the refugee problem created

by Hitler. The anomoly of Jewish life is the recurrence of the tragedy, and that has to be explained. We have to go into it thoroughly. People are asking (e.g. the Post, the Bergson group, etc.,) why we should talk now about political formulas. It would be easier to concentrate on opening the doors of Palestine. That has to be explained, and we must go into it more fundamentally.

With regard to Rabbi Feuer's suggestion, Mr. Neumann believed that if our friends in London could be more definite in regard to the matters that disturbed them, it would help. Several of our people have been in London and nothing specific has been told us as to what we are doing that will irritate the British.

Mr. Lipsky agreed with Dr. Silver that it becomes necessary that what is basic in the movement should be developed. We have been under the pressure of the Biltmore Resolution. We have been greatly conditioned by a political formula. We think the repetition of the formula creates the desired impression. We have to get behind the formula. The story which we have to tell, which is hidden by these words, is more logical and more convincing than anything else. We must reveal Zionism in its natural terms, not with the idea that we have to satisfy some formula. We have a whole life story and a whole destiny that is not being told in our Zionist propaganda. The fact is our relations with England become stronger the more truthful we are. The best relationship we can have with England is to give a clear cut version of what we are seeking. If we tell the truth about things they speak for themselves. Mr. Lipsky urged that we get rid of "formulistic" expressions in our propaganda.

Mrs. Halprin was of the opinion that the problem of Chalutziut was one with which we would have to come to grips. She believed, too, that it was our problem to think of how the youth should be approached for Chalutziut.

Dr. Silver, concluding the discussion, stated that he was worried by the fact that there had been so little basic Zionist literature produced in this country in recent years, and that so little on Zionism has appeared in American journals. There are six or seven agencies in the field fighting us - the British Colonial Office, the Arabs, our own State Department, the Council for Judaism, the League for a Free Palestine, the Agudas Israel. All of them fight us on basic Zionist theory. We are being attacked not because we have not done a good job in building Palestine, but in regard to the same principles on which our opponents attacked us twenty-five years ago. We are not doing basic Zionist propaganda. The man who talks about refugees is considered all right; the man who talks of basic Zionist ideology is termed an extremist. There is the danger of the Galuth defeating Eretz Israel, because the urgency of admitting refugees may cause the world to accept a transitory solution. Therefore the time has come for the pendulum to swing back a little. We should see that basic Zionist thinking is done by ourselves and others.

With regard to criticizing England too much, Dr. Silver did not think that was the real issue. What is serious is the tendency on the part of some of us to put too great faith in a few people. If we have important friends, so much the better; if we have not, we will try to win them. But we ought not to make our movement dependent on one or two people.

It was agreed that this discussion had been valuable and it was urged that it be continued at another meeting.

The meeting adjourned at 11:30 P. M.

RESOLUTION OF AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL ON COLONEL FRANK KNOX

May 1, 1944

Zionists everywhere mourn the passing of Colonel Frank Knox, Secretary of the Navy, devoted servant of his country, trusted friend of the Jewish people.

The qualities of sincerity, loyalty and fair play which were the cornerstones of Secretary Knox's life, served also the movement for the establishment of a free Jewish Homeland in Palestine, to which he gave a large measure of devotion. Both in his public and his private career, Frank Knox demonstrated an unfailing and helpful interest in the upbuilding of the Jewish National Home.

In mourning the death of Secretary Knox, the American Zionist Emergency Council pays reverent tribute to a great American and to a staunch friend of a Jewish Palestine.

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### AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

### MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

May 15, 1944

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Monday, May 15th, at 3:30 P. M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

#### PRESENT

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Mrs. Judith Epstein, Leon Gellman, Rabbi Wolf Gold, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Mrs. Rose Jacobs, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Emanuel Neumann, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Louis Segal, Herman Shulman, Mrs. Rebecca Shulman, David Wertheim.

Rabbi Irving Miller, Meyer W. Weisgal.

Rabbi Leon I. Feuer, Arnold K. Isreeli, Arthur Lourie, Harold P. Manson, Harry L. Shapiro.

Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt.

#### MINUTES

The minutes of the Executive Committee meeting held May 1st were approved.

COMMUNITY CONTACTS COMMITTEE

habbi Miller reported that a program was being prepared for the conference of local emergency committee representatiges to be held in Washington, May 23-24. From present indications about 225 to 250 community leaders would be present. A working conference was being planned in which as many of the delegates as possible would have an opportunity to report on what has been done in their communities, and participate in the discussions on the work to be carried out in the coming months. Wednesday morning is being left open in order to permit the delegates to call on their Congressmen.

In accordance with the decision of the previous meeting, Rabbi Feuer read a report which he had drawn up on the activities of the local emergency committees. (Attached).

## AMERICAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE

Mr. Shulman reported that several members of the Executive were to meet with Dean LeSourd that week with a view to his appointment to the post of Executive Director of the American Palestine Committee. Mr. Shulman recommended that arrangements be concluded with Dean LeSourd if, in the opinion of the committee meeting with him, he is suitable for the post.

With regard to a program to activize the local emergency committees in securing additional members for the American Palestine Committee, several

directives have been sent to the local chairmen. This matter will be discussed at the conference in Washington.

Mr. Shulman further reported that Senator Wagner and other members of the A.P.C. have received letters signed by Ben Hecht and Will Rogers, Jr. asking them to join the American League for a Free Palestine. Senator Wagner was planning to send a letter within the next few days to the members of the A.P.C. pointing out why they should not support the League.

The importance was stressed of having Senator Wagner's letter sent out as soon as possible.

#### FINANCIAL REPORT

A report on the financial status of the Emergency Council was presented. (On file). Expenditures to date fall well within the budget originally authorized.

#### DELEGATION TO MR. HULL

In accordance with the decision taken at the meeting of the Emergency Council of May 1st that the committee appointed to study the oil situation continue its contacts with Government officials, a delegation consisting of Mr. Shulman, Mr. Lipsky and Mr. Neumann had called on Secretary of State, Cordell Hull. During the course of the conversation Mr. Hull had called in Mr. Rayner, member of the State Department who was dealing with some aspects of the pipeline; and Mr. Stettinius, who assured the delegation that the oil question will be solved in such a manner as will in no way affect Palestine. Mr. Hull agreed that the delegation might inform its constituents that no commitments had been made by the United States Government in negotiations with Arab leaders in any way affecting the status of the Jewish National Home and its future growth and development. (Report of conversation on file).

## INTERVIEW WITH MR. WILLKIE

Mr. Shulman reported that he had called on Mr. Willkie and had discussed with him the rumor that he had agreed to serve as counsel to the Bergson group. It appears that Mr. Bergson had gone to see Mr. Willkie on an appointment made with the latter professionally by someone else, and that Mr. Bergson had indicated that his group would like to obtain Mr. Willkie's services. Mr. Willkie had replied that in public matters of this nature he does not accept professional engagements; and, also, that he would like to know more about it.

In the light of his conversations with Mr. Shulman, there was little likelihood that Mr. Willkie would associate himself with the Bergson group.

Mr. Shulman had also discussed with Mr. Willkie the American Palestine Committee and how he might work with it. Mr. Willkie said he would be glad to take the matter up again on his return to New York in about a week.

## LEGAL OPINION ON WHITE PAPER

It was reported that some time ago arrangements were made with Dr. Jacob Robinson of the Institute for Jewish Affairs to prepare a legal opinion on the White Paper and its inconsistency with the Mandate. A large staff of the World Jewish Congress worked on this document, which when submitted was 300 pages in length. Mr. Lourie reworked it, and in its present version the memorandum has

been reduced to about 50 pages. Copies have been given to Messrs. Neumann, Tulin, Shulman and Szold, with whose cooperation it is hoped that the signatures of a number of prominent lawyers will be obtained. The criticism has been made that even in its present version the opinion was rather legalistic, and it has been suggested that an accompanying document one-third that size be prepared.

The names of a number of outstanding lawyers who might be approached to sign this document were suggested.

#### LEGAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE

It was pointed out that there is a considerable number of lawyers among the Zionists in New York who would be glad to be useful to the movement and who could also help in interesting prominent non-Jewish lawyers to whom we have no access at present. It was therefore proposed that an attempt be made to form a legal advisory committee, consisting of about six lawyers who have wide contacts. Judge Rifkind was mentioned as one who might head the committee.

This recommendation was approved and Judge Rosenblatt undertook to seek Judge Rifkind's help in setting up such a legal advisory committee.

### AMERICAN LEAGUE FOR A FREE PALESTINE

Rabbi Feuer reported on a meeting held in Washington last week with a number of Jewish Congressmen. He recalled that at an earlier meeting with these Congressmen they had volunteered to form themselves into an informal committee which would render whatever assistance it could when called upon. Rabbi Feuer had felt that the matter of the League for a Free Palestine might very well be the first problem to present to them. All the Jewish Congressmen were present at the meeting, with the exception of Mr. Bloom and Mr. Sabath; also Mr. Shulman, Mr. Neumann and Mr. Lipsky, who were in Washington that week to see Mr. Hull; Mr. Sack and Rabbi Fouer. The Congressmen seemed to be almost as worried about the implications of this new activity of the Bergson group as we were. As long as they were operating in the field of rescue some of them felt it was advisable to work with them; but the question of Palestine and a prospect of a bitter struggle in Zionist ranks was a different matter.

There had been an interesting discussion with the Congressmen, at the conclusion of which they made a proposal, formulated by Mr. Dickstein, that they organize themselves into a group and call in representatives of the Bergson group for questioning. The plan was that they should make clear to Bergson that as responsible members of Congress they themselves had no choice but to support the properly constituted Zionist bodies. Subsequently the Congressmen would issue a statement calling on the group to dissolve.

In addition, the individual Congressmen volunteered to contact their non-Jewish colleagues in the House and Senate and warn them against the League.

In the discussion that followed, doubt was expressed as to the desirability of carrying out the proposal made by the Jewish Congressmen. It was pointed out that all the relevant material concerning the new Bergson Committee was already before the Congressmen; they were fully informed and in a position to issue a statement without further delay.

After further discussion, in which a number of other suggestions were offered it was agreed that every effort be made to obtain an immediate release by the

Congressmen of a statement repudiating the League for a Free Palestine.

CUBA

Judge Rothenberg, who had recently visited Cuba on behalf of the Keren Kayemeth, reported that he had met with government representatives in Habana and found among them several very good friends of Zionism, including Guaf Inclan, Governor of Habana; Dr. Gustava Gutierrez, a scholar, who is thoroughly conversant with Zionist affairs, and who is chairman of the recently organized Pro-Palestine Committee of Cuba; and Dr. Ofelia Dominguez, who is director of propaganda in the Ministry of War and is serving as Secretary General of the Pro-Palestine Committee. The Governor of Habana had informed Judge Rothenberg that after the elections in June he intended to introduce a Palestine Resolution in Parliament. The entire Cuban Government is friendly and several members attended the public meeting arranged for Judge Rothenberg by the Cuban Zionists. Judge Rothenberg recommended that contact be established with these people in Cuba by the Emergency Council and that material be sent to them. (It should be noted in this connection that the South American Department of the Jewish Agency is maintaining regular contact with leading non-Jews in the Latin-American countries.)

## COMMITTEE ON RELIGIOUS FORCES

With regard to the budget for the activities of this Committee recommended in Rabbi Gold's report to the last meeting of the Emergency Council, it was recalled that it was decided at that meeting to consider a budget for each new activity as projected. The Committee was now planning the publication of a book on Zionism from the religious point of view, which will not only show that Jewish religion is not opposed to Zionism but will illustrate the important role religious leaders have played in the early stages of the movement.

It was decided to adopt this recommendation in principle and request the Publications Committee to work out the details.

## PROFESSOR HARLOW

It was reported that Prof. Harlow would shortly go to the Middle East on behalf of UNRRA and he is anxious to visit Palestine. It was agreed that every effort should be made to make it possible for Prof. Harlow to go to Palestine, and the Chairman was authorized to see Prof. Harlow in this connection.

The meeting adjourned at 6:15 P. M.