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American Zionist Emergency Council, minutes, 1944.

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AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING HELD JUNE 5, 1944

A meeting of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Monday, June 5th, at 4:00 P. M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Stephen S. Wise (presiding), Miss Juliet Benjamin, Dr. Philip Bernstein, Philip Cruso, Rabbi Wolf Gold, Paul Goldman, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Dr. James G. Heller, Benjamin Itzkowitz, Leib Jaffe, Miss Jeannette Leibel, Irving D. Lipkowitz, Louis Lipsky, Rabbi Irving Miller, Isaac Naiditch, Emanuel Neumann, Mrs. Etta Rosensohn, Samuel Rothstein, Meyer W. Weisgal, David Wertheim, Dr. Nahum Goldmann, Dr. I. B. Berkson, Adolph Hubbard, Arnold K. Isreeli, Arthur Lourie, Abram S. Magida, Harold P. Manson, Harry L. Shapiro, Harry Steinberg, Abe Tuvim.

Rabbi Issurun Cardozo, Dr. Abraham Drapkin, Lazar Margulies, David Stern, Dr. S. E. Soskin, Zorach Warhaftig, Baruch Zuckerman.

Isaiah L. Kenen, Robert Silverman.

The Chairman extended a hearty welcome to the visitors present at the meeting - to Rabbi Cardozo, a leading Zionist of Curusao, Dr. Drapkin, former President of the Zionist Organization of Chile; Mr. Margulies, leader of Rumanian Jewry at present residing in Canada, and doing important work there; and to Mr. Stern and Dr. Soskin, who had arrived from Palestine a few days ago.

On behalf of the of the Council, the Chairman extended congratulations to Mr. Kurt Blumenfeld, who has just celebrated his sixtieth birthday.

The Council learned with deep regret of the passing a few days previously of Mr. A. J. Freiman, president of the Canadian Zionist Organization for twenty-five years.

SITUATION IN PALESTINE

A letter was read from Mrs. Halprin suggesting that a session of the Emergency Council be set aside for an examination of the Palestine scene. Mrs. Halprin referred to the discussions within the Mapai and the Histadruth, the position of the Aliyah Chadashah, and also the fact that it would appear from press reports that the Palestine Administration is beginning to implement the constitutional section of the White Paper. She felt that the members of the Council would welcome an opportunity to clarify together the meagre but nevertheless pointed reports which have recently come from Palestine.

It was decided to set aside the next evening meeting of the Council, or to hold a special meeting, for a discussion of the nature outlined by Mrs. Halprin. Dr. Goldstein urged that before the meeting takes place, as full information as possible be obtained.

AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE

Dr. Silver reported that at the request of the Palestine Commission of the American Jewish Conference, a committee of the Commission had been appointed to present to the second session of the Conference, to be held in Chicago in September, an outline of what has been done this past year and recommendations for resolutions to be acted upon. Dr. Silver felt that since the Emergency Council is directly involved, there should be a committee of the Council to decide what resolutions the Conference should adopt on the question of Palestine. These resolutions could then be turned over to the Palestine Commission. Dr. Silver indicated that we must think not only about the political resolution but also about other resolutions dealing with the development of Palestine, etc.

It was pointed out that meetings of the inter-party group of the Conference are now in progress and that the function of this group is to work out the details of the program for the second session.

It was believed that the Council should concern itself with the resolutions to be adopted by the Conference on Palestine. The inter-party group, it was pointed out, has a great deal of work before it and must give consideration to all aspects of the Conference activities. It was therefore recommended that a committee be appointed by the Emergency Council, on which all the groups will be represented, to go into the matter thoroughly and report back to the full Council.

It was argued, however, that it was not possible to deal with the particular problem until the general one is disposed of, that we cannot tell what kind of resolutions on Palestine we want to introduce until we examine the situation as a whole. It was therefore urged that we wait two weeks for a report of the inter-party group before taking any action in appointing a committee of our own to study the question.

It was pointed out at the same time that one of the most serious questions that will come up before the Conference at its second session will be the report of the Post-War Commission, and that this session of the Conference should, with Zionist support, be devoted primarily to post-war problems.

After further discussion, it was decided to wait a fortnight for a preliminary report of the inter-party group of the Conference.

PRESENT POSITION IN REGARD TO JEWISH IMMIGRATION INTO PALESTINE

At the request of Dr. Silver, Mr. Lourie had prepared a memorandum on the present situation with regard to Jewish immigration into Palestine, which he presented to the meeting (attached).

In the discussion on the memorandum, Dr. Goldmann said there were two questions to be considered: 1) whether the Emergency Council should take any action in view of this situation; 2) and if so, what kind of action. He did not think that this was a matter which required strong public action. If the British say they wish to reserve the certificates for those who are still to be rescued they may meet with sympathy from the general public. We, on the other hand, are interested in getting the certificates exhausted as soon as possible. When that is done the British will have to review the situation, because as they realize they will not be able to close Palestine completely to Jewish immigration. Generally, Dr. Goldmann felt that in the immediate future we should avoid strong public pressure on Great Britain. We should continue our activities in connection

with the large program for the Commonwealth, but to use pressure on a minor issue would be unwise at this time, when decisions on the whole future of Palestine may be reached in the next few months.

It was therefore recommended that action to be taken in connection with the present immigration situation be confined to diplomatic action. It was suggested that a delegation visit the British Ambassador and the Under Secretary of State and that the War Refugee Board, which is interested since they are anxious to get at least the Jewish refugees out of Italy, be requested to support our position. The A.M.G. might also be asked to lend its support.

It was urged that if a delegation is sent to Washington at this time it should be a delegation of the American Jewish Conference. Doubt was expressed, however, as to whether this was a matter to be dealt with by the Conference, since this was primarily a Zionist problem, and that perhaps a delegation to Washington of the Conference in connection with Palestine should be reserved for a time when there are wider issues involved.

In the course of further discussion it was stated that the War Refugee Board had indicated that the situation in Italy would be eased and room made for more refugees if the British would allow the Jews to go to Palestine. The official of the War Refugee Board spoke with great bitterness of the failure of the British to cooperate by giving Palestine certificates to the Jewish refugees.

After further discussion it was decided that the officers of the Emergency Council take up with the American Jewish Conference heads the matter of representations to be made to the British Embassy and the State Department on the present immigration situation.

REPORT ON VISIT TO SECRETARY OF STATE

Mr. Neumann reported on the visit to Mr. Hull on May 9th of the committee appointed by the Council, consisting of Mr. Lipsky, Mr. Shulman and himself, to study the oil situation. The committee called on Mr. Hull in order to find out whether anything had been done or was likely to be done by our Government in the matter of the oil situation which would affect Palestine. (See Minutes of Executive Committee of May 15th for report on interview). Mr. Hull had agreed to receive a memorandum from the delegation on the subject and such a memorandum had been sent to him.

POLITICAL REPORT

Dr. Silver reported on the visit of Dr. Wise and himself to the Under Secretary of State on May 23rd. (Report on file).

After some discussion on the political report, in which the importance was stressed of giving careful consideration to the position to be taken in the event that the policy decided upon for the future of Palestine involves partition of some kind, it was decided to devote a meeting of the Council two weeks hence to a political discussion.

MR. STERN'S REPORT

Mr. David Stern, director of the Colonization Department of the Jewish Agency, who had arrived in this country a few days previously from Palestine, addressed the meeting. He brought greetings from the Yishuv.

Eretz Israel is working hard, said Mr. Stern. A great effort has been made to strengthen the Yishuv economically^{and} otherwise. In pre-war years a great deal had been imported, particularly food; but since the outbreak of the war the Yishuv has had to provide all its own food. The children are eating well; the adults are in the same position as adults in England - there is no sugar, no eggs, etc. The situation with regard to clothing is better.

The Keren Hayesod settlements have this year paid back \$160,000 on their loans. The colonization work is proceeding apace, although it is expensive under wartime conditions.

At the end of 1943 there existed 240 Jewish colonies on 1,137,000 dunams, and also 4 Agricultural schools and 7 Schunoth. Of the 240 colonies, 117 were colonized by the Keren Hayesod. Of these 77 are Kvutzoth and 40 Moshavim. The 117 settlements have a population of 44,000 souls and were colonized at a cost of £2,484,000.

From October 1939 to October 1943, 24 settlements were established, - 18 Kvutzoth and 6 Moshavim. From October 1943 to April 2, 1944, 2 additional Moshavim and 5 Kvutzoth were built; as well as three settlements in the Negev - 1 near Bersheba, and the 2 others near the Egyptian border. Water has been found near Bersheba as well as elsewhere in the Negev.

Recently the Keren Hayesod decided to set up settlements on the northern border, and will shortly establish 16 colonies in that part of Palestine. One settlement, Mannarah, is above Metullah; some are around Safed, Tiberias and Migdal.

There is a great dearth of machines. It can be said that the colonists are working with their very nails. Since the war, 100,000 additional dunams have been colonized, and the Government has made available for the Jewish settlements only 36 tractors and these are in very bad condition. It is difficult to get any wood.

The Jewish National Fund is now also participating in colonization work, in some places to an extent of 50% and in others 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ %.

There is a settlement of Mizrachi youth in Gaza; and also a new settlement in Kfar Etzion near Hebron. One of the points in the south, near Gadera, was colonized by youth of the Agudas Israel, and they were put out of the parent organization because they accepted funds from the Keren Hayesod and Keren Kayemeth.

Kiriat Anavim and Maaleh Hachamisha have grown considerably. There is room there for many new settlers.

Several settlements are being prepared for returning soldiers.

The J.N.F. has redeemed a great deal of land in the past few years, about 250,950 dunams. The Fund has available land for 40 new colonies.

Excellent work has been done in connection with water. Pipes are badly needed; American companies are ready to provide them, but there is the problem of transportation. Wood which is required for building will be sent from Brazil. There is a great shortage of housing accommodation.

The meeting adjourned at 11:15 P. M.

A. L.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING HELD JUNE 19, 1944

A special meeting of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Monday, June 19th, at 4:00 o'clock, at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Stephen S. Wise (presiding), Maurice Boukstein, Mrs. Judith Epstein, Moshe Furmanský, Rabbi Wolf Gold, Paul L. Goldman, Mrs. S. Goldstein, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Benjamin Itzkowitz, Rabbi I. M. Kowalsky, Jeannette Leibel, Irving Lipkowitz, Louis Lipsky, Israel Mereminski, Rabbi Irving Miller, Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt, Herman Shulman, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, Meyer W. Weisgal, David Wertheim.

Dr. Nahum Goldmann; Dr. I. B. Berkson, Rabbi Leon I. Feuer, Arnold K. Isreeli, Arthur Lourie, Abram S. Magido, Harold P. Manson, Harry L. Shapiro.

Dr. Joseph Cohn, Dr. A. K. Epstein, Michael Garber, Dr. Ludwig Lewisohn, Mrs. Rachel Yarden, Zorach Warhaftig, S. J. Zacks, Baruch Zuckerman.

SITUATION IN PALESTINE

Opening the discussion on the internal situation in Palestine, Mrs. Halprin stated that apart from the question of the division in the Mapai, which should give us some concern, there was also the fact that some sections of the Yishuv have expressed themselves against the Biltmore program. The question of partition is tied up with this, since some of those expressing themselves as opposed to the Biltmore program do so because of the fear of partition. If there is reason to suspect that partition will be the proposed solution of the Palestine problem, we should discuss what steps can be taken in advance of an ultimatum which may be given us, and not merely wait until an announcement of policy is made.

Mrs. Epstein referred to the report given a few days ago by Edgar Ansel Mowrer, who stated that the British in Cairo are saying that the problem of Palestine must be solved and are thinking of a divided Palestine. This confirmed the fear that partition is being considered.

Mr. Wertheim pointed out that some of the problems that had arisen in the Yishuv in connection with the Commonwealth were due to the uncertainty as to some of the implications of the Commonwealth proposal. Perhaps, he suggested, it is time for American Zionists to consider a more detailed clarification of the Commonwealth program.

Mr. Weisgal considered a discussion of partition hypothetical at this point.

Mr. Lipsky saw no reason why we should be agitated by all kinds of surmises. Our position was made clear by the Biltmore Resolution. There is no need to re-define it. All that is required is clarification for ourselves. If something new turns up, it may be necessary to make some things clear at that time.

Mr. Shulman pointed out that a discussion on the internal situation in Palestine was proposed only in order to obtain information that we should have. With regard to partition, we should summarize all the information available so that we may determine what action to take in advance.

Rabbi Gold thought it might be necessary to follow up the action already taken by Dr. Wise and Dr. Silver in writing to Mr. Stettinius, and make known to the British Government what American Zionists think about a divided Palestine. We cannot consider all the reports that have come to us only as rumors, when they have come from so many sources.

Mr. Zuckerman pointed out that it is not right to tie up the question of partition with the question of the Commonwealth. It was under the Mandate, not under a Commonwealth, that we were once presented with a partition plan. The one formula in which partition is definitely implied is a bi-national state. It is a great pity, thought Mr. Zuckerman, that partition has become tied up in the minds of some with the Commonwealth. The Biltmore Resolution was clear and required no further clarification.

Mr. Mereminski said that he did not want to enter into a discussion of partition at this meeting. This problem, unfortunately, is a very acute one, and we must take concrete steps here and in London against partition. However, this was not his topic tonight. Mr. Mereminski then gave a full report of the situation inside the Labor movement. This appears in the appendix to these minutes.

Dr. Goldmann said that there was undoubtedly some danger that partition might be proposed. When Dr. Silver and Dr. Wise were informed that in England they are thinking of a Jewish Commonwealth, it may have meant that some people in England were thinking about partition. There was the danger that English statesmen will discuss the question of a divided Palestine with American statesmen and the latter, not being thoroughly informed on the subject, will agree to that solution of the Palestine problem. The English are in a stronger position when they discuss Palestine with Americans, because they are more intimately acquainted with the situation. It was necessary, Dr. Goldmann said, to talk to members of the State Department and if possible, the White House, in opposition to the idea of partition. He urged that in addition, a memorandum be submitted explaining why we cannot accept a partitioned Palestine, pointing out that it would not solve the problem of immigration, and indicating the economic reasons, etc. why the Commonwealth must be in the whole of Palestine. Further, Dr. Goldmann proposed, we should work towards having included in Resolutions which our non-Jewish friends will pass, or speeches they make, reference, in a positive way, to the need for a Commonwealth in the whole of Palestine, and opposition to a divided Palestine.

Mr. Shulman suggested that in view of the fact that Wallace Murray stayed on in London after Mr. Stettinius left, it would be helpful to see him.

Mr. Furmanky remarked that Mr. Mereminski had given a very objective report of what had happened in the Histadruth. Only one thing was left out, and that was the proposal adopted by the minority. He believed that the greatest danger that we face today is partition, and that the question under discussion must be how shall we conduct our political affairs in order to avoid this danger.

Mr. Neumann urged that further information be elicited from people who have it.

Dr. Wise stated that American Jews, who represent more than fifty percent of the Jews of the world, should not wait until our friends - perhaps against their will - may be compelled to accept a compromise settlement of the Palestine question.. He believed that in addition to carrying out Dr. Goldmann's recommendations, it was also worthwhile to send somebody to London to confer with Dr. Weizmann.

Dr. Silver recalled that when we were waiting back in February for the promised announcement on the future of Palestine, at that time, too, we felt it was tied up with partition. At a similar meeting of the Council, it was decided to try to meet with the President; a request for an interview was accordingly sent to him, but the meeting did not take place until March. The announcement, he always felt, was postponed because of military considerations. We have been told over and over again that the decision will be made on the highest level. What was valid in February is valid today. We have to get to the President. We have not seen him since March and the statements made by him then has been subjected to all kinds of interpretations.

Dr. Silver thought that a good Resolution from the Republicans, who would be meeting for the presidential nominating convention within a week, would be very helpful.

Mrs. Halprin again urged that a delegation consisting of the two co-chairmen go to London.

The meeting adjourned at 11:10 P. M.

A. L.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

June 19, 1944

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Monday, June 19th, 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, Mrs. Esther Gottesman, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Emanuel Neumann, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Herman Shulman, Mrs. Rebecca Shulman, David Wertheim, Dr. Stephen S. Wise.

Dr. Nahum Goldmann; Marvin Lowenthal, Rabbi Irving Miller, Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt, Meyer W. Weisgal.

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

Dr. Joseph Cohn, Dr. A. K. Epstein.

Apologies were received from Dr. Goldstein and Mr. Segal.

MINUTES

The minutes of the Executive Committee meeting held June 5th were approved.

AMERICAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE

Mr. Shulman reported that Dean LeSourd is now working as Director of the American Palestine Committee. On June 12th a meeting was held of the Planning Committee appointed by the National Conference on Palestine to implement the Resolutions adopted by the Conference. Present were President Daniel L. Marsh, who presided, Prof. William F. Albright, Dr. Henry A. Atkinson, Prof. Carl J. Friedrich, Dr. David Henry, Dr. Howard M. LeSourd and Prof. Paul Tillich. At that meeting it was decided that the Planning Committee appointed in Washington continue to function for the National Conference but that the members also accept membership in an expanded Executive Committee of the A.P.C. The Planning Committee also decided to recommend to the A.P.C. that it engage in a vigorous campaign to secure the sympathy and enrollment of great numbers of people in all segments of the American public; and that the A.P.C. arrange, in conjunction with the Christian Council on Palestine and such other organizations whose assistance may be secured, for regional conferences modeled after the Washington Conference, during the coming months, in such cities as San Francisco, Houston or Dallas, Minneapolis, Chicago, Boston, Atlanta and New York. The Committee recommended further that a Chairman of the Executive Committee of the American Palestine Committee be appointed, and Mr. Shulman reported that President Marsh would be prepared to accept this post and devote considerable time to it.

Mr. Shulman further reported that the Resolution adopted by the Northeastern Jurisdictional Conference of the Methodist Church on June 10th was introduced by Dr. Marsh and put through unanimously. Another Methodist Conference is to be held in Minneapolis beginning June 29th, and Dean LeSourd will spend a few days there in an effort to secure a similar Resolution. Beginning June 24th there is to be at Lakeside, Ohio, an Interdenominational Youth Conference comprising representatives of all Protestant Denominations. De LeSourd is planning to be there as well in order to acquaint the delegates with the Palestine issue and secure a favorable Resolution.

With regard to the appeal for membership in the A.P.C., all invitations to leading citizens will be sent from the National Office of the A.P.C. in Washington. In connection with the mass appeal, however, the invitations will go from the local communities. A group of leaders in each community will be asked to sign a petition and to send it around to large numbers of individuals in that community for their signatures.

The Dinner to launch the New York Chapter of the A.P.C., arranged for June 15th, which was to have been in honor of Senator Wagner and Congressman Compton, had been called off because Senator Wagner felt that it would be wrong to hold it at that time, when the invasion of Europe had just been launched. Consideration was given to the idea of holding a number of Luncheon meetings.

HEBREW COMMITTEE OF NATIONAL LIBERATION

The question was raised of the effect on the public of the reports which had appeared in the press of the registration of the Hebrew Committee of National Liberation with the Department of Justice. Although the act of registering as a foreign agent does not in any way imply recognition by government agencies it was felt that perhaps the average individual in the country would not understand this and would, on reading the press reports and noting the reference to the intention of the Hebrew Committee to float a public loan, assume that the Committee was receiving official recognition. It was agreed that it should be drawn to the attention of the local emergency committees and of the Jewish Press that the registration of the Hebrew Committee does not in any way imply recognition.

It was recommended that a copy of the Registration Statement be obtained and examined carefully.

Attention was drawn to the letter received by Mr. Louis Segal from the Under Secretary of State in response to an inquiry from him, which stated that the Department of State "does not recognize the American League for a Free Palestine as having any representative status;" and also to a letter received by Dr. Silver from Mr. Berle, Assistant Secretary of State, in reply to Dr. Silver's communication enclosing copy of the cable received from the Jewish Agency on the Hebrew Committee of National Liberation. Mr. Berle wrote as follows: "I wish to assure you in this connection that the Department does not recognize the Hebrew Committee of National Liberation as having any representative status." It was further reported that an interdepartmental communication within the State Department confirmed what Mr. Stettinius had said about the Hebrew Committee of National Liberation not having been recognized.

It was suggested that the possibility be investigated of legal action being taken in connection with the application of the Bergson group to float a bond issue.

Dr. Silver reported that some days ago Senator Taft had telephoned him from Washington informing him that Senator Bridges and he had been requested by the League for a Free Palestine to send a memorandum to the President on their behalf on the question of the rights of America under the Mandate with regard to Palestine. Dr. Silver had informed Senator Taft that a similar memorandum had been submitted to the State Department in 1937 by the Zionist Organization and that subsequently a very restrictive interpretation of the 1925 British-American Convention on Palestine had been issued by the State Department. The submission of a similar memorandum at this time would in all probability elicit a reply from the State Department which would be unsatisfactory in itself and might affect the value of the President's statement to Dr. Wise and himself. Nor was it desirable Dr. Silver further informed Senator Taft, that the Senator should associate himself with the activities of the Bergson group.

Dr. Silver had not yet heard from Senator Taft in reply to this letter, but he believed that he would do nothing further with the memorandum of the League.

40th ANNIVERSARY OF PASSING OF DR. HERZL

The question was raised of an appropriate manner of commemorating the 40th anniversary of the passing of Dr. Theodor Herzl, which occurs on July 11th, and also of observing the 22nd anniversary of the adoption by the 67th Congress, in 1922, of the Palestine Resolution.

It was reported that the Zionist Organization of America is dedicating its next Administrative Committee meeting, which is to be held in Philadelphia on July 9th, to the anniversary of Herzl's death and the anniversary of the 1922 Resolution.

After some discussion it was decided that the Executive Committee of the Emergency Council recommend to the four constituent organizations of the Council that an appropriate meeting be held in New York to commemorate the 40th Anniversary of the death of Theodor Herzl.

LOWDERMILK BOOK

It was reported that a request has been received from the Gollancz Publishing Company, through Harper's, for permission to print an English edition of the Lowdermilk book. Dr. Lowdermilk's permission to include an introduction in this edition, to be written by Sir John Russell, was also sought.

It was further reported that the first royalties on the Lowdermilk book, in the amount of \$2135.00, had been received.

LORD DAVIES

It was agreed that a letter of condolence be sent to Lady Davies on the passing of Lord Davies, who had been an earnest friend of Zionism for 18 years.

TESTIMONIAL DINNER TO MR. BLOOM

The question was raised of the sponsorship given by leaders of the four parties to the Testimonial Dinner to be given to Mr. Sol Bloom on June 28th and it

was agreed that Dr. Wise, Dr. Goldstein, Mrs. Epstein and Rabbi Gold should arrange to meet with Mr. Bloom before the Dinner.

RADIO

Dr. Silver recalled the discussion at the last meeting of the Executive Committee with regard to the importance of making effective use of the radio as a medium of propaganda, particularly during the critical months of August, September and October. Before that meeting the matter had been investigated and a report made that it was possible to obtain time on a national hookup which would cost approximately \$100,000. Several proposals were made for securing the necessary funds, e.g. finding a commercial sponsor; asking the radio audiences to send in contributions; having the four parties, in addition to the Emergency Council, contribute. Another suggestion made then was that the local emergency committees might wish to contribute towards radio programs of a high calibre. The general feeling at the last meeting was very favorable towards this project and it was agreed to explore it further.

After the meeting, however, a number of objections were raised. It was drawn to Dr. Silver's attention then that the Z.O.A. was planning radio programs. These, however, will consist of a number of records which have been made and which the local communities will arrange to be used on their local stations, and this limited program would in no way preclude the program contemplated by the Council. Objection was also voiced by the U.P.A. to the fact that the local emergency committees had been called upon to contribute towards the radio project, on the ground that a fund-raising campaign was involved which would interfere with the U.P.A. and would be a violation of the U.P.A.'s assurance to the War Relief Control Board that the Emergency Council obtains its funds from the U.P.A. and does not go to the communities. If Mr. Montor had telephoned him, Dr. Silver stated, he would have learned that no campaign is contemplated. As a matter of fact, all indications were that the money would be obtained from a few individuals in each community, without any difficulty.

If the radio project is to be undertaken, Dr. Silver pointed out, a decision to go ahead must be made very quickly, since contracts must be signed, people must be engaged, etc.

In the discussion that followed, the question of procedure was raised, and in particular it was indicated by one or two of those present that it had been expected that no request for funds would be made prior to the submission of a report on the results of the further investigations which were to have been made.

It was urged that an agreement be reached with the U.P.A. before proceeding to obtain funds from the local committees. It was only necessary to explain to the U.P.A. that no community-wide campaigns for funds were contemplated, that the funds would be obtained from a few individual Zionists in each community, and this would in no way affect the collections of the U.J.A. An emergency meeting of the Executive Committee of the U.P.A. had been called for the following day and Dr. Silver urged that since he would be unable to be present other members of the Committee attend and explain the situation to the U.P.A. Executive.

After further discussion the chairman summed up saying; 1) that the Zionist Emergency Council authorizes the radio project, which will cost about \$100,000; 2) that we will try to raise this money; 3) that if it is found that there is a legitimate reason for the objections of the U.P.A. to raising some of the money through the local emergency committees, we will try to raise it elsewhere.

It was decided that a committee of five be appointed to plan the radio programs.

The meeting adjourned at 6:15 P. M.

A. L.



AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING HELD JULY 24, 1944

A meeting of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Monday, July 24th, 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, Mrs. S. Goldstein, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Leib Jaffe, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Irving Lipkowitz, Marvin Lowenthal, Israel Mereminski, Rabbi Irving Miller, Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt, Samuel Rothstein, Herman Shulman, Mrs. Rebecca Shulman, Elihu D. Stone, Meyer W. Weisgal, David Wertheim.

Dr. I. B. Berkson, Arnold K. Isreeli, Hans Lamm, Harold P. Manson, Harry L. Shapiro, Abe Tuvim.

Dr. Joseph Cohn, Isaiah L. Kenen, Dr. Ludwig Lewisohn, Mrs. Judith Lieberman, Robert Silverman, Dr. Arie Tartakower, Zorach Warhaftig, Mrs. Rachel Yarden, Baruch Zuckerman.

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR ARTICLE

It was reported that a reply had been received from Mr. Stettinius to the letter sent to him concerning the article which had appeared in the Christian Science Monitor of June 28th (reported in Minutes of meeting of Executive Committee held July 10th). Mr. Stettinius stated in his letter that he found, upon making inquiries, that "no executive officer of the Department (of State) and none of the officers of the Office of Near Eastern and African Affairs or in the Division of Near Eastern Affairs had furnished any such information to any correspondents of the Christian Science Monitor," and since "they would be the only ones qualified to discuss the subject," he could "only conclude that some unauthorized person in the Department was interviewed by the Monitor correspondent." Mr. Stettinius said further that it was hardly necessary to add that no responsible officer of the Department would have felt free to discuss the Palestine situation along the lines of the Monitor article.

This matter was being followed up further with the Christian Science Monitor. A personal interview with the editor had been arranged for that week.

It was also reported that replies had been received from Mr. Hull and Mr. Stettinius acknowledging receipt of the memorandum on partition.

PALESTINE PLANK IN DEMOCRATIC PARTY PLATFORM AND FUTURE POLITICAL ACTION

Mr. Shulman reported on the activities in Chicago of representatives of the Emergency Council (Dr. Wise and himself, who were joined later on by Dr. Goldstein) which led to the inclusion of a Palestine plank in the Democratic Party platform. (Complete report on file).

In the course of his report, Mr. Shulman referred to the tireless efforts of Dr. Wise, during the difficult and tense week in Chicago. Dr. Goldstein, too, cooperated in every way and did a fine job. Mr. Shulman also spoke highly of the valuable assistance rendered by Mr. Sack, Mr. Stone and Mr. Manson, who had accompanied the Council representatives to Chicago.

Supplementing Mr. Shulman's report, Mr. Manson stated that he had been impressed, at both Party Conventions, by the tremendous reservoir of good will among the members of Congress for our program. This was even more marked at the Democratic Party Convention. The Palestine plank adopted by the Republican Party Convention had been an important factor in obtaining a plank in the Democratic Party platform, Mr. Manson thought.

Mr. Stone remarked that the good will found in Chicago was no accident, but was the result of the work done by the Emergency Council in Washington in connection with the Resolution before Congress.

Dr. Wise who was out of town and therefore unable to attend the meeting, had sent a message to Dr. Silver, which was read by the Chairman. (Appended to Minutes). A letter from Dr. Goldstein regretting his unavoidable absence from the meeting was also read in which as one who had been present in Chicago he referred to the profound impression made by Dr. Wise in connection with the presentation of the Zionist case there. Dr. Silver, commenting on Mr. Shulman's report, pointed to the tremendous amount of work that had had to be done in order to secure the Palestine plank. Dr. Wise, Mr. Shulman, Dr. Goldstein and the staff spent eight days in Chicago - eight days of continuous work, under constant stress. It was quite clear that a good deal was at stake. Had our representatives failed to secure an adequate plank it would have meant a repudiation by Government of our efforts. That they did succeed and succeeded admirably is a tribute to the remarkable work done by Dr. Wise and his associates.

The Democratic Party resolution is in a sense a better resolution than the Republican, because it mentions "Jewish Commonwealth," which has become the slogan of our movement in the last year. We have fought over that term since the American Jewish Conference. That we succeeded in getting it into the Democratic Party platform is a fine achievement. It is also important because the Democratic Party is not merely one of the National parties, but the governing party. That no determined opposition was expressed in Government circles indicates that remarkable progress was made this year. As a result of the program we have been working on during the year, the Congressmen who put through the plank in Chicago had been seen time and again; they had become well informed on our objectives, so that when the resolution was put before them in Chicago it did not come as something alien to them. They also knew that behind the Zionist movement was American Jewry. They had become persuaded that the overwhelming majority of American Jewry favors a Jewish Commonwealth.

What took place in Chicago is in a way an eloquent testimonial to the work the Emergency Council and the constituent parties have done during these last few months. It is a perfect vindication of the strategy we defined here a year ago - that we ought not to identify ourselves with one political party. He felt that the new line, calling for the Zionist movement to speak courageously about the attitude of the Government in Washington, because it is a great moral question that is involved, has achieved results.

Dr. Silver believed the same strategy should be carried on in the future. Before the elections in November, a great deal should be ^{done} in Washington. It was not the good will of individuals that counted for us. It was the demonstration of mass public opinion.

Dr. Silver paid a tribute to Mr. Shulman's work in Chicago. As for the three members of the staff, we could not have picked three better people.

Opening the discussion, Mr. Mereminski expressed his pleasure over the two Palestine planks. Despite his admiration for the results achieved by the two chairmen of the Council, however, he feared that the wording of the two resolutions adopted by the Party Conventions, one of which went only half-way in the direction we desire and the second, he felt, went only a little farther, is dangerous, especially in view of the rumors with regard to partition. Somebody telephoned him from Washington, Mr. Mereminski stated, the day after the plank was adopted and informed him that Mr. Tobin of the A.F. of L. had been called in give his opinion on the Palestine plank. (Of course, he supported it strongly). His informant also told him, however, that the Platform Committee had changed several words of our resolution. (The draft as presented by Dr. Wise to the Platform Committee read, "...and for its establishment as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth." The Committee had changed it to read, "...and for the establishment there of a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth.")

The situation in Palestine is bad, Mr. Mereminski pointed out. In Washington they talk about a Commonwealth in Palestine; the Labor movement in England finds it necessary to stress an undivided Palestine. We must find out what is happening. The Jewish Agency in London must not wait until it happens.

Mr. Mereminski believed that the planks adopted by both National Parties represent a great step forward, that the Emergency Council can congratulate itself on this achievement, but we cannot sit back now and do nothing further.

Mr. Weigal believed Mr. Mereminski was being too pessimistic. He (Mr. Weigal) thought the Democratic Party plank on Palestine was even better than the American Jewish Conference Resolution on Palestine.

Mr. Gellman pointing out that it is now a year since the reorganization of the Emergency Council said that the prestige of the Council has never been so high as it is today, that it has never followed such a sound political line. It has been a year of very hard work, and there has been criticism of some of it, but we have achieved a great deal. The fact that the two national political parties have placed the Palestine question on their agenda is our greatest achievement. We must learn from our experiences this past year that our line from now on must be a similar one -- one of pride, courage and hard work. And before we proceed to further work, we should express our thanks to our co-chairmen, Dr. Silver and Dr. Wise for having brought the Council to its present position. Mr. Gellman therefore moved a vote of thanks to the co-chairmen of the Emergency Council. This motion was seconded and unanimously passed.

Referring to the fears expressed by Mr. Mereminski re partition, Mr. Cruso suggested that the drive for the American Palestine Committee be intensified, with the aims of enrolling more members of Congress, so that when the time is ripe for an educational or political campaign, we will have stronger forces with which to fight partition.

Dr. Lewisohn wondered whether the time had arrived to discuss the exact meaning of a Jewish Commonwealth. Dr. Goldstein had proposed that the question be raised in the New Palestine.

Mr. Segal considered what has been accomplished in obtaining the two Palestine planks as the greatest achievement for Zionism in America. He recalled

that four or five months ago we discussed whether it was wise to introduce Zionism into American political life, and it was a bitter discussion. He was happy that we had come to the conclusion that we must go to the masses and demonstrate that public opinion is with us instead of depending on approaches to individuals in Government.

Now is the psychological moment to take further action with the Resolution before Congress, Mr. Segal believed. It is inconceivable that if the Resolution is brought out now there will be any opposition. The military reason no longer exists. And both Parties are on records as favoring our program.

Mrs. Halprin pointed out that although we have reason to rejoice at our victory, as a political body we are not in a position to sit back. The report on what happened in Chicago leaves certain gaps, from which we should learn something. If the change made in our resolution was the result of State Department intervention, as some thought was the case, there was reason to worry.

Mrs. Halprin believed consideration should be given to:

- 1) sending a representative of the Council to London as soon as possible, so that we will have some contact with London; and
- 2) as to whether this is the time to go to our State Department and ask for a frank discussion.

Mr. Wertheim said that now that the Conventions are over, the work in Washington will have to be continued. He firmly believed that obtaining the planks was a great achievement and would be most helpful in our further work. The money and energy which we expended this year have been vindicated. This will also mean a great deal to the average Jew in this country.

Mr. Zuckerman felt that our non-Jewish friends still do not understand the Palestine question thoroughly. He believed that the change in the resolution was made by authoritative people, and he stressed the importance of making our entire program clear in all our declarations.

Rabbi Gold, too, feared that there were reasons to believe that the change made in the resolution at the last minute was directed by the State Department. He pointed to the fact that not only in America, but elsewhere, there had appeared in important non-Jewish periodicals, e.g. "The Nation," statements to the effect that the question of Palestine has already been settled.

He felt it was important that every effort be made to obtain as much information as possible as to the real situation with regard to partition. Dr. Weizmann should be asked for information and direction.

Judge Rosenblatt stressed the fact that by securing a plank in the Democratic Party platform as well as the Republican platform the Palestine question has been taken out of United States politics.

Bringing up the question of the Resolutions pending in Congress, Dr. Silver reviewed the present status of these Resolutions. He pointed out that Congress will start work again in September, and if the Resolutions are to pass it must be between September and November. He had no definite recommendations to make regarding the Resolutions, except that we must speak to the military before reintroducing them.

Mr. Neumann was not convinced that the slight change in the resolution adopted by the Democratic Party was made in Washington. It was possible that it was entirely an innocent change which was made for the purpose of euphony.

With regard to the future, Mr. Neumann did not agree with the pessimistic note of Mr. Mereminski, but he did think that we must give our thought to the future. By achieving this result in Chicago we have not achieved everything. It is possible there will be strong forces that will continue to fight us every inch of the way.

There is a great deal we must accomplish before November 2nd. After that, it will be more difficult. We must, therefore, press our every advantage now. Mr. Neumann strongly favored going ahead with the Resolution although he did not believe it would be a simple matter to have it passed. In addition, we should try to get a declaration from our Government which will be a test as to whether anything has been settled in England. We ought to go even farther than that; we ought to request that some members of our Government think through with us the problems involved in our program. The adoption of the Palestine planks is not yet sufficient guarantee that we have understood each other and that we can count on a consistent policy. We should think not only in terms of a formula, but in terms of implementation.

Mr. Neumann suggested that a sub-committee be appointed to think about all these matters and present a more detailed program along these lines to a future meeting of the Council.

Dr. Silver drew attention to the opinion prevailing that the decision on Palestine will be made on the highest level according to the information that has come to us. President Roosevelt will not take the initiative in urging a new line, but is waiting to hear from Mr. Churchill and is prepared to go along with him. Mr. Churchill, we are told, is a great friend of the movement and at the proper time he will announce a policy that will be welcome to us. Putting together all these facts, we can only conclude that we will be working in the dark unless we get direction from Dr. Weizmann. We have not heard from him for several months. To go to London would be foolhardy unless Dr. Weizmann indicates that he has something to tell us. We ought to bear this in mind.

Rabbi Miller agreed with Dr. Silver's analysis of the situation. In addition, it was likely that Dr. Weizmann also does not know anything definite yet, and that the British Cabinet may have come to a decision only in principle.

The fight against partition must not be confused with the work that we do in connection with pushing the Resolution. We have two tasks, one political and the other public relations. While communicating with Dr. Weizmann in connection with the former, we should continue our public relations work with a view to having the Resolution passed by Congress.

With regard to the Palestine plank adopted by the Democratic Party in Chicago, Rabbi Miller pointed to the timeliness of that resolution. Last week was one of the blackest weeks the Jews have suffered. At the American Jewish Conference they were discussing Hungary when the news came of the Palestine plank and they all were heartened by this one bright spot in the Jewish scene. From that point of view, the timeliness of the Resolution will take its place in Jewish history.

Mr. Shulman expressed the opinion that it would be more advisable to press for the Resolution through the Senate first. It seemed to him that we have better

friends in the Senate, and with the removal of the military objection the Resolution could, he felt, be pushed through. Mr. Shulman was of the opinion that the approach to the military should be through the State Department. He proposed that when our leaders call on Mr. Stettinius, they should point out to him that things are moving more rapidly than anticipated and suggest that this is the time to take up the matter with the President.

Mr. Shulman approved the suggestion that the entire question of our future political action be reviewed by the Program Committee or another sub-committee of the Council.

Mr. Boukstein asked whether, if the Resolution is to be pressed now, it could be possible to take out the word "ultimately".

Dr. Silver, summarizing the discussion, stated that there are two major tasks before us: 1) to avert partition; 2) to see that our pending resolutions are finally acted upon.

There are two events for which we shall be waiting:

- 1) our interview with Mr. Stettinius
- 2) more important than that: our interview with the President. Whether that could precede the meeting with Mr. Stettinius, Dr. Silver did not know.

A motion was made and adopted that the Program Committee go thoroughly into the matter. This motion was seconded and passed.

A Resolution expressing the gratitude of the Emergency Council for the fine plank included in the Democratic Party platform was adopted, this Resolution to be publicized and sent to the proper people.

NEW HIGH COMMISSIONER

Reference was made to the appointment of Viscount Gort as High Commissioner of Palestine. It was indicated that no word concerning the new appointee had been received from London or Jerusalem, but inquiries would be made.

COMMUTATION OF SMULEVITCH SENTENCE

A cable received from the Jewish Agency in Jerusalem was read indicating that the Agency and the Chief Rabbi had appealed to the General Officer commanding the troops in Palestine not to carry out the death sentence.

The meeting adjourned at 11:15 P. M.

A. L.

C
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Y OF WIRE

LAKE PLACID, NEW YORK
JULY 24, 1944

DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER
AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COMMITTEE
342 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY

DEEPLY REGRET UNABLE ATTEND EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AND PLENARY SESSIONS IN WHICH
TO REPORT ON PALESTINE PLANK IN DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM. LEADERS OF CONVENTION
DESERVE OUR DEEPEST APPRECIATION FOR THEIR UNDERSTANDING SYMPATHY AND COOPERATION
I CANNOT SUFFICIENTLY THANK MY ASSOCIATES DR. ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN AND HERMAN SHULMAN
FOR THEIR WISE COUNSEL AND DEVOTED HELP ALSO JUDGE FISHER OF CHICAGO AND THE
STAFF INCLUDING STONE, SACK, MANSON, IN THE LIGHT OF BOTH PLANKS ZIONISM IS NOW
ABOVE THE REACH OF PARTISANSHIP AND STANDS AS AMERICAN ISSUE. THE COUNCIL AND
ITS CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS MUST PROVE EQUAL TO THE NEW OPPORTUNITY. MY
PERSONAL THANKS TO YOU FOR YOUR KINDLY MESSAGE.

WISE

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

July 10, 1944

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Monday, July 10th, at 4:00 P. M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Philip Cruso, Mrs. Judith Epstein, Leon Gellman, Rabbi Wolf Gold, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Louis Lipsky, Mrs. Tamar Pool, Herman Shulman, David Wertheim.

Dr. Nahum Goldmann; Rabbi Irving Miller, Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt, Meyer W. Weisgal.

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

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

POLITICAL REPORT

As reported at the last meeting of the Emergency Council, following their visit to the Under Secretary of State upon his return from London, the co-chairmen of the Emergency Council had sent a letter to Mr. Stettinius, on June 2nd, expressing concern lest information which he had given them might be predicated on some scheme of partition. The Under Secretary of State replied to this letter on June 22nd stating he "was hopeful that in the future, when an appropriate time is reached, the Palestine question will be solved in a manner which would be satisfactory to all concerned," and indicating that in view of military considerations it would be in the interest of the United Nations' cause to postpone discussion of the Palestine question until autumn at the earliest. Mr. Stettinius wrote further that he looked forward to another discussion of this subject with Dr. Silver and Dr. Wise later in the summer.

Following the discussion at the last meeting of the Emergency Council, a memorandum had been submitted to Mr. Cordell Hull, and a copy sent to Mr. Stettinius, outlining the reasons against any partition scheme. (Text of memorandum appended; also copy of Mr. Stettinius' acknowledgement).

Mr. Shulman reported on the interview which Mr. Neumann and he had had with Mr. Wallace Murray and some of his colleagues in the Near East Division. Little further light had been thrown either on the oil situation or on the conversations in London.

PALESTINE PLANK IN PLATFORMS OF NATIONAL POLITICAL PARTIES

Dr. Silver outlined the steps taken to bring about the inclusion of the Palestine plank in the Republican Party platform. (Report on file).

Dr. Silver said that the reaction to the plank had been varied. Quite a number of articles had appeared in the Yiddish papers appraising it at its true importance and recognizing that for the first time a national political party had gone a long way towards endorsing the Zionist position. Dr. Silver had also received a great many letters from people all over the country lauding the plank as a considerable achievement. On the other hand, some took exception to the last sentence in the plank, which condemned the President for his failure "to insist that the Mandatory of Palestine carry out the provision of the Balfour Declaration and of the Mandate while he pretends to support them," and because of that fact seemed to overlook the significance of the resolution itself. It would have been better, of course, if the last sentence had been left out. But as a matter of Party politics the Party had insisted, despite objections, on the inclusion of this criticism, nor was it the only thing for which they condemned the President. They condemned the present Administration for everything. We should be concerned with the plank primarily as Zionists, said Dr. Silver. The last sentence does not concern us and we ought to make the maximum capital out of the rest of the resolution, which is broad, generous and for the first time puts a national political party on record as endorsing the Zionist position.

Dr. Silver read the letter which he had written to Dr. Wise (who had denounced the condemnation of the President in the Republican Party plank at the Bloom Testimonial Dinner) in which he outlined what he believed should represent our line from now until November. (Letter on file).

Dr. Silver referred further to the article which had appeared in the Christian Science Monitor on June 28th (the day after the announcement of the adoption of the Republican platform) stating that the Palestine plank adopted by the Republicans was not welcome at the Department and listing alleged criticisms on the Republican demand being voiced by "those within the Department who have been working on the Palestine question."

Following the appearance of this article, a letter was sent by Dr. Silver to Mr. Stettinius, addressed to him as personal and confidential, drawing his attention to the article and to its inconsistency with the friendly approach manifested by Mr. Stettinius himself.

Dr. Silver indicated that every effort would be made to secure a Palestine plank in the Democratic platform, for which purpose Dr. Wise and Mr. Shulman were going to Chicago next week. He believed it would be a difficult task, and that the chances of having such a plank included would be greater if the Zionist competences had publicly expressed their satisfaction with the Republican plank.

In the ensuing discussion, Dr. Goldstein pointed to the difficulty involved in issuing a statement with regard to the Republican plank owing to the criticism of the President contained in that plank. He had had a statement ready on his desk for several days, but had not been able to make up his mind to give it to the press. It would be difficult to approve the plank while disassociating oneself from the criticism of the personal motives of the President which it contained. Therefore, he thought the wisest thing was to say nothing, until the whole question would be discussed at the meeting this afternoon and we would come to a conclusion as to where the greatest wisdom lies.

Mrs. Epstein stated that she had discussed the matter with her colleagues, most of whom felt that it was impossible to issue a statement lauding the plank because of the criticisms of the President. The alternative of issuing an innocuous statement, they felt, would be worse than useless.

Mr. Lipsky expressed the opinion that a meeting should have been held immediately after the adoption of the Republican platform to discuss the matter and decide whether statements acclaiming the Palestine plank should have been issued. It should not have been left to each member to follow his own course.

In the course of further discussion, Mr. Manson reported that he had received a telephone call from Albany to the effect that Mr. Dewey was calling a meeting to discuss the reaction to the Palestine plank and wished to have the clippings from the Yiddish and Anglo-Jewish press. Discussion then centered on the advisability of issuing a statement to the press.

Mr. Wertheim believed a Resolution hailing the plank should be adopted by the Council. A great deal has been accomplished in obtaining the plank, he said, even though we did not like the concluding sentence,

Rabbi Gold considered obtaining the Palestine plank in the Republican platform an historic event and believed we should express our thanks and appreciation for it. He believed that a Resolution should be adopted which should include an expression of hope that the Democratic Party would also adopt a Palestine plank. It would thus be indicated that an expression on Palestine is a non-partisan expression of the American people.

Mr. Shulman also felt that obtaining the plank in the Republican platform was an historic achievement. He agreed with Mr. Lipsky that it would have been helpful had there been a meeting of the Council to arrive at a decision as to common action to be taken concerning the plank. He understood that Dr. Wise had praised the substance of the Resolution at the Bloom Dinner, while condemning the last part, which, unfortunately, was the only thing reported by the press. As the situation stands today, some of our leaders feel they cannot praise the substance of the Resolution because of the last sentence. But there was no reason why they should not praise the first part and disassociate themselves from the last part. That was to be preferred to silence. In their statements they should also express the hope that the Democratic Party will adopt a similar Resolution.

Judge Levinthal agreed with Mr. Shulman. He pointed out that if one endorses the plank and does not make an express statement disassociating himself from the attack in the last sentence he thereby confirms it, because it is part of the plank. Judge Levinthal mentioned that he had arranged for the Jewish Exponent of Philadelphia to give prominent display to the plank on Palestine.

Mr. Cruso thought that the Anglo-Jewish press should be urged to make favorable comment on the Republican platform, and that this must be done as quickly as possible.

Dr. Silver then read a draft resolution which had been prepared and which he thought should be adopted by the meeting. (Final version as amended attached hereto).

Dr. Goldstein felt that he could not vote for the resolution as read unless some note disassociating ourselves from the condemnation of the President is included.

Mrs. Epstein agreed that the Council should pass a resolution, that that was preferable to having the individual organizations do so. But she could not vote for such a resolution as read because she, too, believed that something should be said about the last sentence; and also, she could not "hail with satisfaction" a resolution which did not refer to a Jewish Commonwealth.

Dr. Goldmann stated he had believed from the beginning that the Emergency Council should issue a statement praising the first part of the Republican Palestine plank and disassociating ourselves from the second part. The first part of the Resolution is a great achievement. If, however, we issue a statement without saying anything against the condemnation of the President contained in it, it will prejudice many Democrats against us. Dr. Goldmann urged that if a Resolution is passed by the Council that does not include criticism of the last sentence, it should be discussed with Dr. Wise before being issued. He recommended that a Resolution of appreciation and gratitude for the Republican plank be adopted and that in it we disassociate ourselves with the last part and express the hope that the Democrats will pass a similar resolution.

Mr. Lipsky said that an important aspect of the Republican plank is that it may induce the Democrats also to do something. He thought it would be preferable to make no reference to the Republicans' criticism of the President. We ourselves have been attacking the President, except that we do not suggest that he is insincere. The line taken by the State Department as evidenced by the Christian Science Monitor is an indication that the Democrats need goading.

To meet some of the objections raised to the draft resolution, Dr. Silver suggested changing the first sentence to read: "The American Zionist Emergency Council meeting on Monday, July 10th, hailed with satisfaction the section in the plank on Palestine which was included in the Republican Party platform...."

After further discussion, Dr. Goldstein moved that the Resolution be tabled. This motion was seconded, put to the vote and defeated.

Mr. Lipsky moved that the Resolution contain no reference to action on the part of the Democrats. This motion was also defeated.

A motion in favor of the Resolution as read by Dr. Silver with the change suggested was passed, 6 for, 4 against. Judge Levinthal wished to be recorded as opposing the action taken.

RADIO

It was reported by Mr. Shapiro that part of the sum which it was hoped to obtain from the local committees towards financing the radio project has been pledged and it is expected that the complete amount will be obtained shortly. The contract with the radio people is about to be signed. A number of outlines on the objectives of the program have been prepared, and it is hoped that within a few days the completion of the program can be announced.

Dr. Goldstein stated that the question of the radio program planned by the Emergency Council had been raised at the Z.O.A. Administrative Council meeting on July 9th and he was asked to convey to the Emergency Council the following Resolution which had been adopted by the Administrative Council:

"That the members of the Z.O.A. who are on the Emergency Council be instructed to ask for a reconsideration of the latter's planned radio project with a view to coordinating it with the Z.O.A. radio program which is already well advanced so as to avoid not only overlapping and confusion between the two programs, but also the danger of prejudicing the Z.O.A. program because of the National Association of Broadcasters' code."

Dr. Goldstein also read a letter he had received from Mr. Joshua Epstein, chairman of the Z.O.A. Radio Committee, in which he listed the arguments raised at the Z.O.A. Administrative Council meeting which led to the adoption of the Resolution.

Mr. Wertheim pointed out that the League for Labor Palestine has also arranged for radio programs, but this does not conflict with the Emergency Council project. He believed the Z.O.A. should adapt its programs to ensure no conflict.

Dr. Silver said it was a fallacy to suggest that the Emergency Council is in competition with its constituent organizations. The matter of a radio program for thirteen weeks, at a critical time in Zionist history, had been presented to this body and approved. Then difficulties arose in connection with the money to be raised by the local committees. Finally that matter was straightened out. In the budget of the Council adopted last fall, Dr. Silver pointed out, there was an item of \$75,000. for radio. Some of that money has been used for other things that were more pressing at the time. The Council will be about through with its program by the time the Z.O.A. starts theirs. There is no conflict one with the other.

After some further discussion, Dr. Goldstein moved that the matter of the Emergency Council radio project be reconsidered. Judge Levinthal seconded the motion, which was defeated by a vote of, 2 for, 5 against.

The meeting adjourned at 6:30 P. M.

A. L.

Memorandum on

Palestine and Partition

Submitted to State Department, July 7, 1944

1. The 1922 Partition. Partition is no new proposal as far as Palestine is concerned. The Balfour Declaration with its promise of a National Home for the Jewish people was originally intended to apply to the whole of historic Palestine,¹ including Palestine east of the Jordan, or Trans-Jordan as it is known today. In September, 1922, however, the League of Nations, at the instance of the British Government, excluded Trans-Jordan from this area. More than two-thirds of the territory originally designated as the Jewish National Home was thus closed to Jewish settlement.

2. The 1937 Proposal. A further partition of Palestine proposed in 1937 by the Palestine Royal Commission recommended the establishment of a Jewish State on an area of about one-fifth of Palestine west of the Jordan. The remainder, apart from a small British enclave, together with Trans-Jordan was to become an Arab State. In Parliament this proposal was severely criticized, among others, by Winston Churchill, and was made the subject of a devastating analysis by a former British High Commissioner of Palestine, Viscount Samuel. The objections indicated by Viscount Samuel were more than confirmed by the Palestine Partition Commission (1938), headed by Sir John Woodhead, which was appointed by the British Government to investigate the technical aspects of the partition proposal.

3. Economic Objections. No proposal for the future of Palestine can be acceptable to the Jewish people which precludes the possibility of large scale Jewish settlement and colonization. But partition, to quote the Woodhead Commission, "would be a severe blow to the economic welfare of the Jewish State." It would be detrimental to industrial expansion and would greatly limit the possibilities of absorbing a large Jewish population.

So far as agricultural colonization is concerned, partition would be fatal to any important project for close settlement and intensive development. For any conceivable partition of Palestine would necessarily separate the important water resources in the north, from the irrigable land in the south which offers the greatest prospect of development. Such a political separation of water and land would of course entirely preclude the development of Palestine in regional terms along the lines of the TVA, as suggested by Dr. W. C. Lowdermilk in "Palestine, Land of Promise".

4. Jewish Attitude Today. Whereas in 1937 some sections of the Zionist movement were ready to consider a proposal to establish a Jewish State in a partitioned Palestine, today Zionists are unanimous in their opposition to any partition. The reason lies in the fundamental change which the Jewish situation in Europe has undergone as a result of the war and Europe's occupation by the Nazis. While some of those Jews who will survive the war will no doubt desire to return to their countries of origin, for very many emigration and in particular emigration to Palestine where alone they can claim to go as of right and will be welcomed by their own people, offers the best, if not the only prospect of a new

1. Palestine Royal Commission Report, 1937, p. 38.

and more hopeful future. In order to meet the needs of such a large scale immigration it will be necessary to make use of the possibilities as a whole, and any reduction in the area of settlement would be regarded as introducing a corresponding limitation on the numbers who may thus be rehabilitated.

5. Exclusion of Vital Areas. To the Jews not merely would a second partition of Palestine be regarded as a grievous and continuing injustice, but in addition to the other objections already suggested there is the fact that no partition of Palestine is possible which would not exclude areas which are intimately woven economically, religiously sentimentally and historically into the warp and woof of the National Home. Thus the exclusion of northern Palestine from the Jewish State would not only remove from the Jewish area a network of colonies in Galilee associated with some of the most heroic aspects of the story of Jewish resettlement in Palestine, but would presumably mean in addition the excision of Haifa and of the Valley of Jezreel. Around Haifa are located most of the larger industrial enterprises of Palestine Jewry. To take away this port, which is the principal door to and from Palestine, and to exclude the surrounding industrial zone from the Jewish State would be a calamitous blow. The valley of Jezreel again, which has been entirely reclaimed from its previous pestiferous and marshy condition by the lives and sweat of Jewish colonists, is today the showpiece of Jewish colonization in Palestine. Its flourishing settlements constitute the backbone of Palestine's Jewish agricultural community. It would be inconceivable that this area should be cut out of the Jewish State to be. On the other hand, as already indicated, if the partition proposed is one which would exclude the southern area of Palestine from the Jewish State, we are faced at once with the fact that it is in the south that the greatest possibilities for agricultural development and settlement exist. To exclude this area is to hamstring these possibilities.

6. Effect on the Arabs. For the Arab State partition would be economically catastrophic. "It would be impossible", said the Woodhead Commission, "whatever boundaries we might recommend, to set up an Arab State which should be self-supporting." This view is confirmed by the results of the separation of Trans-Jordan from western Palestine. The latter, developed by Jewish energy and capital, has made rapid economic progress, with accompanying benefits for the Arab section of the population in the standard of living, educational and social services, and with unprecedented growth of population. Trans-Jordan, however, has remained poverty-stricken, dependent on subsidies from without, and numerically almost stationary.

7. Political Disadvantages. Great as are its economic disadvantages, partition is no less inexpedient from the political point of view. It is urged in justification of partition that by separating Arabs from Jews, the possibilities of friction are eliminated or at least reduced. But, as was indicated by the Woodhead Commission, any partition proposal would leave large numbers of Arabs within the Jewish area. At the same time the interest of the surrounding Arab States in the Arabs within the Jewish State would continue undiminished. Under these circumstances the establishment of a tiny, economically and politically impotent, Jewish State would hardly be conducive to a permanent settlement. Thus partition would fail to achieve its primary purpose. The alternative of a large scale transfer of Jews into an undivided and economically viable Palestine within a minimum period after the war, would create facts such as would make possible the establishment of a well-founded Jewish Commonwealth capable of maintaining itself and in a position ultimately to reach final and mutually advantageous agreements with its Arab neighbors. In addition, the natural boundary of the

Jordan Valley offers a strategically defensible frontier. "The military authorities", stated the Woodhead Commission, "have impressed us that no boundary can be found west of the Jordan which affords a satisfactory strategic line". Indeed, as one member of the Mandates Commission said, "Partition creates more problems than it solves."

Summary of Objections to a Partition of Palestine.

1. The effect on both the Arab and the Jewish States would be disastrous from the economic point of view. The Arab State could not be self-supporting and its standard of living would deteriorate. The Jewish State would be unable to support any considerable new immigration.
2. Administration would be complicated, communications and transportation greatly affected and liberty of movement curtailed.
3. No strategically defensible boundary can be drawn within Palestine west of the Jordan.
4. From the political point of view partition will be unacceptable to the Jews and would invite bitter and violent opposition from the Arabs.
5. In fine, partition would do no more than to create the caricature of a Jewish State -- a state lacking in the substance of economic and political power, unable to offer shelter to those hundreds of thousands of Jews who will desire to return to their National Home, and incapable of making that vitalizing contribution to the life of the whole Near and Middle East which might be expected from a broadly based, well established Jewish Commonwealth.

C
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Y

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

July 12, 1944

American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

Gentlemen:

I have received your kind letter of July 7, signed by Rabbi Silver and Rabbi Wise, enclosing a memorandum entitled "Palestine and Partition" which you have also submitted to Mr. Hull. I shall give it very close attention.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

(Sgd.)

E. R. Stettinius, Jr.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

July 24, 1944.

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Monday, July 24th, at 4:00 p.m., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

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

Marvin Lowenthal, Rabbi Irving Miller, Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt, Meyer W. Weisgal.

Arnold K. Isreeli, Harold P. Manson, Harry L. Shapiro.

Robert Silverman.

MINUTES

The minutes of the Executive Committee meeting held July 10th were approved.

MRS. BEN AVI

A letter from Mr. Mendel Fisher, Executive Director of the Jewish National Fund, was read in which it was proposed that the Emergency Council cooperate with the JNF to enable Mrs. Ben Avi and her daughter to return to Palestine. When Mr. Ben Avi passed away, the Emergency Council had agreed to pay \$35.00 a month to Mrs. Ben Avi for her maintenance, and the JNF did likewise. While the Council discontinued the subsidy after six months, the JNF was still making these monthly payments. A proposal had now come to the JNF that would make it possible for Mrs. Ben Avi and her daughter to leave the United States, but it was necessary to provide funds for their passage to Palestine. The suggestion was therefore made that the Emergency Council and the JNF each contribute half of the transportation costs.

A motion was made and passed that the proposal of the JNF be accepted.

CABLE RE MAURITIUS DETAINEES

The following cable received from the London office of the Jewish Agency was read:

"BOARD DEPUTIES RECEIVED FOLLOWING CABLE FROM MAURITIUS DETAINEES QUOTE DETAINMENT BECOMING UNBEARABLE ARE WEAK- ENED BY CLIMATE DISEASES INADEQUATE NOURISHMENT INTERN- MENT CONDITIONS STOP WHOLE CAMP ON HUNGER STRIKE FIFTH SIX JUNE PROTEST AGAINST ATTITUDE AUTHORITIES STOP URGENT RELEASE OR TRANSFER IMPERATIVE PLEASE HELP STOP CABLE ON OUR BEHALF AMERICAN ORGANIZATION RECABLE ACKNOWLEDGMENT MAURITIUS DETAINEES EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE UNQUOTE"

Rabbi Miller stated that the World Jewish Congress had been dealing with the matter of the Mauritius detainees and was in touch with the British Embassy in an attempt to obtain visas for them. Rabbi Miller indicated that he would be glad to make available full information on what had been done by the Congress.

It was believed that an approach should be made to the State Department in connection with the Mauritius detainees, and after some discussion it was decided that a delegation be appointed, which would study the facts to be made available by Rabbi Miller and present the matter to the State Dept.

"THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS AND THE JEWISH NATIONAL HOME IN PALESTINE"

It was reported that as of July 24th 360 statements had been received from members of Congress, which represented two-thirds of the members of the House and Senate together (67 Senators and 293 representatives *), for the book which the Council was to publish and which is to be entitled "The U.S. Congress and the Jewish National Home in Palestine". Mr. Reuben Fink had been working on the book for the past two weeks, together with members of the Emergency Council staff, and it should be ready by the end of August.

Among the statements submitted are some very important ones, it was indicated. In addition to the statements, the book is to include a brief history, together with documents, showing the continued interest of the U.S. Govt. in the Jewish National Home.

The suggestion was made, and approved, that the Palestine planks adopted by the Democratic and Republican parties at their recent conventions be included in the book.

YIDDISH PRESS

The question was raised of the attitude of the Yiddish press toward the Hebrew Committee of National Liberation and the American League for a Free Palestine. About three weeks ago the Jewish Daily Forward published an editorial stating that it would not accept advertisements from the Bergson group. The

As of August 7th statements have been received from 385 members of Congress)

Morning Journal also refused their advertisements, and it was believed the other Yiddish papers would do likewise. The Day, however, did accept a full page advertisement immediately after that, and the other papers were compelled to follow suit.

Although The Day has been cooperating with the recognized Zionist bodies in some ways, publishing favorable editorials, etc., the publisher of that paper has been most uncooperative in other ways, particularly in connection with the Bergson group's activities. It had been suggested that Mr. Weinberg be invited to meet with a committee of the Council and the whole question discussed with him thoroughly.

Dr. Silver recalled that he had invited Mr. Weinberg to meet with him about six months ago, and that he had also been invited to, and attended a meeting of the Emergency Council. Since then, however, his paper has been cooperating with the Bergson group. Their meeting at Town Hall, (referred to below) for example, was reported by The Day as a huge success.

Mr. Wertheim, who had been away from New York for some weeks, said he would be glad to discuss the matter with Mr. Weinberg pending which suggestions for other conversations with him would be deferred.

AMERICAN LEAGUE FOR A FREE PALESTINE

It was reported that the Town Hall meeting arranged by the American League for a Free Palestine had not been a great success. The hall was not filled. Peter Bergson's address, which had been broadcast had, according to many reports, created an impression on his radio audience, although others heard that the speech had not been received with any great interest.

A report was rendered on the question of the membership of the American League for a Free Palestine. A letter had been sent on July 6th to all those whose names had appeared on the last advertisement published by the League, enclosing copies of the statements issued by the American Jewish Conference, the Jewish Agency and the Emergency Council with regard to the Hebrew Committee of National Liberation and the League. Up to July 24th replies had been received from twenty-seven individuals, most of them prominent educators, publicists and civic leaders, indicating that they have either withdrawn from the League or that they were about to do so. A few had asked for further information, and these were being followed up. (As of August 7th, 35 persons had withdrawn from the Committee).

The opinion was expressed that not sufficient publicity had been given to the repudiation of the Hebrew Committee of National Liberation by the Jewish Agency and Vaad Leumi and that fuller use should be made of the strong statement issued by Palestine. Attention was drawn to the fact that the entire press of Palestine, including the Revisionist paper "Hamashkif", had published long articles, etc., strongly condemning the Hebrew Committee. The suggestion was made, and approved, that a further release be issued by the Emergency Council based on the statements made in the press of Palestine.

In connection with the announcement made that the Hebrew Committee of National Liberation intended to float a loan, Mr. Shulman reported that at his request, an inquiry had been made of the S.E.C. and it was found that no application to float a loan had been filed by the Hebrew Committee. It was also put on record that the recognized Jewish agencies wished to be heard if such an application

should be made. Further it appeared that in law there were great difficulties in the way of filing an application by the Hebrew Committee.

A report was read on the legal position of the Hebrew Committee of National Liberation.
DR. BERKSON

It was decided to invite Dr. I. B. Berkson, head of the Research Department, to meetings of the Executive Committee.

BUDGET

Dr. Silver reported that he had arranged for the Finance Committee to meet shortly to discuss the budget for the coming year.

MR. BILLIKOPF'S ACTIVITIES

It was reported that Mr. Jacob Billikopf of Philadelphia, on his own initiative, had sent out 250 copies of Dr. Lowdermilk's book to leading citizens all over the United States. He has been receiving some remarkably fine letters in reply, which have revealed some very good friends of ours among non-Jews. Mr. Billikopf has been asked to request the authors of these letters to grant us permission to give publicity to them.

"PALESTINE"

Several members of the Committee commented on the excellent issue of "Palestine" which had just appeared. It was the consensus that this magazine is improving with every issue and becoming a worthy successor of the magazine "Palestine" published in England many years ago. Dr. Silver remarked that Mr. Lipsky and Miss Schwartz deserve the highest praise for the excellent job they are doing.

MR. BUELL'S MEMORANDUM

Mr. Neumann reported that Mr. Leslie Buell, former head of the Foreign Policy Association and at present research head for Time, Life and Fortune magazines, has written a memorandum dealing with American policy in regard to the Near East. Among other things, Mr. Buell suggests setting up a United Nations Council for the Near East, to coordinate conflicting interests. One of the functions of the Council would be to protect the future of the Jewish National Home. Mr. Buell had taken up his idea with Lord Halifax, who had shown some interest, provided the United States were willing to share responsibility. Mr. Buell is now working on another memorandum dealing with Palestine.

BOOK ON ORTHODOX APPROACH TO ZIONISM

Rabbi Gold reported that the book which it had been agreed to publish dealing with the religious attitude towards Zionism is in preparation.

COMMITTEE ON CONTACTS WITH GOVERNMENTS-IN EXILE

Dr. Silver believed that the Committee on Contacts with Allied Post-War Group which had been set up early in the year should now be revived, and should make close contact with the Governments-in-Exile, particularly the Free French. Mrs. Halprin was requested to resume the chairmanship of this Committee.

The meeting adjourned at 6 p.m.

L.B.

PROGRAM COMMITTEE MEETING

August 8, 1944

Present: Mr. Shulman (presiding), Mrs. Halprin, Dr. Goldmann, Mr. Lipsky
Mr. Neumann, Mr. Weisgal, Mr. Sack, Mr. Shapiro.

Agenda: 1) Program for future political action.
2) Partition.
3) Status of Jewish Agency office.
4) Youth Actions Committee.

A MOTION was adopted that this committee recommend to the Executive Committee that a commission be set up, with authority to engage such experts in ~~the~~ political economy and international law as may be deemed necessary, to deal with the question of the Jewish Commonwealth in all its implications. This commission to be either a sub-committee of the Program Committee or another committee to be designated by the Executive.

IT WAS AGREED that Dr. Goldmann should cable to London to send over to us whatever plans ~~has~~ have been formulated by the Jewish Agency committee which has been discussing this matter.

Mrs. Halprin moved that a committee be set up to think out the possible alternatives to a Jewish Commonwealth which may be proposed and our attitude towards them. It was decided to postpone discussion on this motion. It was pointed out that there were no definite proposals on which to base any thinking on this subject.

Matters to be Taken up with President

Mr. Shulman proposed that the following matters be taken up when our representatives see the President:

1) To request the President to press Ct. Britain to open wide the doors of Palestine to Jewish immigration, to enable the Jews of Hungary to go to Palestine.

2) It should be made clear ~~has~~ to the President that as a result of information received partition has not yet been excluded and while it is agreed

that the Jews are entitled to a Jewish Commonwealth, there are people in the British Cabinet who favor partition. The President should be armed with the facts and figures, which would put us in a position to get him to take a stand before a decision is reached in London.

3) The President should be asked to urge that no decision re Palestine be announced in England before the U.S. is notified and the U.S. Government, in line with the promise made by Mr. Welles, has had an opportunity to consult with the Zionist leaders in the U.S.

Dr. Goldmann supported this line of thinking. In addition, he suggested:

a) That we should clarify with Mr. Stettinius whether it is possible to see the President in the next few weeks. If there is no chance of seeing him very soon, a letter should go to him in Dr. Wise's name, the moment he is back in Washington, setting forth the unanimous opposition of American Zionists to partition. The letter should be brief, not more than a page and a half or two pages, so that he would be sure to read it.

b) That in the conversation with the President, or in the letter to be sent to him if we cannot see him soon, mention should be made of the promise made by Mr. Welles.

It was agreed, of course, that in the talk with the President we continue to press for a solution along the Jewish Commonwealth lines.

Mr. Neumann suggested that we should try to get the President to designate some persons who will work with us on a more concrete and more detailed plane, on the basis of the Democratic Party plank and the Resolution pending in Congress, and who will be prepared to discuss with us what can be done in a concrete way to implement our program, e.g. implementing large scale immigration. It was decided to come back to this proposal later.

Mr. Neumann suggested that Mr. Welles be asked privately to repeat the statement he had made).

Public Agitation

It was proposed that we start a strong public propaganda campaign on the Hungarian situation. In view of Horthy's offer to let all the Jews who have Palestine certificates go to Palestine, there is now only the White Paper which stands very concretely in the way of saving 400,000 Hungarian Jews. It was recommended that representations be made to the State Department (Mr. Stettinius) at once, and ~~de~~ facto abrogation of the White Paper pressed for. The propaganda campaign should be participated in by all the organizations, and made a real public issue.

IT WAS AGREED that the American Jewish Conference, the American Jewish Congress and the Emergency Council should carry on a public agitation on behalf of the Hungarian Jews.

IT WAS ALSO AGREED to call to the attention of the Conference Mr. Neumann's suggestion that they make use of the local Emergency Committees in sending wires to the President or the State Dept.

Congress Resolution

It was agreed that the first step should be to contact the State Dept. It was suggested that it should be indicated to Mr. Stettinius that we had gone to the State Dept. before bringing up the Resolution and they did not say we should not proceed with it, and that it is now up to the State Dept. to clear up the situation.

Mr. Sacks suggested that 1) we see Stettinius and go into the whole picture with him, and 2) that we get the President to stand back of the Resolution.

Mr. Shulman believed we should play for a statement from the President before pressing for the Resolution. ~~Heckert~~ Before proceeding with the resolution we should :

1) get assurances from the War Department and other departments of the Govt. which have any interest in the matter that they will not raise any objections.

2) get assurances that the Resolution will pass in its present form.

Mr. Shulman also proposed that:

3) we try to get the Resolution through the Senate first and then through the House.

There was some discussion as to whether if a statement ~~was~~ ~~presented~~ from the President should be pressed for instead of the Resolution. It was pointed out we might not get the statement from the President for a long time, and we might get the Resolution through in a short time. Although the Resolution will not be a directive to the Government, it will be an asset.

AGREED: First to have an interview with Stettinius.

Not to press for the Resolution without getting the green light from the Government people.

It is one of the objectives of the talk with Stettinius to secure the consent of the Government to the Resolution.

It should be made clear that if Mr. Stettinius gives the green light it is definite that the War Dept. as well has no further objections.
Plan to get written statements from candidates for House and Senate

Mr. Sack presented his plan to get written statements from all the candidates for the House and the Senate supporting the Resolution.

A MOTION was adopted that the plan submitted by Mr. Sack should be adopted in principle and the details worked out by the office. It was recommended that it be operated locally by the Zionist groups.

PARTITION

Dr. Goldmann suggested that the local emergency committee be informed that we have sent a memorandum on partition to the State Department.

STATUS OF JEWISH AGENCY OFFICE

This was discussed very briefly with Dr. Goldmann, who had another meeting and could not stay any longer. It was agreed that it would be discussed with him further on his return from Mexico. Dr. Goldmann indicated that the best thing would be for Dr. Silver and him to have a talk.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

August 14, 1944

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Monday, August 14th, at 4:00 P. M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Mrs. Judith Epstein, Leon Gellman, Rabbi Wolf Gold, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Louis Segal, Mrs. Herman Shulman, Herman Shulman, Louis Lipsky, Philip Cruso.

Marvin Lowenthal, Rabbi Irving Miller, Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt.

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

Robert Silverman, Leo R. Sack.

MINUTES

The minutes of the Executive Committee meeting held July 24th were approved.

LETTER FROM I. L. KENEN

A letter from I. L. Kenen expressing appreciation of the effective manner in which the staff of the Council had cooperated in the Madison Square Rally was read as a matter of record.

BERL KATZENELSON

The chairman referred to the grievous loss suffered by the movement in the death of Berl Katzenelson. Dr. Silver spoke of his rare qualities of mind and spirit, of his devotion and selflessness. After a further tribute by Rabbi Gold, who referred to Berl Katzenelson as a "Talmid Chacham" in the true sense of the word, it was resolved to call a memorial meeting at the offices of the Council the following Thursday to which members of the executive boards of the Zionist bodies should be invited.

RE-CREATION OF NON-ZIONIST GROUP IN JEWISH AGENCY

Dr. Wise reported that from conversations he had had with Judge Proskauer he gathered that there is a movement afoot, the purpose of which is to restore the authority of the non-Zionist section of the Jewish Agency. This plan had serious implications for the status of the American Jewish Conference. Dr. Wise, therefore, proposed that a statement be prepared for transmission to Dr. Weizmann informing him of the situation and requesting the opportunity to discuss the matter with him before it is taken up with the Jewish Agency. This was agreed. Dr. Silver pointed out that this attempt to revive the defunct non-Zionist membership of the Jewish Agency was aimed in the final analysis at destroying the Jewish Commonwealth plan. Mr. Shulman urged that in addition to the telegram to Dr. Weizmann a memorandum be prepared at once on the legal status of the Agency. Judge Rothenberg thought

that legally there was no possibility of reconstituting the Jewish Agency at this time because there was no possibility of making arrangements for the representation of Jews from the European countries. It was pointed out however that although this argument might be practical now, it may not hold for very long. After further discussion, it was resolved that Judge Rothenberg, Mr. Shulman and Dr. Berkson be appointed a committee to prepare a memorandum on the present position in regard to the Agency.

WESTERMAN DOCUMENT

Dr. Wise asked whether the committee was aware of a confidential document drawn up by Prof. Westerman of Columbia for the Council for Foreign Relations. Prof. Bowman was to be the rapporteur in connection with this document which he understood was ^{to be} submitted to President Roosevelt. The document attacks the Zionists and contains a number of demonstrable falsehoods, such as that American Jews are evenly divided between pro and anti-Zionists. In regard to the American Jewish Conference it is a vindication of the American Jewish Committee's position. As indicative of its mendacity Dr. Wise cited the statement in the memorandum that "there is no reason for believing that the statement of President Wilson on the Jewish Commonwealth is founded on fact." Dr. Berkson pointed out that Prof. Westerman had been favorable to the establishment of Palestine as a Jewish State at the Peace Table, but that he changed later. Dr. Wise hoped to know shortly whether this document had in fact reached the President. In the meantime it was agreed that if in Dr. Wise's opinion a statement in reply was called for, such a statement be drafted for submission to the President.

REPORT ON PROGRAM COMMITTEE MEETING

Mr. Shulman reported that the Program Committee met on August 8th to discuss what steps are to be taken in the political field in the coming months. The committee recommended unanimously that an appointment should be made with Mr. Stettinius as soon as possible to discuss the Palestine matter with him, and to request an interview with the President. It was further ^{the} consensus of the committee that our representative should make clear to the President ^{the} unanimous opposition of American Zionists to partition; we should also seek reaffirmation of Sumner Welles' statement in an interview some time ago that when Great Britain takes up with our Government the question of Palestine our Government will consult with us. There is a likelihood that the British will announce their decision without consulting Dr. Weizmann and we here should seek the opportunity to know what is proposed before it is announced to the world. When seeing the President this point should be pressed. Also to be discussed with Mr. Stettinius is Britain's position that it will issue visas for Palestine only to those Jews escaping from Nazi-occupied countries. It is important that visas be issued to all Jews who can use them. The pressing need at the moment is to allow the Jews of Hungary to go to Palestine. Dr. Goldmann who attended the Program Committee meeting, agreed with these proposals, and in addition suggested that if there was a delay in seeing the President a memorandum embodying these points should be sent to him.

With reference to the Palestine Resolution in Congress, it was the committee's recommendation that we should not proceed until we get the "green light", that is, receive assurances from the State and War Departments that they will interpose no objections. It might also be advisable to try to secure another statement from the President. The committee also proposed that the Resolution be first brought out in the Senate and then in the House, because the Senators are more friendly disposed toward us.

The Program Committee referred to a proposal^{that,} working in conjunction with the local Zionist Committees, candidates for Congress be approached in regard to the Palestine issue. It was agreed that this must be done with discretion. Included in this proposal was the suggestion that steps be taken to have candidates incorporate in their campaign speeches, references to the Palestine issue - what Palestine means to the Jewish people, the Arab situation, and present-day Jewish needs.

In the course of the discussion on the various points presented on behalf of the Program Committee, Mrs. Halprin suggested setting up a committee to blue-print the Commonwealth program. She said there is need for such a committee to devote itself full time to dealing with every aspect and implication of our work in Palestine. The committee might employ the services of experts and an international lawyer and should be ready to answer questions at all times. The suggestion was left under consideration. Dr. Silver and the committee agreed that all the items emphasized by the Program Committee are of great importance and should be taken up with Mr. Stettinius.

DR. GOLDMANN'S MEETING WITH MR. STETTINIUS

Dr. Wise read a passage from a letter from Dr. Goldmann to himself with reference to a conversation which he (Dr. Goldmann) had had with Mr. Stettinius. Dr. Goldmann had gone to see Mr. Stettinius in connection with the rescue of Hungarian Jews; in the course of the conversation, Mr. Stettinius had said that there would not be any statement on the Palestine issue in August, as had been previously indicated and possibly nothing would be announced until the European war was over or nearly over. Considerable criticism was expressed by various members of the Council of the fact that a discussion of this kind should have taken place with Mr. Stettinius at a time when the representatives of the Council were due to see him themselves. Dr. Silver said that the continued functioning of two Zionist political bureaus in Washington created an impossible situation. He had brought the matter up on several occasions previously but nothing had been done. He could not continue in this fashion and was submitting his resignation as chairman of the committee. After further discussion it was resolved that Dr. Silver, Dr. Wise and Dr. Goldmann meet on the morning of the 28th August to clarify and determine the functions of the two offices.

REPORT BY NORMAN LOURIE

A report by Mr. Norman Lourie, who had just arrived by air from Cairo, on the situation in the Middle East, followed.

The meeting adjourned at 6:15 P. M.

A. L.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

August 28, 1944

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Monday, August 28th, at 4:00 P. M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

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

Dr. Nahum Goldmann, Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt.

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

Dr. Joseph Cohn, Robert Silverman.

JEWISH AGENCY OFFICE

After a full discussion of the report submitted by Mr. Shulman, as chairman of the Program Committee, on the meetings of the Committee held August 22nd and 24th, (minutes of discussion on file), the following motion was adopted by the affirmative vote of all the members present at the meeting, with the exception of Mr. Neumann, who wished to be recorded as not voting:

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

"In view of the situation which has arisen, the Executive Committee expresses its approval of the principle embodied in Paragraph 1 of the Resolution drafted by the Program Committee, which read as follows:

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

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

"It is agreed that another meeting of the Executive Committee be held Thursday afternoon, August 31st, and a notice to this effect be sent out by the secretary.

A. L.



AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETINGS OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Thursday, August 31st, at 4:00 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, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mrs. S. Goldstein, Louis Lipsky, Emanuel Neumann, Samuel Rothstein, Louis Segal, Herman Shulman, Mrs. Rebecca Shulman, Meyer W. Weisgal, David Wertheim.

Dr. Nahum Goldmann, Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt.

Arthur Lourie, Harold P. Manson, Harry L. Shapiro.

JEWISH AGENCY OFFICE

The chairman of the Program Committee reported that the resolution adopted at the Executive Committee meeting of August 28th had been communicated to Dr. Silver, but Dr. Silver felt that on the basis of the information given him he was not in a position to withdraw his resignation and requested that the following statement be presented to the Executive Committee:

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

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

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

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

"He has suggested two very simple procedures to implement the principle which was adopted by the Executive Committee. He feels that these two proposals are indispensable to the successful operation of the Emergency Council and to his own effective service.

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

After some discussion it was decided to refer this entire matter to the full Emergency Council, at a meeting to be called on September 14th, and that Dr. Silver be requested to hold his resignation in abeyance pending action by the Council.

MEETINGS OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

It was decided to hold additional meetings, if necessary, of the Executive Committee in order to deal with unfinished matters on the agenda.

RESOLUTION IN CONGRESS CALLING FOR EMERGENCY SHELTERS IN PALESTINE

The question was raised of the resolution introduced into Congress, by Senator Elbert D. Thomas in the Senate, and Representative Andrew L. Somers and others in the House, and sponsored by several other Senators and Representatives, including Senator Robert A. Taft. The resolution calls for the establishment of "mass emergency rescue shelters in the mandated territory of Palestine" and urges President Roosevelt and Secretary Hull to use their influence to persuade Britain to permit free entry of Hebrews from Hungary into Palestine. At a press conference on the subject of this resolution, Senator Thomas voiced the hope that "the President and Secretary of State will heed our call, even before the Senate can act on the resolution." The resolutions were sent to the Committee on Foreign Relations and the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

It was reported that inquiries were made on our behalf in Washington in connection with these resolutions from which it appeared unlikely that the resolutions would be proceeded with. The wording of the resolutions is characteristic of the Bergson group. What is sought are temporary rescue shelters; no demand is made for immigration certificates for the refugees to enable them to settle permanently in Palestine.

In the discussion which followed, Dr. Goldmann expressed the view that the introduction of this resolution was a very serious matter and required immediate action on the part of the Emergency Council. He pointed out that one of the

representatives who had endorsed this resolution was the majority leader, John W. McCormack, who had supported our resolution and is a good friend of ours. He, as well as our other friends in Congress, should be warned that when they are approached by the Bergson group they ought to consult us.

The resolution which the Bergson group has now had introduced in Congress Dr. Goldmann pointed out, in asking only for temporary refuge for the Jews of Hungary with the implication that they will be sent back to their countries of origin after the war means giving up the claim to Palestine. The resolution is also not practical. At present not one Jew in Hungary can leave that country, since with Rumania and Hungary at war the border between the two countries is closed. The only other possibility for escape is through Switzerland, and the Germans are not permitting any Hungarian Jews to leave. The resolution is nothing more than a publicity stunt.

Dr. Goldmann urged that a delegation go to Washington and explain all this to the Congressmen who have lent their support to this resolution and remind them that there is already a resolution before Congress which meets the situation; and further request them to withdraw their signatures, or, if they will not agree to do that, not to support the resolution if and when it is taken up. The Chairmen of the Committee on Foreign Relations and the Committee on Foreign Affairs should also be seen in this connection.

Dr. Goldstein reported that Representative Sol Bloom had consulted him concerning Rabbi Korff, director of rescue activities of the Emergency Committee to Save the Jews of Europe, and Rabbi Eliezer Silver of the Agudas Israel, who came to Washington in connection with the Bergson resolution, and Dr. Goldstein thereupon telephoned him and informed him of our attitude to the Bergson group as a whole.

Rabbi Gold expressed the fear that any action we might take in the way of influencing the Congressmen against this resolution might be misunderstood and might be regarded as detrimental to possible opportunities for rescuing Jews. Rabbi Gold did not believe there was any possibility of this resolution coming before Congress for action.

Mr. Weisgal disagreed with Rabbi Gold. It was our duty to make clear to the Jews of America and to the Congressmen that this resolution was a fraud, and we must do so without fear. Nobody will accuse us of being indifferent to the fate of the Jews of Hungary.

Dr. Goldmann supported this view. It is our duty, as a political body, to inform public opinion. We cannot allow the public to become the victim of every demagogue. Dr. Goldmann urged that a statement be issued by the Emergency Council which should be brought to the attention not only of members of Congress, but of our friends everywhere. Those who read the resolution do not understand what is implied, and this should be made clear. Dr. Goldmann suggested further that an article on the subject be placed in the Yiddish press.

Mr. Wertheim, referring to Rabbi Gold's objections, recalled the first resolution introduced in Congress as a result of the efforts of the Bergson group (the Gillette resolution), which we did not attack, but which, nevertheless, we were accused of attacking. Mr. Wertheim suggested that, as far as the Yiddish press was concerned, perhaps it might be sufficient merely to inform all the Yiddish writers of the facts and implications of the resolution.

Mr. Shulman believed we must take a position in this matter. He moved that a dignified statement be prepared indicating in the first instance the work of rescue being carried on by the Jewish Agency, where possible reciting practical steps taken; and contrasting that with the activities of the Bergson group, pointing out that they have no facilities and no machinery for rescue work, and have actually done nothing. The statement should further refer to the fact that although there are 14,500 Palestine immigration certificates still available, at the present time there is a ruling that only those who escape from Nazi occupied territory can receive certificates, that is, a refugee who managed to escape from Hungary to Yugoslavia and then into Italy is not eligible for a visa to Palestine. The plea should be made in this document that the British Government grant certificates to these people. With regard to the resolution, our statement should indicate that we refuse to recognize the distinction between Hebrews and Jews and that we do not approve of asking for merely temporary refuge for Jews in Palestine. It should point out that the resolution is a publicity stunt to gain support for the Hebrew Committee of National Liberation.

Such a statement, Mr. Shulman believed, should be submitted to every member of the Foreign Affairs and Foreign Relations committees; and support of the American Palestine Committee for it should also be obtained.

Mr. Segal pointed out that in order to counteract the propaganda of the Bergson group to ^{the} Yiddish speaking public, which takes the form of full page advertisements, it is necessary to dramatize our propaganda as well. He proposed that statements issued by responsible bodies should be placed in the Yiddish press in some effective form. He further suggested that the statement be sent to thousands of individual Jews throughout the country.

After further discussion it was decided that a statement along the lines indicated in the discussion be prepared, to be given the fullest possible publicity; and that a committee be appointed to follow the matter up in Washington.

NEW ZIONIST ORGANIZATION MEMORANDUM TO DUMBARTON OAKS CONFERENCE

It was reported that prior to the opening of the Dumbarton Oaks Conference inquiries were made as to the possibility of the Conference considering Palestine. Despite the J.T.A. reports that it would, the persons to whom these inquiries were addressed were certain that Palestine as such would not come on the agenda, although it was possible that the question of the Mandate system in general might be considered.

On August 25th, the New Zionist Organization submitted a memorandum to the Conference which received considerable publicity in the press. It called for the abolition of the British Mandate over Palestine and for the country to be placed under international guardianship with the Jewish people as its administrators.

Some of the news reports of the press conference held by Colonel Mendelsohn in connection with the submission of this memorandum cited him as charging that reports showed that Great Britain was attempting to partition Palestine which would reduce the amount of territory open to Jewish immigration. Colonel Mendelsohn also criticized the Zionist Organization of America for its "weak, vacillating, appeasing, take-what-they-give-us policy."

In the discussion on this matter, it was pointed out that since the Revisionists had raised the question of partition, a statement should be issued by the Emergency Council indicating that it opposes any partition of Palestine.

It was recalled that it had been the considered opinion of the Emergency Council that we should not engage in a public discussion of the question of partition. It was believed, however, that if we are accused of favoring partition we should certainly make our attitude known. This would not be inconsistent with our decision not to raise the question of partition publicly.

After further discussion it was decided that a statement be prepared in response to the allegations made by the Revisionists with regard to the attitude of the Zionist leadership to partition.

AMERICAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE

Mr. Shulman reported that some time ago the Executive Committee of the American Palestine Committee prepared a memorandum, to be submitted to Secretary Hull, presenting a series of proposals dealing with the emergency created by the situation in Hungary. In response to the request for an interview, Mr. Hull wrote on August 29th that in view of the pressure of business it would be impossible for him to see the Committee personally but he had made an appointment for them with Mr. Adolf A. Berle, Assistant Secretary of State. Mr. Shulman asked for an expression of opinion from the Executive as to whether it was advisable for the A.P.C. Executive to meet with Mr. Berle. Some members of the A.P.C. Executive felt it would give them an opportunity to press the request that Palestine certificates be made available for refugees who are not in Nazi occupied territory. They also felt that they should visit the British Embassy in this connection.

It was agreed that it was advisable for the A.P.C. Executive Committee to meet with Mr. Berle and also to visit the British Embassy.

NEXT MEETING

It was agreed that the question of the Congressional Resolution was the most important item to be taken up at the next meeting of the Executive Committee.

The meeting adjourned at 6:00 P. M.

A. L.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

September 11, 1944

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Monday, September 11th, at 4:00 P. M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Stephen S. Wise (presiding), Mrs. Judith Epstein, Leon Gellman, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Louis Lipsky, Rabbi Irving Miller, Emanuel Neumann, Louis Segal, Herman Shulman, Meyer W. Weisgal, David Wertheim.

Dr. Nahum Goldmann, Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt.

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

Dr. Joseph Cohn.

CONFERENCE CONVENED BY FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA

Mr. Neumann raised the question of the conference convened by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ to be devoted to a discussion of the Palestine question, in which he had been asked to participate. Dr. James G. Heller, Dr. I. B. Berkson and Professor Albright were to present the Zionist case; and Professors Hitti and Hocking, and a Mr. Baroudi, would speak for the Arabs. Dr. Israel Goldstein was to have been one of the participants but was unable to attend.

In connection with this conference, it was reported that last spring the Federal Council of Churches of Christ had planned to publish an Information Bulletin on Palestine. Dr. Johnson, after consultation with Dr. Berkson, decided to postpone publication of the Bulletin, which was far from friendly to the Zionist cause, and to arrange a number of conferences on the question of Palestine and Zionism, in which representative Jews and Christians would participate, and in which the Zionists would be given a full opportunity to explain their views. The meeting arranged for September 13th was the first of these conferences.

It had been hoped to have other prominent members of the Christian Council on Palestine participate in this conference, but unfortunately they would all be out of New York on the date set by the Federal Council.

It was agreed that Mr. Neumann ought also to take part in the conference.

FORTUNE MAGAZINE ARTICLES

Reference was made to the fine article, entitled "The Explosive Middle East", written by Mr. Babcock, one of the editors of Fortune, and appearing in the current issue of the magazine. It was reported that an article on Palestine

is to appear in the October issue of Fortune, also written by Mr. Babcock, who has visited Palestine. This article has been seen by several members of the Executive, who consider it fairly good.

AMERICAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE

Mr. Shulman reported that plans have been made by the A.P.C. Executive for a number of regional conferences, the first to be held in Philadelphia on October 10th. The speakers at this conference will be Justice Maxey, Dr. Marsh, Prof. Friedrich and Dr. Poling. A memorandum is being sent to the chairmen of the local emergency committees in the communities in this region urging them to arrange for delegates of their local American Palestine Committees to attend this conference. Conferences are also being arranged to be held in Chicago, Dallas, St. Louis and San Francisco.

Mr. Shulman reported further that the choice of Dr. LeSourd as the director of the A.P.C. had been a very fortunate one. He is a fine person and an effective worker.

A.P.C. DELEGATION TO STATE DEPARTMENT

At the last meeting of the Executive Committee it had been decided that it was advisable for the American Palestine Committee Executive to send a delegation to the State Department, to meet with Mr. Berle, who had been designated by Mr. Hull to receive them since he was unable to do so himself.

It was reported that the delegation, which is to meet with Mr. Berle on September 12th, was to consist of Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, Chaplain of the United States Senate, Rev. Richard E. Evans and Dr. LeSourd, and would present to the State Department a memorandum which would, in addition to dealing with the question of rescuing Hungarian Jews, urge that Palestine certificates be made available not only for refugees in Nazi occupied territory, but for those in Southern Italy and elsewhere.

It was agreed that wide publicity should be given to the memorandum to be submitted by the A.P.C. delegation to the State Department.

RESOLUTION IN CONGRESS CALLING FOR EMERGENCY SHELTERS IN PALESTINE

It was reported that although it was decided at the last meeting of the Executive Committee to issue a public statement in connection with the resolution introduced in Congress on the instigation of the Bergson group and to give it wide publicity, the situation had changed considerably in view of the fact that Rumania entered the war and also because it appeared that there was no possibility of the resolution being pushed in Congress. A public statement had therefore not been issued, but instead letters had been sent to the Senators and Representatives who had sponsored the resolution indicating the inadequacies of the resolution (copy appended). A letter had also been addressed to these sponsors by the American Jewish Conference.

BRITISH INFORMATION SERVICES' PAMPHLET "FIFTY FACTS ABOUT MIDDLE EAST"

Reference was made to a booklet published by the British Information Services and widely circulated, entitled "Fifty Facts About the Middle East". In this booklet the situation in Palestine is briefly reviewed and while there are no actual misstatements of fact, the omissions give a false impression.

This matter was drawn to the attention of the American Palestine Committee and a letter was sent by Dr. LeSourd to the British Information Services indicating how misleading the section on Palestine is. It is proposed to give this letter publicity in the course of a few days.

WOMEN LAWYERS COMMITTEE

It was reported that a committee of women lawyers, comprising members of the National Association of Women Lawyers, was set up some months ago by the president of the Association, who is a convinced Zionist. A convention of the Association is being held in Chicago this week and it is hoped that they will adopt a resolution on Palestine.

EXCHANGE CERTIFICATES

In connection with the 281 refugees who arrived in Palestine on exchange certificates, which included a group of Dutch Zionists who had been transferred to Bergenbelsen near Hanover together with a group from Vittel in France, inquiry was made of the Jewish Agency as to whether there was any possibility of further groups being brought to Palestine in this way. A cable had just been received from Jerusalem stating that a further exchange was in preparation which would most likely include another group from Bergenbelsen among whom there were considerable Dutch refugees, but the continuation of exchange arrangements was dependent on whether there would be Germans available to send back to Germany.

Dr. Kubowitzi, at the World Jewish Congress, has been working on this problem for a long time. Dr. Goldmann explained that the attempt has been made by the Congress to have "exchange material" pooled, that is, to arrange for Germans in the Latin American countries, in South Africa, in Australia, etc. exchanged against Jews in German territory. A special department in the State Department has been engaged in trying to find exchange material. It is a very complicated question. For one thing, the authorities in the various countries approached do not wish to release from internment Nazis whom they consider dangerous; and the non-Nazis do not wish to return to Germany.

It was suggested that this matter be discussed further with Dr. Kubowitzi.

PALESTINE IMMIGRATION CERTIFICATES

Reference was made to the statement released to the press a few days ago in London by Moshe Shertok in which he criticized strongly the policy of the Palestine Administration in retaining all the 14,000 certificates still available under the White Paper for refugees still in Nazi occupied territory. At first the Jewish Agency agreed to allocate these certificates for Jews in Hungary and Rumania, but that was at a time when it was still possible for them to leave those countries. Now it is impossible for any Jews to get out of Hungary, and the Palestine Administration still insists on holding the certificates and refuses to allocate any of them for Jews who have succeeded in escaping the Nazi trap and are "physically safe". For example, no certificates are available for those who have escaped to Italy via Yugoslavia. The Jewish Agency is fighting this policy in London.

It was believed that a delegation should call on Lord Halifax urging that certificates be made available for Jews not in Nazi-occupied territory. It was agreed that it would be preferable that such a delegation be sent under the auspices of the American Jewish Conference, and it was decided to recommend such action to the Interim Committee of the Conference. It was further decided that as much publicity as possible be given to the present situation with regard to immigration into Palestine.

QUEBEC CONFERENCE

In connection with the Quebec Conference it was agreed that action be taken by Dr. Wise to bring to the attention of the President the desirability of an early decision on Palestine. At the same time, in setting out the Zionist objectives of free immigration under a Jewish Commonwealth the opportunity should be taken to stress the Zionist objections to any proposal for partition.

CONGRESSIONAL RESOLUTION

The question of further action to be taken in connection with the Resolution before Congress was discussed. It was pointed out that Congress may adjourn on October 1st and if anything is to be done with the Resolution it should be done quickly.

It was recalled that it had been decided not to proceed further with the Resolution until there was some clear indication from the State and War Departments that they would raise no further objections to it. It had been impossible to see Mr. Stettinius, since he was tied up at the Dumbarton Oaks conference, and it might be another week and a half before he returned to Washington.

The opinion was expressed that what was important was not an interview with the State Department but with the War Department, since it was the opposition of the latter body which prevented action on the Resolution. Our first step at this time should be, it was suggested, to contact the War Department and point out to them that there can surely be no objections now on military grounds. Of course, if Mr. Stettinius were available, it would be a good thing to see him; but it was not advisable, it was believed, to lose time waiting for his return, nor for the return of the President from Quebec.

It was therefore recommended, and approved, that a delegation, consisting of representatives of the Executive Committee together with Senator Wagner and Mr. Bloom, meet with representatives of the War Department and sound them out as to the attitude of the Department towards withdrawing their objections to the Resolution.

STATEMENT OF BRITISH REPRESENTATIVE IN ITALY OF INTERGOVERNMENTAL COMMITTEE FOR REFUGEES

Reference was made to the statement made to Jewish refugees in Italy by Sir Clifford Heathcote-Smith, representative of the Intergovernmental Committee for Refugees, that Jewish Palestine "is no larger than a handkerchief and could not admit them." The statement was made at a meeting of Jewish refugees convened in Rome on August 27th by the Intergovernmental Committee to announce the offer of the Italian Government to grant citizenship to stateless persons. Sir Clifford urged the refugees to accept the offer of the Italian Government and told them that Palestine was "very limited" and could not receive all those who desire to enter it.

In the discussion on this matter it was pointed out that it was not the business of the Intergovernmental Committee for Refugees to take an attitude on political matters. Sir Clifford Heathcote-Smith had no right to express an anti-Zionist opinion. It was agreed that some action should be taken to bring this to the attention of the British Government, and it was decided to recommend to the American Jewish Conference that the delegation which it will send to the British Embassy should also protest to Lord Halifax against the stand taken by

Sir Clifford; and that in addition a strong letter be written to Sir Herbert Emerson, head of the Intergovernmental Committee.

REQUESTS FOR PALESTINE ENDORSEMENTS OF BERGSON RESOLUTION

Mr. Gellman reported that the Mizrachi organization had received a message from Palestine indicating that groups there had received cables from the Bergson group requesting them to endorse the resolution which they had had introduced in Congress calling for emergency rescue shelters in Palestine. It was agreed that a cable should be sent to the Jewish Agency in Jerusalem informing them about the resolution and warning them against these requests for endorsements.

ZOA COMMITTEE ON UNITY

The question was raised of the committee appointed by the Zionist Organization of America to fight the activities of the American Council for Judaism, which is called "Committee on Unity". It was believed that this name is misleading and will cause further confusion in Jewish life, and it was agreed to bring this to the attention of the ZOA Executive which was to meet September 12th.

COUNCIL OF FOREIGN RELATIONS REPORT ON PALESTINE

It was reported that a reply was being prepared by Dr. I. B. Berkson, head of the Research Department, to the document drawn up by Prof. Westerman of Columbia for the Council of Foreign Relations. (See Minutes of Executive Committee held August 14th).

Dr. Wise suggested that the matter of replying to Dr. Westerman's document be submitted to the American Jewish Conference for action, and it was agreed that this be given consideration

THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS AND THE JEWISH NATIONAL HOME IN PALESTINE

It was reported that this book will be off the press in a few weeks. It will contain about 400 statements from Senators and Congressmen.

NEXT MEETING

It was decided to hold the next meeting of the Executive Committee on Monday, September 25th.

The meeting adjourned at 6:00 P. M.

A. L.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING HELD SEPTEMBER 14, 1944

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

PRESENT

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

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

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

REPORTS

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

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

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

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

FEDERAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES OF CHRIST

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

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

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

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

IMMIGRATION

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

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

ARTICLES IN "THE NATION"

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

JEWISH AGENCY BUREAU

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

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

September 25, 1944

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Thursday, September 25th, 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, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Mrs. Rose Jacobs, Louis Lipsky, Marvin Lowenthal, Rabbi Irving Miller, Emanuel Neumann, Mrs. Tamar Pool, Charles J. Rosenbloom, Louis Segal, Herman Shulman.

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

Isaiah L. Kenen, D. L. Meekler.

NEXT MEETING

In view of the fact that the next regular meeting day would fall on Succoth, it was decided to hold the next meeting on Thursday, October 12th.

MESSAGE FROM CHRISTIAN COUNCIL ON PALESTINE

Dr. Wise drew the attention of the meeting to the fine letter which had been sent by the Christian Council, signed by Dr. Atkinson and Dr. Voss, to the leaders of the Council conveying greetings on the occasion of the Holy Day season and expressing, on behalf of the two thousand Christian ministers and religious educators who comprise the Christian Council, their "oneness with the Jewish people in all their hopes and aspirations." It was decided to release this letter to the press.

LETTER FROM HASHOMER HADATI

A letter from the Hashomer Hadati requesting representation on the Council was read. It was decided to postpone discussion on this request until the next meeting of the Executive Committee.

DEATH OF PROFESSOR KLIGLER

The meeting learned with deep regret of the passing of Professor I. J. Kligler, head of the Department of Bacteriology and Hygiene of the Hebrew University. Mrs. Jacobs, speaking briefly of Dr. Kligler, said that he was one of the American Zionists who, more than thirty years ago, threw in his lot with Palestine. He had made a real contribution to the country. He was intensely interested in the upbuilding of Eretz Israel, and his work in malarial research was motivated by that ideal. To him goes the lion's share of the credit for ridding Palestine of malaria.

The secretary was instructed to send a message of condolence to Mrs. Kligler.

OSWEGO REFUGEES

Mr. Lourie reported on the visit which Mr. Furmansky and he had paid to the refugees at Fort Ontario, Oswego, N. Y. (Report attached).

A recommendation that \$200. be allocated for the purpose of Zionist education in the camp was approved. In connection with the Zionist educational work among the youth in Oswego, it was agreed that the support of the different youth groups should be enlisted.

Dr. Wise suggested that it might be advisable to participate in the group of the National Refugee Service which has been organized to keep in touch with the refugees at Oswego.

AMERICAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE REGIONAL CONFERENCES

Mr. Magida reported that in accordance with the decision of the Executive Committee of the American Palestine Committee a series of regional conferences was being arranged throughout the country and in this connection Dr. Voss and he had visited a number of cities throughout the country where it was hoped ^{to hold} such conferences, meeting with groups of leading churchmen, educators, etc. in each city.

The first conference is to be held in Philadelphia on October 10th and the occasion will be used to present Chief Justice George W. Maxey as the chairman of the A.P.C. for the state of Pennsylvania. Dr. Eduard Lindemann, of the New School of Social Research, will speak, and also Prof. Friedrich, Dr. Lowdermilk and Rev. Wendell Philips of Rye, New York, will participate.

On November 21st there will be a conference in Chicago, when it is expected that Prof. Reinhold Niebuhr will be the principal speaker; and another has been arranged for St. Louis on January 11th. A distinctive feature of the latter will be the participation of the schools. All the schools in St. Louis will be closed on that day, so that the teachers may have an opportunity to attend one session of the conference. This has been arranged by the President and the Superintendent of the Board of Education. The latter had attended the Washington conference of the A.P.C. The Kiwanis and Rotary clubs in St. Louis will also participate in the conference, giving up their regular weekly luncheon in order to do so.

Arrangements are also being made for conferences to be held in either San Francisco or Los Angeles, and perhaps in both cities. It is hoped to have Dr. Aurelia Henry Reinhardt, former president of Mills College and regarded as an outstanding educator, take a prominent part in these conferences.

In Dallas Mr. Magida and Dr. Voss met with a group of outstanding Zionists in the community who readily agreed that a conference in Dallas or somewhere else in the southwest should be held, but believed that the American Council for Judaism, who are very strong there, would have no hesitation in doing everything they could to prevent it from taking place. It is particularly important to arrange a conference in this part of the country, because the Council for Judaism has succeeded in confusing the minds of the non-Jews in the Texas communities. The local Zionists will consider the matter further and decide whether it is advisable to proceed with plans for a conference, and Dr. Voss will also broach the subject again when he will be in Dallas later on.

The chairman thanked Mr. Magida for his report on the excellent program of activities prepared for the next few months and expressed his confidence that it would be productive of good results.

BUDGET

The chairman of the Budget and Finance Committee presented the budget for the year October 1944 to October 1945, which his committee had approved. The budget calls for a total expenditure of \$514,854. - which is an increase of \$5,500. over the budget of last year. (Detailed budget on file).

A motion was made and adopted that the budget be approved for submission to the Funds with the understanding that the chairmen of the committees be at liberty to submit revised recommendations for the allocations to their respective departments if, after further consideration, they feel that to be desirable.

STATEMENTS TO PRESS BY MEMBERS OF EMERGENCY COUNCIL

The question was raised of statements to the press by party leaders on matters of fundamental policy and a motion was made and adopted that all statements on important matters of Zionist policy should be cleared through the Emergency Council. It was understood that this does not mean that where a line of policy has already been accepted and announced on the part of the Emergency Council, statements in conformity with that line should first be cleared with the Council, but it does preclude the issuance of statements by any group on vital political issues insofar as such statements may go beyond the policy already defined.

POLITICAL REPORT

Mr. Shulman reported that following the decision of the Executive Committee that representatives of the Executive together with Senator Wagner and, if possible, Congressman Bloom, meet with Assistant Secretary of War McCloy, a delegation, consisting of Dr. Wise, Mr. Shulman and Senator Wagner saw Mr. McCloy on September 21st and spent an hour with him.

Mr. McCloy had indicated that intelligence reports from the Near East suggested the desirability of continuing the ban on approval of the Congressional Resolution at this stage. Nevertheless, he was prepared to give the matter further consideration with Mr. Stimson and the General Staff. He was to let our representatives know the results of this further discussion in a few days.

Mr. McCloy had left the impression of cordiality and a desire to be helpful.

Immediately after this interview Congress adjourned, so that nothing further could be done with the Resolution until after the elections and the reconvening of Congress.

A discussion followed on the action to be taken during the next few weeks.

In connection with a suggestion made by Mr. Segal, it was reported that a memorandum had been sent to all the chairmen of the local emergency committees asking them to obtain written statements of support from their local candidates for office of the Palestine planks in their Party platforms, and answers are beginning to come in. In addition, "America and Palestine" will be available very soon, and a statement will be issued to the press about the book before it appears.

Mrs. Halprin pointed out that when we decided to proceed with the Resolution, it was in order to influence the executive branch of the government, and that we ought now to try to see the President.

Reference was made to the suggestions put forth by Mr. Meckler in an editorial which he had written in the "Morning Journal" that day. Mr. Meckler, reviewing the points made by him in this editorial, said that in view of the fact that the Arabs are using their conference in Alexandria, which opened today, as a demonstration against the Palestine planks in both party platforms, this is the time for us to counteract that demonstration. The planks may become dead letters if they are not backed up by both candidates, and the Arabs are trying to influence them to remain silent on the Palestine question. Therefore we must bring pressure to bear on the candidates to persuade them that now is the time to express themselves in approval of the planks. This should be done by the Emergency Council, Mr. Meckler thought, through approaches to Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Dewey, as well as to the candidates for the House and Senate,

Mr. Shulman referred to various rumors that have been circulating concerning a decision on Palestine,^{and} to the statement made to Dr. LeSourd, director of the A.P.C., by Assistant Secretary of State, Adolf Berle, that the British were hoarding the remaining certificates at this time in order to have some available after the war. He also drew attention to C. L. Sulzberger's article in the New York Times suggesting that a decision on Palestine might be postponed to the conclusion of the war with Japan. In addition, while UNRRA has apparently already made plans for refugee repatriation, the Army was in fact already moving refugees, as Mr. Gannett had pointed out in an article in the New Republic and, too, the Intergovernmental Committee was coming into the picture. The indications are that they will try to get as many refugees as possible back to their original homes, so as to leave as few as possible to go to Palestine. We must insist that Jews have the choice of going to Palestine or back to their former homes, and they must be given that choice before millions of dollars have been spent by UNRRA to send them back to their original homes.

In view of all this, Mr. Shulman felt that we ought to start an intensive campaign to make clear why an early decision on Palestine is necessary. We can point also to the precedent which has been established in the recognition by our Government of Lebanon and Syria. We ought to make out a case, through advertisements if necessary, to ask for a decision now and to couple that request with a demand for representation on the various agencies dealing with refugees.

Dr. Silver also stressed the importance of this matter and said that we should seek a declaration from the President before the elections. He recalled that when Dr. Wise and he last saw the President six months ago, Mr. Roosevelt had indicated that he would have a subsequent statement to make. We have a right to ask him to back up the declaration of his Party. It would be a mistake, further, to ignore the Republican Party's good will. It would be necessary, also, for public opinion to give a clear lead.

Mr. Lipsky urged the importance of seeking a statement from the President at this time and not later.

Mr. Neumann said that expression should be given to public concern in regard to the whole situation, and that the visit to the President should be directed to obtaining an immediate declaration on Palestine. Public meetings should be held and there should be articles in the press asking for an official statement at this time. Our request for a declaration should be based on the urgency of the present situation with regard to the refugees, where they are to go, the fact that the Palestine certificates are practically exhausted, the question of Syria and Lebanon, etc. Mr. Neumann also thought that just as the Republican Party plank on Palestine was very helpful in securing a plank in the Democratic Party platform, we should

ask Mr. Dewey for a statement at the same time as we ask for one from the President. In addition, we should get an expression of opinion from every candidate.

Rabbi Miller said that as the Zionist political body in America, he did not see how we could move any further without synchronizing our political activities with London and Jerusalem. We cannot go forward asking for things in Washington without knowing what they are doing in London. Dr. Wise and Dr. Silver should go to London. Transportation is not difficult at the present time.

. Dr. Wise could not see why there should be any postponement of our decisions and why we could not proceed without reference to London. We know what they want in London and they know what we want -- a Jewish Commonwealth in the nearest future. We do not have to consult Dr. Weizmann for that. We cannot afford to wait.

After further discussion, it was agreed that an immediate approach be made to the President and a request made for a meeting with him as early as possible. If we get an early appointment, it will then be decided what to do about contacting Mr. Dewey. It was further decided that the political department prepare a comprehensive statement on "Why a decision now" and distribute it to the press.

The meeting adjourned at 6:25 P. M.

A. L.



AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

October 12, 1944

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Thursday, October 12th, at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Rabbi Philip Bernstein, Philip Cruso, Mrs. Judith Epstein, Leon Gellman, Rabbi Wolf Gold, Chaim Greenberg, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Mrs. Rose Jacobs, Louis Lipsky, Marvin Lowenthal, Rabbi Irving Miller, Emanuel Neumann, Samuel Rothstein, Herman Shulman, Mrs. Rebecca Shulman, Elihu D. Stone, Meyer W. Weisgal.

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

Isaiah L. Kenen, Norman Lourie, Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt.

MINUTES

The minutes of the Executive Committee meeting held September 25th were approved.

STATEMENTS BY PARTY LEADERS

Mrs. Epstein referred to the resolution which had been adopted at the previous meeting with regard to clearing statements on major political issues first with the Emergency Council. She wished to have guidance on what the procedure should be if Hadassah wished to issue a statement on partition at its forthcoming Convention. It was pointed out that by this time partition had become a matter of general discussion and that public statements had been issued on the subject both in Palestine and in this country. Dr. Silver said that it would be appropriate for the proposed statement first to be cleared through the Council.

MEETING OF GREATER ACTIONS COMMITTEE

The following cable had been received from Mr. Ben-Gurion;

"UNANIMOUS OPINION EXECUTIVES JERUSALEM LONDON NECESSARY PRESENT JUNCTURE HOLD JOINT CONSULTATION LEADERS MOVEMENT STOP INTEND CONVENE LARGER ACTIONS COMMITTEE AND REPRESENTATIVES ZIONIST ORGANIZATIONS MIDDLE NOVEMBER STOP CHAIM WEIZMANN LONDON COMING PALESTINE END OCTOBER FOR MONTHS STAY STOP ESSENTIAL CONDITION SUCCESS CONFERENCE PRESENCE AMERICAN DELEGATION PLEASE COMMUNICATE ALL CONSTITUENT GROUPS ASCERTAIN NUMBER NAMES PARTICIPANTS TAKE IMMEDIATE STEPS FOR SECURING PRIORITIES BY AIR OR BOAT WIRE"

Apparently not only members of the Greater Actions Committee but, in addition, representatives of the Zionist Organizations were being invited to this meeting in Jerusalem. It was assumed that this was due to the fact that

there have been some changes in the leadership of the organizations since the last Zionist Congress in 1939, when the present Actions Committee had been elected.

It was pointed out that a Palestine delegation representing the Vaad Leumi, consisting of seven persons, is to attend the World Jewish Congress conference scheduled to be held in New York in November. It was also pointed out that it would be physically impossible for an American delegation to reach Palestine in time for a meeting there in November, unless they travelled by air, and it would no doubt not be possible to obtain air priorities for a group.

After some further discussion, it was decided to cable to Palestine suggesting a postponement of the meeting until December and asking for further information; in the meantime the organizations would canvass the situation and decide on whom to send as their representatives, and inquiries would be made concerning priorities.

IMMIGRATION FROM LIBERATED TERRITORIES

A cable from Mr. Shertok, from London, was read in which he indicated that the Jewish Agency was reopening the whole question of immigration from liberated countries with the Colonial Office and urged that action be taken here to reinforce the representatives being made in London, in accordance with his statement to the press of August 30th. In this statement Mr. Shertok charged that the Palestine Administration was using its concern for the Jews in enemy occupied territory as a subterfuge to withhold from Jews in liberated areas, who alone were able to make use of them, immigration certificates still available under the White Paper policy. Mr. Shertok said further that the Jewish Agency was determined to fight this pernicious policy, which was prolonging preventable hardships.

When Mr. Shertok learned of the action taken here by the American Jewish Conference in submitting a memorandum on the subject to the British Embassy, he cabled again indicating that an approach to the Embassy was not sufficient, that we should take up the matter with the State Department as well, in order to reinforce the representations made to the British Government.

In the discussion that followed, the importance of this matter was stressed and it was urged that a delegation, representing as many organizations as possible, should call on Mr. Hull or Mr. Stettinius, this visit to be followed up by an appointment with the British Ambassador, and that the widest publicity should be given to the representations, through the liberal press, etc.

After some further discussion, a motion was made and adopted that the chairman be authorized to arrange for a delegation to go to the State Department.

JEWISH BRIGADE

The following cable had been received by Dr. Silver from Mr. Shertok:

"REJOICE YOUR SPLENDID REACTION LATEST NEWS STOP HOPE IT IS WIDELY REALIZED THIS AGENCY'S ACHIEVEMENT FROM BEGINNING TO END STOP WE REGARD PARTICIPATION YOUR END HIGHLY DESIRABLE EVEN IF MERELY TOKEN STOP IF YOU AND FRIENDS CONCUR PLEASE TAKE INITIATIVE IN SECURING AGREEMENT YOUR COMPETENT AUTHORITIES FOR INCLUSION CERTAIN NUMBER APPLICANTS SUITABLE CLASSES WHEREAFTER AUTHORITIES HERE COULD BE APPROACHED STOP PLEASE CABLE"

An inquiry had been addressed to the British Consulate in New York concerning enlistments in the Brigade from this country, and a reply was received indicating

that the Consulate was prepared to receive the names of applicants for the British Army, which would be sent to England, and if approved there transportation would be provided for them to that country. As far as the Jewish Brigade was concerned, the Consulate was ready to provide the same facilities, but was not certain whether the request of the applicants to be assigned to the Brigade would be granted. Further information would have to be obtained from the Embassy.

In England a token number of Jews in the British Army will be permitted to transfer to the Jewish Brigade. In addition, Polish and Czech Jews who wish to opt for the Brigade will be allowed to exercise that option if their commanders agree to their doing so. Also, non-British Jews not already in the British Army may enlist in the Brigade.

In discussing the possibilities with regard to enlistments in the Jewish Brigade of men in this country, it did not seem advisable to follow the English precedent and seek for the transfer even of a token group of Americans already drafted. There seemed no reason, however, why we should not start an active campaign to enroll non-citizens who are not subject to the draft and in addition the question should be considered of those, whether aliens or citizens, who were for one reason or another not being taken by the American Army (e.g. today the Army was not taking certain classes over 26) and who yet might be suitable for enlistment in the Brigade. There might be applicants, too, among the Oswego refugees. The matter should also be considered as to whether so far as non-citizens already drafted were concerned, the right should be sought to have such cases opt into the Jewish Brigade.

It was decided to investigate the legal aspects involved and to approach the War Department and the State Department and make full inquiries as to their attitude in the matter.

AMERICAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE CONFERENCE IN PHILADELPHIA

It was reported that the American Palestine Committee conference held in Philadelphia on October 10th had been very successful. The dinner which closed the conference had been attended by over 550 people, almost all non-Jewish. Most of the addresses were excellent, particularly that of Dr. Niebuhr at the dinner and that of Prof. Friedrich at the afternoon session. Another outstanding speech was that of a young minister, Rev. Wendell Phillips, Rector of Christs' Church, Rye, N. Y., a fine orator and one who understands our problem very well. Rev. Phillips had lived among the Arabs for three years and he dealt with the question of Arab opposition to Zionism in a clear and forthright manner, attacking very effectively the Beyrouth University influence, Arab propaganda in this country, etc.

Dr. Eduard Lindeman, of the New York School of Social Research of Columbia University, spoke at the afternoon session to an audience consisting mostly of Christian ministers. This was Dr. Lindeman's first speech on the Zionist question and it was an effective presentation.

Other speakers were: Dr. Atkinson, who presided at the afternoon session, Dr. Lowdermilk, Dr. Poling, Dr. A. A. Neuman of Dropsie College, and Judge Maxey.

The ministers who attended the conferences appeared to be very much impressed. The sessions received an excellent press in Philadelphia.

"AMERICAN AND PALESTINE"

Dr. Silver stated that the first copies of "America and Palestine" had come

in that day and he was holding a press conference that evening in connection with the book. With regard to the distribution of the book, it will be placed where it will do the most good.

Mr. Lipsky referred to the devotion and tireless effort of Mr. Reuben Fink in editing the book in a volunteer capacity, a tedious and laborious task; and also to the hard work which Miss Sulamith Schwartz put into its final preparation. A resolution of gratitude to Mr. Fink and Miss Schwartz was adopted unanimously.

PASSING OF WENDELL WILLKIE

The death of Mr. Wendell Willkie was noted with deep regret. Mr. Willkie had been a good friend of Zionism, and had been one of the first to join the A.P.C. Dr. Silver had sent a telegram to Mrs. Willkie on behalf of the Emergency Council.

POLITICAL REPORT

Dr. Silver reported that Senator Taft had undertaken to inquire of the War Department whether the Palestine Resolution pending before Congress could not be taken up again. At the same time a delegation consisting of Dr. Wise, Mr. Shulman and Senator Wagner had been sent to the War Department and had conferred with Mr. McCloy, Assistant Secretary of War. Four or five days ago Senator Taft telephoned Dr. Silver and told him that he had talked with Mr. McCloy, who said that the matter had been discussed by the War Department people and while there was some difference of opinion they arrived at a decision that there were no longer military reasons for asking deferment of the resolutions, that the matter was now to be regarded as purely political. Senator Taft is now awaiting a confirmatory letter from the War Department.

Mr. Shulman reported on what Dr. Wise had told him, when he visited him at his home the previous evening (Dr. Wise was ill and confined to bed), about his visit to the President.

The letter which had been sent to the President by Dr. Wise and Dr. Silver asking for an appointment had been followed up by a letter from Senator Wagner to the President urging him to meet with the co-chairmen of the Emergency Council. This was in accordance with the decision of the previous meeting of the Executive, that it was not advisable to have Senator Wagner see the President himself on our business but that the Senator write to Mr. Roosevelt asking him to see Dr. Silver and Dr. Wise.

The letter to the President from Dr. Silver and Dr. Wise had been sent on September 26th. A few days later Senator Wagner sent his letter. A few days after that, about a week ago, Mr. Shulman spoke to Dr. Wise, who was disturbed that there had been no answer as yet from the White House. Mr. Shulman asked Senator Wagner whether he had had any reply to his communication, but he also had not yet heard from the White House. Mr. Shulman therefore urged Senator Wagner to call up the White House, and see whether he could arrange an appointment for the co-chairmen of the Council with the President. On October 11th Senator Wagner tried to reach Mr. Shulman but he was out of his office, and when he called him later in the day he was unable to contact the Senator until late that afternoon. Senator Wagner told him then that an appointment was made for Dr. Wise at the White House and that Dr. Wise had probably seen the President by that time. That afternoon Mr. Shulman learned that Dr. Wise was returning to New York about 9:00 o'clock and could see him for a few minutes which Mr. Shulman did. It appeared that Dr. Wise had been in Chicago the previous day when a wire arrived at his home from the White House

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asking him to come to the White House, Mrs. Wise had contacted him in Chicago and he had gone on at once to Washington.

Dr. Wise told Mr. Shulman that in the course of his discussion with the President, there was a reference to the campaign and the President said he wanted to send a message to Senator Wagner. That brought up the question as to what was to be contained in that message.

The President told Dr. Wise that the Palestine plank in the Democratic Party platform had his full support, that the matter ought to be settled as soon as possible, that it should be settled by the machinery of the United Nations, or, if that is delayed, by Great Britain and the U.S.A.

Dr. Wise had the impression, Mr. Shulman said, that the question had been discussed between Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill during the latter's recent visit.

Dr. Wise was now in bed with the flu. He had a temperature and the doctor refused to let him go out.

The letter from the president to Senator Wagner, if it comes out, should be satisfactory, said Mr. Shulman. He had discussed it with Dr. Silver that morning, and Dr. Silver had suggested certain important changes which it was hoped to have accepted.

There was no doubt that the question of the campaign for Senator's Wagner's re-election in New York in particular and the problems of the political campaign in general had been an important factor in the whole matter.

Judge Rosenblatt said that there was one thing worrying him, and that was that our danger was not partition, but bi-nationalism.

Mr. Neumann asked whether Dr. Wise had said anything about why Dr. Silver was not informed of his meeting with the President. Dr. Silver had learned of it only from the report in The New York Times that morning.

+ Dr. Silver, referring to the proposed message which the President was to send to Senator Wagner, said he was ready to offer suggestions for the statement, but that did not mean approval on his part of the procedure. This body voted against using the interview to ask for a statement for the Zionist Convention. It had voted to discuss our problems with the President, and we may not get another appointment for six months.

Mr. Segal said he was shocked to see that we do not handle our affairs vis-a-vis the White House as a body of our standing and importance should. When he saw the item in the press about the visit to the President, he did not know that it had not cleared through the Emergency Council.

There was a glaring contrast in the reports in the press of how the Poles had presented their case to the President - in a forthright and dignified manner. The presentation of our case created doubts in the minds of many as to whether this was the way to proceed.

At the last meeting we had a lengthy discussion on the question of procedure. We did not want to have the main issue sidetracked by a message. Now we have been sidetracked.

Mr. Segal was an admirer of the President, but he felt hurt at the inadequate attention given by him to the question of Palestine. It was largely our own fault.

Mr. Segal felt that we had never brought to the President's attention how we felt about his approach to our problems. We were not managing our affairs with the White House in a dignified manner.

Dr. Silver said that when Mr. Segal said "we", he did not think that he wanted to be included. He referred to the statement made by Dr. Wise when he emerged from the meeting with the President, and reported in the press, namely, that he did not know for whom he would vote, for the President or for the Democratic candidate. It was not proper for a Zionist spokesman appearing on Zionist business, to give the impression that the whole Zionist movement was tied to the Democratic party. The co-chairman was not even told after the meeting with the President what had happened. Such a situation indicates a spiritual rottenness in the movement. (71)

Mr. Lipsky thought that it was a serious situation which confronted the Emergency Council. Whatever the explanation may be, there must be an agreement in the Emergency Council as to policy. Somehow or other there has developed a looseness of approach which is detrimental to our interests and will lead us into difficulties. There is no reason why Dr. Wise should not see the President privately; no one can prevent him from doing so. But the publicity in the press puts the Zionist movement in a bad position. It is very unbecoming to the Zionist movement in America for the chairman of the Emergency Council to see the President for the purpose of soliciting a letter to be sent to the ZOA convention. It minimizes the value of the statement to have it come in the form of a letter to be read at the Convention. What we want is a forthright declaration of policy. We have come to the stage in the Emergency Council where we have no control over the way things are done. We have a right to ask Dr. Wise to come to the next meeting and ask him to explain.

Mr. Greenberg said that on the strength of what we know today, without waiting for Dr. Wise's explanation, some remarks are in place. The President has a perfect right to summon any citizen of the United States to see him. Dr. Wise has a perfect right to be a devout Democrat, as he was for a number of years. He has a right to discuss with the President election problems and financial problems - it is none of our business. But that is a different matter from discussing our problems. This body asked for an appointment for two of its representatives to see the President. Perhaps the initiative was taken by the President in bringing up the question of Zionism. In that case, Dr. Wise should have said he was not at liberty to discuss that now. Of course we will have to discuss this question with Dr. Wise at the next meeting. We must work out a clear code of behavior in our Emergency Council.

Mr. Greenberg offered one practical suggestion - that everything possible be done to get no word from the President to the Convention, otherwise we will probably get a message of the conventional kind. The people connected with the White House should be informed that we do not seek a message from the President unless we are sure that it will not be a "Rosh Hashanah message".

Replying to Mr. Shulman's question as to whether, if the message said the President endorsed the plank in his Party's platform, it would be acceptable, Mr. Greenberg said that no candidate does not endorse the platform of his party. The only declaration that would be of value would be a statement binding on the American Government.

Mr. Lowenthal thought the committee should consider matters which are more fundamental questions of policy. We have got to make up our minds as Zionists if the Zionist movement is a tail to the Democratic Party or if we are interested in building up a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine. Our procedure should be based on

how best we can get a Jewish Commonwealth. That job is a job for generations. There will not always be a Democratic Party in power, and we must not as a movement tie ourselves to that Party.

Rabbi Gold said that in view of what happened at the previous meeting, it was natural that we should feel indignant this morning at the statement in the press. We do not know what will be the results of the elections and must avoid placing ourselves in an impossible position. Something ought to be done to offset the impression which has been created, and to make clear that the Zionist movement as such has no opinion whatsoever on the elections. Further, a message should be forwarded to the White House expressing our regret that we have not yet received a reply to our letter asking for an appointment. We asked for a delegation to be received to discuss Zionist policy and we have a right to insist that a delegation be received at the earliest possible opportunity.

Mr. Neumann proposed that we request all our Zionist friends, leaders and officers of this committee to refrain from pursuing further the course which has been begun, of securing a message from the President to Senator Wagner. Mr. Neumann thought it was a most unfortunate thing that has been started. It was directly contrary to what we decided. It is amazing that members of our committee should proceed along lines contrary to our decision. What has happened is a violation of our decisions on various counts. We had discussed at our last meeting a statement from Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Dewey, and decided that we refrain from going to Mr. Dewey now, and approach the President as the President of the United States and not as a candidate. What we wanted was a declaration from the President of the United States. The little that is left of the bargaining position of the Jewish people we sell for a mess of pottage. We wanted to have a full discussion with the President, not only a message, but policy and action.

In the first place we had decided that the co-chairmen jointly should be received. Secondly, we decided that no message of the usual kind be solicited for the ZOA Convention and thirdly, we had decided that we ought^{not} to get the kind of declaration we had in mind through a friend. It did not comport with the dignity of the Zionist movement.

There has been violation of all three decisions:

1. The two co-chairmen did not go. The meeting with Dr. Wise grew out of the request for a meeting. It is only elementary that the co-chairman of the Executive should have been informed.
2. With regard to the decision not to have a message to the Convention, according to the reports in the press Dr. Wise went for that express purpose.
3. We are to have the message through an intermediary.

Mr. Neumann thought we could not pass judgment, until we have had a complete discussion with Dr. Wise, and we should have that within the next 48 hours if possible. Pending that, we have a right to ask our own members, until we have clarified the position, to desist from pursuing the particular course which had been initiated. What was the good of our sitting here deciding at length on procedure if our decisions are thrown to the winds. The Convention has plenty to do without that particular message. The members of our committee should not be engaged in negotiating on its contents.

Mr. Neumann urged that we have a meeting of as many members of our committee as can be there, in Atlantic City.

Mr. Shulman referred to the question of discipline and procedure and said this should be determined after Dr. Wise had had the opportunity to make a statement. Apart from that, however, Dr. Wise has the right and the duty personally to see the President whenever occasion offers. At the last meeting Mr. Shulman had pointed out that this body is not able to legislate for the President and for Senator Wagner. We have no basis for believing that Dr. Wise put the machinery into motion in order to get the statement to be sent to Senator Wagner.

Dr. Silver asked whether Dr. Wise was asked by this committee to go to the President and ask for a statement for the ZOA Convention.

Continuing, Mr. Shulman said that regarding Mr. Neumann's proposal that nothing further be done with regard to the message, he understood the message has already been formulated. It had been gone over by Mr. Shulman together with Dr. Silver. Senator Wagner will probably receive it tomorrow in the mail. Mr. Shulman said he was in no position to ask the Senator not to read the message at the Convention.

Dr. Silver asked Mr. Shulman how he became so active in the matter. The Committee did not ask him to write to Senator Wagner.

Mr. Shulman pointed out that in pursuance of the decision taken at the last meeting he had been specifically instructed by Dr. Silver to see Senator Wagner again with a view to urging the Senator to change his plan for trying to get a message from the President, and instead to have him, in the interest of the cause, ask the President to see Dr. Silver and Dr. Wise. Our desire to honor Senator Wagner could be shown in some other way. Mr. Shulman had accordingly gone down to see Senator Wagner and had helped in drafting a letter for him to the President, asking for such an appointment, which Senator Wagner had sent off. Shortly thereafter he had received a telephone call from Mr. Shapiro, who had told him that Dr. Silver wished to know what the developments were with regard to Senator Wagner. Mr. Shulman informed Mr. Shapiro that he had gotten him to change his mind and that the letter had been sent off. This information Mr. Shapiro said he was conveying to Dr. Silver. Senator Wagner had told Mr. Shulman that he expected to hear from the White House in a few days and when Mr. Shulman got no further news from the Senator he rang him again and was told that he still had nothing to report. What happened subsequently, Mr. Shulman had already reported in his earlier statement.

With reference to the suggestion of overzealousness, Mr. Shulman said that he was very ready to abide by the judgment of the Committee.

Mr. Gellman referred to Mr. Lowenthal's remarks that we should clarify for ourselves whether we are Democrats or Zionists, and expressed criticism of Dr. Wise's statement as it appeared in the press.

Mr. Cruso said that he questioned the wisdom of seeking to prevent the issuance of the message. If it had not been publicized in the press, it would be different. But as it is the effect would be unfavorable to the cause. Instead it might be more advisable to ask Mr. Dewey also to submit a statement to the ZOA Convention.

Mrs. Epstein thought it would be most unwise to stop that statement at this stage. She did not know what the statement contained. If it is the kind of statement we are looking for, whether it be from Mr. Roosevelt as candidate or as President it does not matter that it will come to the Convention.

Dr. Silver thought there ought to be a resolution adopted by this body, properly passed, for our own internal procedure and discipline, to the effect that whenever any member of our group is on a mission representing the Zionist movement, he should refrain from injecting partisan politics into the matter.

Rabbi Gold moved that such a resolution be adopted. Seconded by Mr. Neumann. Passed.

Dr. Silver said he had seen the draft statement. It might have been a disastrous statement, he said. The first part was all right; it stated that the President as a candidate approves the plank in the Democratic Party platform. (The President was obliged to say "as a candidate", otherwise it would have had to clear with Mr. Hull and possibly Mr. Churchill). The statement then went on to say that implementation must take place at the hands of the United Nations, or, at the hands of the American and British Governments. The second reference is good - it puts the responsibility on the United States and Great Britain. The first might be used to achieve postponement.

Dr. Silver said he had not seen the final draft that had been submitted to the President for approval. If the message embodies what he indicated with the objectionable phrases out, it is not a bad statement, and may do us good. It puts the President in support of the plank in the Democratic Party platform.

This other matter, however, of tying up the statement Dr. Wise received from the President with an endorsement of the Democratic Party called for action, and the only appropriate action as Dr. Silver saw it was for him to get a similar statement from Mr. Dewey, to indicate that there is no partisanship in the Zionist movement. Fortunately, Mr. Dewey was in town that day and Dr. Silver had procured a statement from him.

Dr. Silver read the statement issued by Mr. Dewey. (The statement had been read very carefully both by Mr. Dulles and by Mr. Dewey himself).

Mr. Rothstein said he did not object to the statement, but its form gave the impression that injected into it was propaganda for the Republicans.

Dr. Silver said he would have preferred neither message, but a message from Mr. Dewey was necessary in view of the situation.

Rabbi Miller recalled that it was decided at the last meeting that following a statement from Mr. Roosevelt, we should try to get one from Mr. Dewey.

The meeting adjourned at 6:30 P. M.

A. L.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING HELD OCTOBER 30, 1944

A meeting of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Monday, October 30th, at 8:15 P. M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Stephen S. Wise (presiding), Miss Juliet Benjamin, Rabbi Philip S. Bernstein, Maurice Boukstein, Mrs. Judith Epstein, Moshe Furmansky, Paul L. Goldman, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mrs. S. Goldstein, Chaim Greenberg, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Mrs. Rose Jacobs, Leib Jaffe, Miss Jeannette Leibel, Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Irving Lipkowitz, Louis Lipsky, Israel Mereminski, Isaac Naiditch, Emanuel Neumann, Mrs. Tamar Pool, Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Samuel Rothstein, Herman Shulman, Mrs. Rebecca Shulman, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, Robert Szold, David Wertheim.

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

Dr. Noy Furman of the Keren Hayesod in Chile, Isaiah L. Kenen, Dr. Luis Lamas, President of the Keren Hayesod in Chile, Rabbi Jesse Schwartz of the Canadian Zionist Organization, Zorach Warhaftig, Baruch Zuckerman, Mrs. Rachel Yarden.

Apologies were received from Mrs. Schoolman and Mr. Segal.

The chairman welcomed the visitors from Chile. Dr. Lamas spoke briefly, bringing greetings from the Jews of Chile, who, he said, deeply appreciated the work the American Zionists are doing through the Zionist organizations in this country and the Emergency Council.

PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT

Cables were read which had been received by Dr. Silver and Dr. Wise from Dr. Weizmann, from Mr. Ben-Gurion, on behalf of the Executive of the Jewish Agency and the Jewish Community in Palestine, and from Dr. Goldmann, congratulating them on their splendid success in bringing about the President's historic statement on Palestine.

RESOLUTION PENDING IN CONGRESS

Dr. Silver, introducing the discussion on the political work, reported that in anticipation of the reconsideration of the Resolutions when Congress reconvenes, the Emergency Council has been engaged stimulating afresh the interest of the members of the House and Senate Foreign Relations Committees. The local emergency committees in the communities in which these members reside had been asked to approach them again and bring them up to date on recent developments and to suggest that early action on the Resolutions when Congress reconvenes would be desirable. The replies received so far are gratifying. Mr. Bloom has announced publicly that he will call together the members of the Foreign Affairs Committee the day after Congress meets. Word has not yet been received from Senator Connally as to when he expects to get the Senate Foreign Relations Committee together.

In the meantime all the members of Congress have received copies of the book "America and Palestine", which contains statements on Palestine by nearly 400 members of the present Congress. It was suggested to the local emergency committees, through whom the book was distributed, that in each case the presentation of the book be made the occasion of a ceremony of some sort, and publicized. This was done in many cases.

The prospects for the passage of the Resolutions are better now, for several reasons: a) the War Department has lifted its ban, - an important new factor; b) the adoption of Palestine planks by both political parties; and c) the statements issued by the President and the Republican presidential candidate endorsing the Jewish Commonwealth. These are encouraging factors in the situation and we hope will prove the decisive factors. However, Dr. Silver felt that we should not be unduly optimistic, because for one thing the State Department has not declared itself on the Resolutions. Dr. Wise and he had hoped to have some information as to the attitude of the State Department the following day, when they were to meet with Mr. Stettinius. But Mr. Stettinius had asked for a postponement of the appointment until November 9th.

The other uncertain factor is that on the House Foreign Affairs Committee there are four or five determined opponents of the Resolutions who may cause difficulties. It would probably be easier to have the Resolutions acted upon in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Further, we must consider tonight whether it is advisable to seek a revision of the wording of the Resolution. We ought to face the possible consequences of trying to make any change. It may evoke opposition on the part of a few people, and perhaps further hearings, which would involve carrying over the Resolutions to the next Congress. The desire for a change in the wording hinges around the word "ultimately". We would all like to have that word omitted but must realize the possible consequences of seeking a change at this stage.

Judge Rothenberg said that for the purpose of discussion he wanted to throw in a new idea. Was it at all necessary to press for the Resolutions to be passed by Congress? When we started our efforts to have the Resolutions introduced into Congress we were in a rather weak position. Since then much has happened. We have had a statement from the Republican candidate and a plank in the Republican and Democratic Party platforms; above all, we have had ^{an} unequivocal and very excellent statement from the President of the United States. There is not much that can be added by a Resolution from Congress at this juncture. It may be that later on we will need to have a Resolution from Congress in order to influence the President at that peculiar time. But now, after all that has happened, why is it necessary to invite a discussion again, and have our enemies present their views again?

Mrs. Pool expressed the opinion that we ought to postpone making a decision until after the State Department people have been seen.

Dr. Goldstein assumed that in the eventuality that it is decided to go through with the Resolutions it is our policy not to press them unless we have a definite unmistakable clearance from the State Department. It seemed to him also that if it is possible we ought to get some assurance from the President that there will be no interference from the State Department.

With regard to the word "ultimately", Dr. Goldstein was inclined to view the inclusion of that word with a good deal of concern. It was conceivable that the formula adopted by the American Jewish Conference would achieve a more approximate expression of our aims than a Resolution including the word "ultimately",

which connotes a very long period. In the light of the wording of the planks in the party platforms, the statements from the President and the Republican candidate, it might even imply a retreat.

Mr. Shulman felt that any action with regard to the Resolution must be weighed very carefully, in view of what we have already gained. When the Resolutions were introduced in Congress it was believed that by getting an expression from the American people through their duly elected representatives, we might be able to influence the executive branch of the government. We now had a clear and specific statement on the part of the Executive. It was likely that in the course of the next few months decisive talks would take place between the highest representatives of our government and the highest representatives of other governments. He wondered whether we should risk any possibility of negative action on the Resolutions. That did not mean that he thought we would not be able to get the Resolutions through, but the question was in what form. As Dr. Silver had pointed out, there are several people on the Foreign Affairs Committee who are not with us. Mr. Shulman referred to Mr. Wadsworth's letter to the Council for Judaism published in their recent Information Bulletin. He had also been informed that Mr. Bloom had received requests from the American Council for Judaism to reopen the hearings on the Resolutions. If that request is communicated to five or six people who are in any case opposed to the Resolutions, they may force new hearings on Mr. Bloom. In addition, people who might oppose us have other weapons which they might use. If it were to be a unanimous Resolution it would be one thing, but otherwise it will have to go to the Rules Committee. The risks are considerable and if we should decide to go forward with the Resolutions at this time it can only be done after we have had real assurances that we can put it through. Those assurances should be received not only from the State Department but from the President, but not for the reasons indicated by Dr. Goldstein. We should ascertain from the President whether his hands would be strengthened by bringing the matter before Congress.

Mr. Mereminski said we should not make the matter appear simpler than it is. He thought the statements of Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Dewey, if they are in earnest about them, are greater achievements than the Resolution would be if it is passed. The question is how to assure that they will remain in earnest. It is important that after the elections, Mr. Roosevelt should make a similar statement.

With regard to the word "ultimately", we will be harming ourselves if we retain that word. Mr. Mereminski was opposed to including it; but he was not sure that we ought to get into a discussion about it. If we do, they may take out this word and insert another word. The wording of the Conference resolution was also satisfactory. A majority is the guarantee of the Commonwealth but we must demand a Commonwealth now, immediately after the war.

We are fighting for our rights and the question is whether we have the right to have a Commonwealth in Palestine. Our opponents may ask how we can have a Commonwealth without a majority. Our answer will be that as a Commonwealth we will use all our economic resources to obtain a majority. If we do not get a Commonwealth in Palestine now everything we have in Palestine will be endangered. We demanded a Commonwealth at the Biltmore Conference because without it we cannot go any further.

Mr. Mereminski urged that we await the arrival of Dr. Goldmann and Dr. Bernard Joseph, who are expected any day now, to obtain certain additional information from them.

Mr. Lipsky believed that the statement of the President does not make undesirable the passage of the Resolution. The statement of the President is still an expression of opinion on the part of one who is entangled in a political campaign. Unless that statement is incorporated in the program of the executive branch it is not important. Mr. Roosevelt can say after the elections that he made the statement in good faith, that he means it, but he cannot perform. We thought the Resolution of 1922 was of little importance, because it came after the Balfour Declaration and after the Mandate, but as a matter of fact it had an important bearing on our situation when the matter came up again. A Resolution adopted by Congress, as far as our case is concerned, has greater weight than even a statement from the President. It is very important that the Resolutions be adopted now when the iron is hot, when both political parties have spoken and the President is on record. It would serve no purpose to wait long. We should, of course, take every precaution to see that the proper Resolution is adopted, and that the necessary assurances are obtained. X

Mr. Szold said that assuming we are to go forward with the Resolutions, he also assumed that we will take the normal precautions. With regard to the word "ultimately", Mr. Szold recalled the decision that it was more advisable to proceed with the Resolution in the form in which it had been introduced, but that some time during the discussions an attempt would be made to get the word "ultimately" out. We have had a declaration by the Democratic Party which comes out in clear terms for a Jewish Commonwealth and a similar statement from the Republican Party without the word "ultimately" in it. If in the face of that record we ask for something less, it seems a very clear retreat.

In the American Jewish Conference Resolution, we not only asked for a Jewish Commonwealth but went further and said to the world that we want a majority in Palestine. There were lots of people who thought before that that it was not wise to ask for a majority. People can say that when we ask for a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth and a majority now, it is undemocratic. But we claim that our people as a national group are also entitled to their freedom. If our enemies ask why we want the word "ultimately" out of the Resolutions, the answer is that it is unnecessary and subject to misinterpretation.

If we do not get a Jewish Commonwealth now, we shall be faced with a trusteeship. Above all, we must avoid any sort of device for postponing a decision in principle now, for a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth and a majority. We will have reason to regret it if we say we are not ready for a Commonwealth now and it is the better part of wisdom to aim at this political objective forthwith.

Mr. Naiditch stated that when the Emergency Council decided to go ahead with the Resolutions we understood the risks, but we had to take them. We did this, however, at a time when we had nothing to lose. The situation now is quite different. We have the statements from the President and the Republican candidate-statements calling for a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth. It has been pointed out that there are risks involved in pushing the Resolution. Mr. Naiditch thought the matter should be discussed with England and Palestine and that we should not rush into a decision.

Mr. Neumann said there were a great many issues raised in this discussion. Some of the speakers have tied up our ultimate decision on the question of the Resolutions with the action that we may anticipate on the part of the Government and on the part of the President. Perhaps it would be well for us to have a complete picture regarding the situation at that end before reaching a decision regarding the Resolutions.

We are now to some extent paying the price for our failure to clarify for ourselves what we mean when we speak of a Jewish Commonwealth now. For example, when some of our friends speak of a Jewish Commonwealth now do we mean a political decision now with regard to a Commonwealth, or the setting up of a Jewish Government now? Those are two different things. Similarly, does Mr. Moreminski mean that we want to ask that a Jewish government be established in Palestine now while we are in a minority, without an intervening trusteeship, or what does he mean? If we mean that we want a political decision now that we are to have a Commonwealth, we are all agreed on that. If we mean to go beyond that obviously we must clarify for ourselves just what we intend to ask for. In view of the discussion involved in raising all these questions, it may not be possible to reach a decision that evening.

Mr. Neumann emphasized that he was not necessarily opposed to putting forward this or any other demand but it was essential for us to be clear in our own minds.

With regard to the major question, as to whether it is advisable to try to get the Resolution brought out, despite the truly historic statements that we have had, Mr. Neumann felt that we have a great deal to gain by having registered action by the American Congress. Even if the President should reaffirm his statement after his election and speak then as President and not as a candidate, the Resolutions will be valuable. Mr. Lipsky had referred to the value of the 1922 Resolution. Presidents come and go, but Resolutions passed by Congress remain. The President's statement is the personal opinion of the President, not yet of the legislative branch.

Mr. Neumann said he recognized the risks; obviously we must take all necessary precautions. We should however also consider the psychological and political effects of dropping the Resolutions at this state.

Mr. Boukstein recalled that at a number of previous meetings, the question of the word "ultimately" was raised and he thought it was decided at that time that we would try to get it out of the Resolution. The word "ultimately" will later be used against us just as the wording of the Balfour Declaration was used against us. Supposing that it were true that most of the Jews of Europe have been annihilated and that there will not be enough Jews to go to Palestine to constitute a majority there, does that mean that we do not want a Commonwealth now? We cannot make such a decision without the rest of the movement.

Mr. Boukstein pointed out that to get the Resolution through at this time will mean nothing, since it is the executive branch of the Government, under our constitutional set-up, which deals with foreign affairs. He believed that if we are to proceed with the Resolution the word "ultimately" must be removed.

Judge Levinthal pointed out that this discussion indicates that we ought to clarify the terms we Zionists use. There should be a clarification of what we mean by a Commonwealth. When at the Biltmore we demanded the right to control immigration without being a majority that meant we wanted to act as a Government while being a minority. The ordinary rules of democracy cannot be applied. The one and a half millions of Jews in Europe are inchoate citizens of Palestine in so far as they intend to go to Palestine.

Judge Levinthal thought Judge Rothenberg's argument sound. The purpose of the Resolutions was twofold: a) to get the executive branch to act; and b) to do a job of public relations in the country - to have the issue discussed openly.

The planks in the Democratic and Republican platforms were adopted unanimously; the Resolutions may not be adopted unanimously. Is it wise, after obtaining the unanimous planks, to whittle them down and get something less?

Judge Levinthal suggested that the Emergency Council should immediately after the elections place an advertisement in the New York Times and in five or ten other newspapers in the country pointing out that enlightened American opinion supports the Zionist program, and including the party planks and the candidates' statements.

The argument that we have heard about the word "ultimately" strengthens Judge Rothenberg's suggestion, Judge Levinthal believed. He therefore thought it was advisable to wait.

Mr. Wertheim said it seemed to him that in the Biltmore resolution we did not think of a government at once; otherwise we would not have mentioned control of immigration and colonization. What we meant was a political decision now plus certain powers, and we mentioned those powers specifically.

Mr. Wertheim favored trying to go ahead with the Resolutions. If the party platforms mean anything, they will be a guide for the Congress coming in in January, more so than for the Congress which will be in session for the four weeks starting November 15th. Mr. Wertheim thought it would be preferable to take up the Resolutions again when the new Congress convenes, when we can bring in a resolution formulated differently and with the word "ultimately" omitted. In the meantime, however, we should not stop our work.

Dr. Lamas expressed the hope that Zionists among themselves would elaborate exact formulas in which they would interpret their terms clearly. After we have achieved internal agreement on the terms, we should then come before the world with one demand - a Jewish Commonwealth.

Judge Rosenblatt, discussing the word "Commonwealth", said we have confused two things, the right to create a Commonwealth and a Commonwealth now. Under the Mandate, we had made the mistake of not insisting on controlling immigration. He agreed with Mr. Wertheim that we should utilize the coming weeks for propaganda and bring the Resolutions to the new Congress opening January 3rd.

It was pointed out that if the Resolutions are referred to the new Congress, there would have to be new hearings, which should be borne in mind.

Mr. Zuckerman referring to Mr. Neumann's question as to what we mean by the Biltmore Resolution, said that all of us want a Commonwealth now. The right to dispose of Palestine rests with the powers. We ask them to declare not only for the Commonwealth, to say not only that the Jews in Palestine will be given certain rights, but that the Jewish people will be given the right to utilize the resources of Palestine. With regard to the question as to when the population of Palestine will be granted self-rule outside of the control of immigration and colonization, that has not yet been clarified. But that is not necessary now. If we are asked what about the democratic principle we answer that the powers have given the Jewish people certain rights. Mr. Zuckerman was not afraid of the word "ultimately" if we formulate our position in this way.

X Mr. Zuckerman favored pressing for the Resolutions at once.

Judge Rothenberg pointed out that he had not argued that we should drop the Resolutions. He had merely questioned whether in view of the great gains we have

secured we should risk those gains. Despite Mr. Lipsky's cogent arguments, he still thought we should not push the Resolutions at once. He feared that we have not all the necessary facts on which to make a decision and he would advise having our people in Washington evaluate the situation and then come back to the Council. He wondered whether it would be possible in this canvass that will be made in Washington not only to ask to have the word "ultimately" deleted, but also to have the Resolutions framed in the language of the two Party platform planks. If we could make a composite out of the two, we might have a chance to get it through.

Mr. Shulman said that we would all like to see the Resolutions framed in the language of the President's statement; the question was whether we could have that done. We should perhaps not seek to take anything out, but should try to get the movers of the Resolutions to offer an amendment to conform with the wording of the President's statement.

Dr. Wise said that after Dr. Silver and he visit the State Department on November 9th they will report to the Council and a decision can be taken then as to further action. He suggested that a special meeting of the full Emergency Council be held the evening of November 9th.

Dr. Silver, summing up, said that this has been an informative discussion. It is important to go over these things thoroughly in advance.

We will not go ahead with the Resolution without fully canvassing the situation. If the answer from the State Department is at all vague he would not recommend proceeding with it.

Dr. Silver was personally of the opinion that unless the Resolutions are acted on in this Congress they will be dead as far as the next Congress is concerned. They were introduced last February. They have been on the agenda of public opinion for almost a year. Enormous propaganda effort has been put into them. When in spite of all favorable indices for us to go ahead, we do not do so, it was his opinion that it will be impossible to revive them next year. The Jewish community, the Yiddish press, etc. will all feel let down. Our enemies will say that in an election year, we were able to get promises, but after that we cannot get a resolution through. Dr. Silver referred in this connection to an address by Judge Proskauer in Cleveland.

We should not beguile ourselves into thinking that now that we have statements from Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Dewey, the Congress Resolutions are not necessary.

With regard to the word "ultimately", if it is possible to remove it by recasting the resolution, it should of course be done. Dr. Silver recalled that at the hearings the question had been posed as to what we mean by a Jewish Commonwealth, do we want it now, - and Dr. Goldstein had answered that we could not propose it as an immediate step but we wanted it when we have a majority. If it is possible to recast the Resolutions in a form similar to the planks that would be desirable. But if not we might be faced with the question of choosing between no resolution at all and the resolution as it stands.

Word should not go out of this meeting that we are considering not proceeding with the Resolutions.

NEXT MEETING

It was decided to hold a special meeting of the Emergency Council the evening of November 9th.

The meeting adjourned at 10:45 P. M.

A. L.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

October 30, 1944

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Monday, October 30th, at 4:00 P. M. at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Rabbi Philip S. Bernstein, Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Chaim Greenberg, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Isaac Hamlin, Mrs. Rose Jacobs, Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Louis Lipsky, Marvin Lowenthal, Rabbi Irving Miller, Emanuel Neumann, Mrs. Tamar Pool, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Herman Shulman, Meyer W. Weisgal, David Wertheim, Dr. Stephen S. Wise.

Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt.

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

Dr. Joseph Cohn, Isaiah L. Kenen.

An apology was received from Mr. Louis Segal, who was out of town.

MINUTES

A number of corrections were made in the Minutes of the Executive Committee meeting held October 12th. (See attached). With these corrections the minutes were approved.

MEETING OF GREATER ACTIONS COMMITTEE

In accordance with the decision of the Executive Committee meeting of October 12th, a cable had been sent to Mr. Ben-Gurion stating that it would be impossible for an American delegation to reach Jerusalem before December, asking for further details concerning the proposed conference and indicating that if it was proposed to hold it in December, the parties would be canvassed for the names of their representatives, and application made for priorities.

A reply had been received from Mr. Ben-Gurion only that day (the cable had been delayed a week enroute), stating that he had cabled to Dr. Weizmann, who was still in London, asking whether he could stay on in Palestine until December and would cable us when he received a reply from him. This meant further delay, and it was suggested that the difficulties of arranging for a delegation to leave on such short notice should be made clear to Jerusalem. Priorities had not yet been applied for, since it was not deemed advisable to start such negotiations until it was definite that the conference was to take place and the exact date was known.

Since Dr. Goldmann was expected back in New York any day, it was decided to await his return, when further information could be obtained concerning the proposed meeting, before taking further action.

TRANSPORTATION FOR REFUGEE CHILDREN TO PALESTINE

A cable had been received from Palestine indicating that 10,200 certificates had been allocated for the six-month period beginning October 1st, of which 3,200 were set aside for children in France, Belgium and Switzerland. These children are at present scattered among Christian farmers and monasteries and it was most important to transfer them to Palestine as soon as possible. The main difficulty was transportation, and the Executive urged that we make representations to our government with a view to obtaining ships to transport the children to Palestine. On receipt of this cable, the members of the Executive Committee who were attending the Zionist Convention in Atlantic City held a meeting there and decided that a delegation should call on Mr. Pehle, director of the War Refugee Board, and Mr. Morgenthau, one of the three members of the Board.

A meeting was held at the J.D.C. offices on October 20th and the representatives of the J.D.C. agreed to join in a delegation to see Mr. Pehle and Mr. Morgenthau. Appointments were made in Washington for October 24th, the delegation consisting of Dr. Schwartz and Mr. Leavitt of the J.D.C., Mrs. Epstein representing Hadassah, and Dr. Heller representing the Emergency Council.

Mrs. Epstein reported on the interviews with Mr. Pehle and Mr. Morgenthau. (Report on file).

The delegation was sympathetically received but were given to understand that there was very great stringency at the moment with regard to shipping. The matter was being further investigated.

After discussion, it was decided that the Committee which had gone to Washington should continue in existence and should pursue the matter further.

JEWISH BRIGADE

Judge Rosenblatt reported that pursuant to the decision taken at the last meeting of the Executive Committee he had looked into the legal aspects involved in regard to enlistments in this country for the Jewish Brigade.

It was agreed that representatives of the Executive Committee should consult with the War Department with a view to determining what action, if any, can be taken in this matter.

REVEREND MACLEAN

It was reported that word has now been received from London that Reverend Norman MacLean is prepared to come to this country for a two month speaking tour. (He will also spend one month in Canada). A motion was adopted authorizing the necessary expenditures.

DEATH OF ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

The death of the Archbishop of Canterbury, who had been a good friend of Zionism, was noted with deep regret.

PUBLICATIONS COMMITTEE

Mr. Lipsky reported that the Frankenstein book "Justice for my People" will be released in January. In order to utilize the book during the time when the Resolution will be brought up again, arrangements are being made to have a number

of copies ready soon, for distribution among radio commentators, newspaper people, etc.

Copies of "America and Palestine" have been sent to a list of 2,000 people, including legislators, Governors of States, all members of Congress, 150 leading libraries, radio commentators, boards of Zionist organizations in Latin America and abroad, and leading members of the A.P.C. and Christian Council.

Mr. Lipsky referred to the Executive Committee a letter which he had received from Mr. Reuben Fink in which Mr. Fink suggests having another edition of the book published by the Herald Square Press. He intends to correct a number of errors in the book, and to add a few pages at the end, but substantially it will be the same book. He has arranged with the publishers for royalties to himself and there will be no expense involved for the Council. The copyright will be left with the Emergency Council.

Mr. Lipsky's recommendation that Mr. Fink's suggestion be accepted, with the proviso that the second edition of the book, before being published, be approved by the Publications Committee, was adopted.

AMERICAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE

Mr. Shulman reported that it had been expected to hold a meeting of the Executive Council of the A.P.C. before this time, but with Dr. LeSourd out of town a great deal it had been impossible to arrange it. Such a meeting, however, will be held very soon.

Some of the problems now being considered by the A.P.C. are the publication of a bulletin or magazine; and the advisability of trying to enlist the support of various youth organizations throughout the country, such as the Y.M.C.A., organizations dealing with post-war planning, etc. These matters will be discussed by the Executive Council of the A.P.C. and their recommendations will be conveyed to the Emergency Council.

The next Conference of the A.P.C. is to be held in Chicago on November 21st.

WESTERMANN DOCUMENT

It was reported that the memorandum drawn up by the Research Department replying to the document prepared by Professor Westermann for the Council on Foreign Relations had been forwarded to the Council with a request that we be permitted to put copies of the reply in the hands of all those who had received the original memorandum. A letter had now been received from the executive director of the Council on Foreign Relations indicating that they are prepared to circulate the reply among the 175 people to whom Professor Westermann's document had been sent.

PALESTINE DELEGATION TO WAR EMERGENCY CONFERENCE

It was agreed that when the Palestine delegation to the war emergency conference of the World Jewish Congress arrives in this country they should be invited to a meeting of the Emergency Council. It was suggested that other leading Zionists in the various delegations to the conference, in addition to the Palestinians, be invited to this meeting.

BUDGET

Mr. Shapiro drew attention to the fact that although the budget of the Emergency Council for 1944-45, after being approved, had been referred to the Funds, no

meeting had as yet been held to pass on this budget, although the new fiscal year began on October 15th. He had urged the Funds to arrange for a meeting to be held very soon and hoped that they would do so.

COMMITTEE ON POST-WAR PLANNING GROUPS

Dr. Silver referred to a letter which he had received from Hadassah urging that a committee be appointed to deal with agencies concerned with post-war problems. It was agreed that such a committee, which would be concerned only with unofficial bodies interested in post-war planning, should be appointed and that Mrs. Pool should be one of the chairmen. Dr. Silver asked the members of the Executive to bring in suggestions for a co-chairman.

Attention was drawn to the Post-War Planning Commission of the American Jewish Conference, of which Mr. Chaim Greenberg is one of the chairmen, and to the advisability of coordinating the activities of the two committees.

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE BILL OF RIGHTS

It was reported that Judge Fisher had telephoned from Chicago to say that the Chicago Federation of Labor had asked his advice as to whether they should accept the invitation of the American Jewish Committee to sign their "Bill of Rights" memorandum. Judge Fisher asked for guidance from the Executive Committee.

Dr. Wise pointed out that the Institute of Jewish Affairs of the World Jewish Congress is making a careful study of the whole situation with regard to the American Jewish Committee memorandum and will shortly be prepared to issue a statement making clear its lamentable deficiencies.

Mr. Greenberg drew attention to the fact that the American Jewish Conference had drawn up a Bill of Rights and had presented it to the State Department. He believed that the Federation of Labor should be advised to wait.

After further discussion it was agreed that the matter be referred to the American Jewish Conference for action, and that Judge Fisher be informed in the meantime to advise the Federation of Labor against signing the memorandum.

PALESTINE DAY

It was reported that the request of the local emergency committees to the Governors of their states to proclaim Balfour Day as Palestine Day was meeting with a most gratifying response.

BERGSON GROUP

Mr. Shulman reported that the Bergson group had contacted Mr. Curran, Republican candidate for the Senate in New York State and furnished him with material embodying their peculiar ideology. Fortunately Mr. Curran was set right and is now using our material.

AMERICAN ECONOMIC MISSION IN NEAR EAST

Mr. Shulman reported briefly on the American Economic Mission at present in the Near East making a survey of the industrial possibilities in that part of the world.

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY MIZRACHI CONVENTION RE BANK OF RESTITUTION

Attention was drawn to the resolution adopted by the Mizrachi Convention in Atlantic City urging the establishment of a Bank of Restitution. The question was raised as to whether a proposal of this nature should have been discussed with the Emergency Council before being acted on, and it was agreed to bring this to the attention of the Mizrachi representatives on the Council.

Mr. Wertheim said that the question of statements on matters of policy made by party leaders was taken up by his organization's Central Committee and the point made that there was a difference between statements made by leaders of the groups and resolutions adopted at Conventions.

Dr. Silver agreed that it would be wise for any Convention of our groups, when thinking about passing resolutions on major policy, to discuss them beforehand with the Council.

READER'S SCOPE

Attention was drawn to the four articles appearing in this month's issue of "Reader's Scope" under the heading "Another Report on Palestine", which had been placed through our auspices.

FEDERAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES OF CHRIST

The bulletin of the Research Department of the Federal Council of Churches, about which there had been much discussion and whose publication had previously been deferred, had now appeared. Dr. Berkson, reporting on this matter said he thought the bulletin in its present form is better than the original document, particularly in view of the fact that it arrives at no specific conclusions and it does not explicitly suggest a negative attitude towards Zionist aims. Some of the anti-Zionist poison has been eliminated. It is also considerably fairer in the presentation of the Zionist case, and it contains a few good excerpts on the Zionist position. Dr. Goldstein had discussed it with Dr. Niebuhr, who thought the bulletin was not bad. The statement is, however, definitely biased. It pretends not to give a verdict, but a verdict is implicit throughout. Dr. Berkson said he had come to the conclusion that this was done definitely with calculation and forethought, in order to satisfy the Protestant missionary influence that has its center in Beirut. In this case the activating spirit was Wilbert Smith, a missionary for twenty years in India and the director of the Y.M.C.A. in Cairo. This fits in very well with the item which appeared in Falcor several months ago, in which the editor of "Falastin" reported that President Bayard Dodge of Beirut University, in an interview, deplored the fact that his position prevented him from participating actively in pro-Arab propaganda in the United States and quoted him as stating that Arab propaganda in this country must be accelerated and intensified.

Dr. Berkson reported further that he had written to Dr. Johnson taking exception to the statement from the point of view of a piece of research. Dr. Heller also had written a letter of protest to the Research Department of the Federal Council and Dr. Goldstein too will send them a letter, as President of the Zionist Organization of America, making similar protest. In addition, Dr. Voss will write to them on behalf of the Christian Council on Palestine.

After some discussion as to the action which ought to be taken in connection with the bulletin published by the Federal Council Research Department, it was decided:

1. That an official communication be sent by the Emergency Council to the Federal Council expressing our opinion about the bulletin and requesting publication of our letter in their forthcoming regular bulletin.
2. That the Christian Council be asked to prepare and circularize among the clergymen of the United States a positive presentation of the Zionist case.
3. That a memorandum be submitted to Mr. John Foster Dulles in criticism of the bulletin with a view to getting him to issue a statement for circularization.
4. That Dr. Goldstein and other members of the Executive send letters directly to the Federal Council, these letters, however, not to be given any publicity.

BOARD OF NATIONAL MISSIONS OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

A meeting had been held last spring with representatives of the Presbyterian Board of Missions, at which Mr. Neumann, Rabbi Bernstein and Dr. Berkson had been present. It was decided at that time to hold another conference for further clarification of the Zionist question, and this meeting was held October 26th. Mr. Neumann was unable to attend, and Mr. Lourie took his place.

Reporting on this meeting, Dr. Berkson said that the representatives of the Emergency Council were under the impression that the discussion which had been begun in the spring on questions raised by Wilbert Smith re the Hussein letters, etc., would be continued. They were surprised, therefore, to find at the meeting Professor Hitti and Mr. Malouf, a Christian Lebanese who has not been in Lebanon since 1907. There was also present Mr. Rihbani, a nephew of a well-known minister in Boston of that name, recently deceased. Mr. Malouf told Dr. Berkson that he just happened to be in New York that day and Professor Hitti invited him to come along.

Dr. Berkson drew attention to a notice which had appeared in the local Arabic paper "Al Hoda" to the effect that Professor Hitti was going to address the Presbyterians, and referred to the influence of the Beirut school. (See addendum giving report from "Al Hoda" which explains the presence of the Arab representatives in New York and their plans for establishing an Arab propaganda service in this country).

The Christians present at the meeting comprised: Dr. L. A. Albright, head of International Missions; Dr. Emory Ross, Secretary of Foreign Missions of North America; Mr. Lee Terrell, Secretary of the Y.M.C.A. in Jerusalem; Dr. Glora Wysner who has done missionary work in North Africa and who acted as secretary; and Dr. Conrad Hoffman, Jr., who presided. (Wilbert Smith was not there). Dr. Hoffman offered the chair to Dr. Berkson, but the latter declined.

In the course of the discussion, Dr. Hoffman made reference to the presence in this country of Charles T. Bridgeman, Archdeacon of Jerusalem and Canon of St. George's Anglican Cathedral in that city. (Canon Bridgeman was responsible for biased dispatches to the London Times during the 1936 disturbances.) The discussion took the turn of trying to find a place for Jewish refugees outside of Palestine. The whole effort, it seemed, was to turn the discussion away from

Palestine. The presence of the Arabs at the meeting introduced a certain emotional tension. At the end there arose the question as to whether these meetings were to be continued, and it was decided that a further conference might have some value.

Dr. Silver pointed out that we were going to have an increasingly difficult problem with Protestant anti-Zionism in this country, stimulated by missionary influence. Beirut has many alumni in the United States, in the Federal Council of Churches, in government circles, etc.

The meeting adjourned at 6:00 P. M.

A. L.



Page 5 - The second paragraph, second line should read "... that the matter ought to be settled as soon as practicable..."

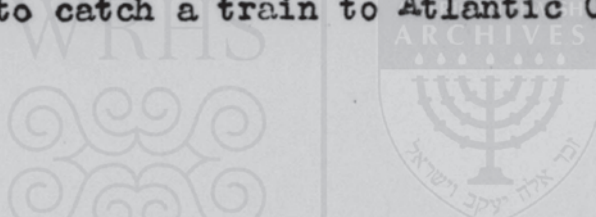
Page 5 - The fifth paragraph, second sentence should read: "He had discussed it with Dr. Silver and he suggested the elimination of a sentence in the statement, which it was hoped to have accepted."

Page 8 - The third paragraph, first sentence should read: "Continuing, Mr. Shulman said that regarding Mr. Neumann's proposal that nothing further be done with regard to the message, he understood the message was already before the President."

The third sentence in this paragraph should read: "Mr. Shulman said he was in no position to ask the Senator to take any steps to prevent the message from being sent."

The sixth paragraph should read: "With reference to the suggestion of overzealousness, Mr. Shulman said that he had done nothing except to carry out the instructions which he had received in connection with this matter. He further stated that insofar as his activities were concerned, the Executive Committee had the facts and it was up to it to determine what action to take with respect to them."

Another paragraph should be added here, reading: "At this point Mr. Shulman left the meeting to catch a train to Atlantic City."



AL HODA

October 31: Hoda received a telegram from Beirut advising the editor that two prominent Lebanese industrialists, George Aridar and Elias Traboulsi, left for Cairo whence they are to proceed to the United States for an international economic conference which is to take place in the State of New York.

The government instructed its plenipotentiary in London, Camille Shamun, to represent Lebanon at the Chicago conference on civil aviation.

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A letter from Abd-al-Basit al-Khadib informs the reader that a circle of Arabs met in New York on October 26th with Dr. Hitti of Princeton, a lawyer Faris Malouf, and Mr. Saman Rihbani. They discussed Arab problems, the necessity of establishing propaganda service in the United States. A provisional committee was set up and it will invite groups and persons concerned with problems of Arab countries to join an organization in the United States and Canada. On November 25th a conference will take place in New York to discuss important Arab problems, such as the problem of Palestine and that of establishing an Arab propaganda service in this country. Mr. Malouf and Mr. Rihbani left for Washington to contact circles concerned there. They were present at the New York meeting as delegates of the Boston-American Society to Help the Arabs of Palestine.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING HELD NOVEMBER 9, 1944

A meeting of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Thursday evening, November 9th, at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Stephen S. Wise (presiding), Miss Juliet Benjamin, Rabbi Philip Bernstein, Maurice Boukstein, Mrs. Judith Epstein, Moshe Furmanský, Leon Gellman, Rabbi Wolf Gold, Paul L. Goldman, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mrs. Esther Gottesman, Chaim Greenberg, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Isaac Hamlin, Mrs. Rose Jacobs, Leib Jaffe, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Miss Jeannette Leibel, Irving Lipkowitz, Louis Lipsky, Israel Mereminski, Rabbi Irving Miller, Isaac Naiditch, Emanuel Neumann, Mrs. David de Sola Pool, Zvi Quittman, Mrs. Etta Rosensohn, Dvora Rothbard, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Samuel Rothstein, Mrs. Bertha Schoolman, Louis Segal, Mrs. Rebecca Shulman, Herman Shulman, Abba Hillel Silver, Elihu Stone, Robert Szold, Meyer W. Weisgal, David Wertheim.

Dr. Bernard Joseph, Dr. Nahum Goldmann.

Dr. I. B. Berkson, Rabbi Leon I. Feuer, Adolph Hubbard, Arnold K. Isreeli, Hans Lamm, Arthur Lourie, Harold P. Manson, Harry L. Shapiro, Abe Tuvim.

Dr. Natalio Berman, Mrs. Kurt Blumenfeld, Dr. Joseph Cohn, Mauricio Cohen, Leon Dulcin, Alexander Easterman, Mauricio Faivovich, Edward Gelber, Mrs. Bertha Gershinoﬀ, Mrs. Bertha Goldstein, Norman Jacobs, Fred Nettler, Martin Panzer, Theodore Resnikoff, B. Sherman, Mrs. Rebecca Sieff, Zorach Warhaftig, Arturo Wolfovich, Mrs. Rachel Yarden, Baruch Zuckerman.

An apology was received from Judge Louis E. Levinthal.

The Chairman welcomed the guests from England and the South American countries.

POLITICAL REPORT

Dr. Silver reported on the conversation which Dr. Wise, Dr. Goldmann and he had had with Mr. Stettinius that morning with regard to clearance on the Resolutions. Mr. Stettinius indicated that he would be in a position to let us have something definite within a few days.

Reference was made to the report carried by the press that Mr. Bloom planned to call a meeting of the Foreign Affairs Committee on November 15th, the day after Congress reconvenes, to reopen hearings on the Resolution. It was agreed that efforts should be made to obtain a postponement until the attitude of the State Department was clear.

RE-ELECTION OF MR. ROOSEVELT, SENATOR WAGNER AND SENATOR TAFT

It was decided to send messages of congratulations to President Roosevelt, Senator Robert F. Wagner and Senator Robert A. Taft.

JEWISH BRIGADE

It was reported that pursuant to the decision of the last Executive Committee meeting, Mr. Lourie had seen Col. Gerhardt, Executive to the Assistant Secretary of War, to determine whether any action could be taken in connection with recruiting men in this country for the Jewish Brigade. He was to accompany Judge Rosenblatt, but the latter had been prevented from keeping the appointment.

Col. Gerhardt, whose attitude was friendly, indicated that as far as men not in the army were concerned that was a matter for the Selective Service Board, but the War Department did have a policy with regard to those already in the United States Army. He said he would like to look into the matter further and promised to send a memorandum on the subject.

This memorandum has now been received, and from its contents it is apparent that certain individuals would qualify for enlistment in the Brigade Group. Information subsequently received from the British Embassy, however, indicates that recruitment in the Jewish Brigade Group is limited to British and Alien Jews resident in the United Kingdom, Palestine, and the Island of Mauritius, and that no others can at present be considered.

In the course of a subsequent statement by Dr. Joseph, he urged that the matter should not be allowed to rest at that and that efforts be made to obtain the acceptance by the British of at least a token contingent from America.

CONFERENCE OF ACTIONS COMMITTEE

Reporting on the meeting of the Larger Actions Committee which it had been proposed to hold in Palestine, Dr. Goldmann explained that the Executive in Jerusalem were anxious to use the opportunity of Dr. Weizmann's visit to Palestine for a meeting of at least those members of the Larger Actions Committee who could come to Palestine. They therefore cabled to the American and English Zionists asking whether they could attend such a meeting in November.

Dr. Goldmann had indicated to the Agency Executive that he did not think that such a meeting could materialize, that it would be impossible for 8 or 10 people to come to Jerusalem from the United States. He therefore suggested to them that the meeting be transferred to London. Mr. Ben-Gurion and others seemed to be ready to agree to this proposal, when they received a cable from the Emergency Council from which they inferred that perhaps a delegation from the United States might come in December, so they again considered holding the meeting in Palestine.

On returning to New York, Dr. Goldmann still felt that it would be impossible for a substantial American delegation to get to Palestine, and he therefore recommended sending a cable to Jerusalem suggesting that the meeting be held in London in January. He believed that if we wire Jerusalem that a representative group could come to England from America but could not come to Palestine, they would arrange to hold the meeting in England. Without a representative delegation of all the groups it would not be a worthwhile meeting. Even from the political point of view, Dr. Goldmann thought it would be preferable to hold the meeting in London.

Dr. Joseph disagreed with Dr. Goldmann on the question of the place of the meeting. He considered it fundamental that there be a representative Palestine delegation at such a meeting, and under present circumstances it would be impossible for a representative delegation to go from Palestine to London. The 25

or 30 leading people who take an active part in the life of the country, and who are members of the Inner Actions Committee, could not leave Palestine at this time. Mr. Ben-Gurion or Mr. Shertok might not be able to attend, and it was inconceivable that the conference be held without them. Dr. Weizmann is about to leave for Palestine. He may stay two months, or perhaps longer.

As to the effectiveness of the place, Dr. Joseph thought a meeting held in Palestine would carry more weight. The Yishuv would create the atmosphere to make the meeting a really significant one.

Dr. Joseph urged that the American Zionists should make every effort to send a delegation to Palestine. He realized that it would be difficult for the leaders here to leave the country for several months. He therefore suggested dividing the American delegation into two parts, some to go by boat and the others by air. He did not believe it was as difficult as has been imagined to secure priorities on planes. The World Jewish Congress was able to arrange for eleven people to come from Palestine and two from Egypt.

Dr. Goldmann stressed the necessity of reaching an immediate decision. If it is believed that a delegation of about fifteen, consisting of representatives of all the parties, can be sent to Palestine, action should be taken at once to ascertain the possibilities of obtaining the necessary priorities, and Jerusalem should be so informed. If this cannot be arranged, then the Executive should be advised accordingly, so that they can make arrangements to hold the meeting in London.

Answering a question asked as to why a conference is necessary at this time, Dr. Goldmann stated that he attached great importance to such a conference. A serious problem in Zionist life has been the estrangement of Palestine from the rest of the world. Terrorism is one of the results of this estrangement. For five years Palestine lived away from the world and during that period we here have not had knowledge of the realities of Palestine. It is essential, also, to have a full discussion on the Biltmore program, particularly the question of the interim period, which may destroy or build the Jewish State. In addition to the practical necessity of clarifying all these questions, there are moral and spiritual reasons why the Palestine Zionist leaders should come together with the Zionist leaders of the rest of the world. An exchange of views for ten days will be invaluable.

Dr. Wise pointed out that at the beginning of January it will be impossible for the leaders of American Zionism to leave the country, since the matter of the Resolution pending in Congress may not have been disposed of by that time.

Dr. Goldstein stated that as a matter of procedure the organizations should have received copies of the original telegram from Jerusalem independently of its submission to the Emergency Council. He expressed the opinion that it was impossible to reach an immediate decision on this matter. The organizations must discuss it. It was not feasible for the American Zionist leaders to leave the United States before January. A Conference of the Zionists all over the world is desirable for some time in the near future, but we cannot at this stage designate the month. He recommended that the Executive in Jerusalem be informed that a conference in December is not feasible.

Mr. Warhaftig pointed out that the bulk of the Actions Committee is in Palestine, and the meeting should therefore be held there.

Mr. Zuckerman said that it should be made clear whether Dr. Weizmann can remain in Palestine until January; and in the meantime we should find out about

priorities, and inform Palestine accordingly.

After further discussion it was agreed that the matter be decided definitely at the Executive Committee meeting of November 21st and in the meantime the constituent groups would discuss it, and the possibilities of obtaining priorities would be explored; a cable would be sent to Jerusalem notifying the Executive that an American delegation cannot attend a meeting before January and indicating that the question of the place is still left open.

PERTINAX ARTICLE IN NEW YORK TIMES

Reference was made to the very unfavorable article on terrorism in Palestine by the prominent French journalist, "Pertinax," which appeared in the New York Times on November 8th. Dr. Goldmann indicated that he had an appointment to see "Pertinax" next week.

AVIATION CONFERENCE IN CHICAGO

In connection with the Civilian Aviation Conference now in session in Chicago, it was reported that Mr. Lourie had been in touch with Mr. Robert Nathan and the latter's office had prepared a memorandum for use at the Conference. The memorandum dealt with Palestine's interest with respect to post-war international air service and Palestine's case for inclusion as a main trunk stop on any international airline running through the Middle East. Unfortunately Palestine has no direct representation at the Conference, but is represented by the Mandatory Power as a part of British possessions and Mandated areas.

Judge Fisher in Chicago was contacted and he approached the Secretary-General of the Conference, who told him that he was unable to receive representations from private organizations, since the Conference was limited to the representatives of governments. Judge Fisher explained our difficulty and it was agreed that he should send in the memorandum and that the Secretary would see whether it could be considered. So far he has had no reply and he now proposes to contact the British delegation.

The memorandum submitted to the Conference is available on request.

MESSAGE TO EXECUTIVE IN JERUSALEM RE TERRORISM

Dr. Goldmann urged that a message be sent by the Zionist Emergency Council to the Executive in Jerusalem endorsing their decision to take energetic action against the terrorists. (The Resolution adopted by the Vaad Leumi had been endorsed by the Actions Committee unanimously). He believed it was important for American Zionists to back up the Executive in this matter, and that their endorsement of this policy would have great authority.

Dr. Joseph agreed with Dr. Goldmann's recommendation.

There was some discussion on this recommendation, in which the fact was brought out that the statement issued by the Emergency Council to the press following the assassination of Lord Moyne specifically stated that the Council associated itself with the attitude of Palestine Jewry in its determination to root out terrorism. It was believed that it was unnecessary to send a further message to the Executive. It was therefore decided to cable to the Executive in Jerusalem the statement already issued.

DR. JOSEPH'S REPORT

Dr. Joseph addressed the meeting. (Report on file).

The meeting adjourned at 11:05 P. M.

A. L.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING HELD NOVEMBER 21, 1944

A meeting of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Tuesday, November 21st, at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Stephen S. Wise (presiding), Mrs. Judith Epstein, Paul L. Goldman, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mrs. S. Goldstein, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Isaac Hamlin, Mrs. Rose Jacobs, Leib Jaffe, Irving Lipkowitz, Marvin Lowenthal, Emanuel Neumann, Mrs. Tamar Pool, Mrs. Rabinowitz, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Mrs. Bertha Schoolman, Mrs. Rebecca Shulman, Herman Shulman, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, Robert Szold, Herman Weisman.

Dr. Nahum Goldmann, Dr. Bernard Joseph.

Adolph Hubbard, Hans Lamm, Arthur Lourie, Abram Magida, Harold P. Manson, Harry L. Shapiro.

Dr. S. Bernstein, Moses P. Epstein, Isaiah L. Kenen, Dr. Ludwig Lewisohn, Dr. Judith Lieberman, Miss Sopia Udin, Zorach Warhaftig, Mrs. Rachel Yarden, Dr. Chaim Yassky, Baruch Zuckerman.

The Chairman welcomed Dr. Yassky, director of the Hadassah Medical Organization, who had arrived from Palestine a few days ago.

RESOLUTION BEFORE CONGRESS

Pursuant to the interview which Dr. Silver, Dr. Goldmann and Dr. Wise had had with Mr. Stettinius on November 9th, when Mr. Stettinius had indicated that he would communicate with us in a few days concerning clearance on the Resolution, Dr. Wise reported that Mr. Stettinius had telephoned him a few days ago and informed him that he had seen the President, who urged that nothing be done about the Bill at this time and that the matter be left in his hands a little while longer.

Dr. Silver read the letter which he had received from Dr. Weizmann discussing the political situation and making some recommendations as to action to be taken in this country.

There followed a lengthy discussion, and it was finally decided that efforts be made once more to obtain clearance from the President, through Senator Wagner and perhaps others. It was agreed to leave it to Dr. Wise, Dr. Silver and Mr. Shulman to take the necessary action with regard to an approach to the President. (Stenographic report of discussion on file).

TREASURER OF EMERGENCY COUNCIL

Mr. Szold referred to the discussion at the meeting that afternoon on the Treasurer of the Council and he wished to make a statement on the matter. Some months ago he had sent a letter to the co-chairmen of the Council resigning as Treasurer. He wished to say at once that the resignation he presented last April stood. He never did withdraw it. It is not accurate that he requested it not to be acted upon. He asked that the resignation take effect.

The meeting adjourned at 11:45 P. M.

A. L.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

November 21, 1944

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Tuesday, November 21st, at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Rabbi Philip S. Bernstein, Mrs. Judith Epstein, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Chaim Greenberg, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Mrs. Rose Jacobs, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Louis Lipsky, Marvin Lowenthal, Rabbi Irving Miller, Emanuel Neumann, Mrs. Tamar Pool, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Louis Segal, Herman Shulman, Herman Weisman, David Wertheim.

Dr. Nahum Goldmann, Dr. Bernard Joseph, Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt.

Arthur Lourie, Harold P. Manson, Harry L. Shapiro.

Dr. Joseph Cohn.

MINUTES

The minutes of the Executive Committee meeting held October 30th were approved.

CONFERENCE OF ACTIONS COMMITTEE

It was reported that shortly after the meeting of November 9th a cable had been received from Mr. Ben-Gurion stating that Dr. Weizmann was expected in Palestine at the end of November and that if American participation in the Conference could be assured Dr. Weizmann would be urged to prolong his stay.

The parties had discussed the matter and each group has indicated that it is prepared to send three representatives. With regard to priorities, it was clear that it would be necessary for one of the heads of the Council to approach the highest authorities in Washington; otherwise there would be no possibility of securing the number of places required.

Dr. Goldstein stated that the Executive Committee of the Z.O.A. had taken up the question of the proposed Conference in Jerusalem at its meeting in Chicago. The views expressed by Dr. Goldmann and Dr. Joseph at the Council meeting of November 9th had been conveyed to the Z.O.A. Executive, and although no vote was taken it was the feeling of the meeting that it would be more feasible to hold the Conference in London.

Dr. Goldmann reported that at a recent meeting of the members of the Actions Committee at present residing in New York, the position was taken that the members of the Actions Committee should have priority in attending any meeting to be called of the Greater Actions Committee. There are 25 to 30 members of the Actions Committee in New York and they decided that they should select five or six to go to Jerusalem, or London -- wherever the Conference takes place. They indicated that they would cable the Executive in Jerusalem to this effect.

Dr. Silver read a communication which he had received from Dr. Weizmann with reference to the political position and the possibility of an early decision.

In the course of the discussion which followed it was urged on the one hand that there are major questions to be settled, e.g. regarding the interim period, plans for the handling of a vast immigration into Palestine, etc., and that people in Palestine do not wish to make such vital decisions themselves. As regards having the meeting in London there could not be a representative meeting without a considerable Palestinian delegation which in present circumstances was hardly possible. On the other hand, however, the desirability of a meeting in London was stressed in view of possible political developments in the forthcoming period, in which connection London would be the center of gravity. Difficulties in obtaining transportation to Palestine would also be far greater than in the case of a delegation to London.

It was finally decided to send a cable to Dr. Weizmann in Palestine setting out some of the considerations raised in the discussion and asking for a definitive opinion from him. If he should say that he wished a delegation to come, whether to Jerusalem or London, that would be final and immediate action would be taken to seek to obtain priorities. (The attached cable was sent to Dr. Weizmann on November 22nd).

PUBLICATIONS COMMITTEE

Mr. Lipsky reported that Prof. Friedrich's memorandum "American Policy Toward Palestine" has just been issued in paper book form by the Public Affairs Press, having been published under the auspices of the American Council on Public Affairs. The Emergency Council has purchased 1500 copies, at a reduced price of sixty cents per copy. A large number of these are being sent out by the American Palestine Committee, to leading libraries, institutes of post-war research, radio commentators, journalists, members of the State Department, etc. The Publications Department will cooperate with the publishers in promoting the book.

Work has been begun in connection with the promotion of "Justice for my People", in which Mr. Lowenthal is cooperating. The book will sell at \$2.50 and will be procurable through the Emergency Council at a lower rate.

5000 copies of the Canadian paper covered reprint of Dr. Norman Maclean's "His Terrible Swift Sword" have been purchased, at a cost of eight cents each. This book will be used widely by the Christian Council on Palestine and a special effort will be made to have it reviewed in church periodicals.

Three pamphlets have just been issued; 1) "A Year's Advance", which is Dr. Silver's political report presented to the Convention of the Zionist Organization of American in Atlantic City; 2) "Arabs, Jews and the Middle East", by Ephraim Broido, originally published in London; 3) "The Jews - A Problem That Cannot Wait" by Dr. Robert Gordis, which is a reprint from "The American Scholar", the quarterly published by Phi Beta Kappa. Other pamphlets, by Dr. Niebuhr and Dr. Lindeman, are to be published for the American Palestine Committee and the Christian Council on Palestine.

Mr. Lipsky further reported that a great number of excellent letters about "America and Palestine" have been received, including some from Government departments and officials.

REPRESENTATION OF PARTIES ON EMERGENCY COUNCIL

Attention was drawn to the representatives of the Z.O.A. on the Emergency Council and Executive Committee, designated after the 47th Annual Convention.

The five designees on the full Council are: Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Dr. James G. Heller, Herman Shulman, Daniel Frisch and Maurice Boukstein; with Irving Lipkowitz, Samuel Rothstein and Herman L. Weisman as alternates. The designees of the Z.O.A. for the Executive Committee are: Dr. Israel Goldstein, Judge Levinthal and Mr. Shulman.

Dr. Goldstein explained that Mr. Lipsky had not been designated as a representative of the Z.O.A. on the Executive because he understood he sat on the Executive Committee by virtue of the fact that he was a member of the Jewish Agency Executive. (Mrs. Edward Jacobs is on the Executive in the same capacity. Judge Rothenberg had been elected ad personam as one of its members by the Executive Committee.)

In connection with a proposal to elect Messrs. Lipsky and Neumann as members of the Executive Committee it was decided to appoint a small committee to study the constitution and to advise with regard to the set-up.

BUDGET

Mr. Shapiro reported that a meeting of the Joint Committee of the Keren Hayesod and Keren Kayemeth to take up the budget of the Emergency Council for 1944-45 has been held. Since neither Dr. Silver nor Dr. Wise could attend on the date set by the Joint Committee, they sent the Committee a letter explaining in detail the reasons which made it essential for a budget such as had been submitted to them to be made available to the Council.

There was a great deal of discussion on the budget at the meeting of the Joint Committee, which finally decided to accept Judge Rothenberg's proposal that a committee, to be composed of two representatives of the Keren Hayesod, two representatives of the Keren Kayemeth and a committee to be appointed by Dr. Silver for the Executive Committee of the Emergency Council, meet and study the Council's financial statement, which was not available in time for the meeting of the Joint Committee. This committee, whose investigation must be completed within three weeks, will make its recommendations to the Funds. In the meantime the Joint Committee decided to make a grant of \$60,000 to the Council to enable it to continue its work until the complete budget is passed upon.

Judge Rothenberg, supplementing Mr. Shapiro's report, stated that the Keren Kayemeth met the day after the meeting of the Joint Committee, and voted its share of the \$60,000.

Reference was made by several members of the Executive to criticisms which had been voiced at the meeting of the Joint Committee of the Funds, by members who are also members of the Council, of the procedure of the Council with regard to finances. Such criticisms, they said, should have been made within the Council and not in another body.

The question was also raised as to the extent to which the Joint Committee was entitled to enter into the actual functioning of the Emergency Council.

Judge Rosenblatt and Judge Rothenberg, heads of the Keren Hayesod and Keren Kayemeth respectively, felt that there had been some misunderstanding as to the attitude of the Joint Committee. That Committee has no desire, and no authority to intervene in the affairs of the Emergency Council. It was certainly a function of the Joint Committee of the Funds, however, to ask how subventions which they are granting are being spent. Otherwise they would not be exercising their duties in regard to the trusteeship over the Funds.

It was pointed out that the members of the Finance Committee of the Emergency Council are not sufficiently conversant with the affairs of the Council, and a motion was made and adopted that the Finance Committee be reconstituted with the majority of its members to be members of the Executive Committee.

The question of the Treasurer of the Council was raised. Dr. Silver explained that Mr. Szold had sent in his resignation last spring. He was asked whether he wished to have it acted upon but has not let us know definitely. It was agreed that the secretary be instructed to take up the matter with him again, urging him to withdraw his resignation.

The meeting adjourned at 6:05 P. M.

A. L.



C
O
P
Y OF CABLE

RCA (NOVEMBER 22, 1944)

NLT CHAIM WEIZMANN
JEWISH AGENCY
JERUSALEM (Palestine)

REFERRING EXECUTIVES PROPOSAL FOR PALESTINE CONFERENCE OBSTACLES THIS
END INCLUDE ONE UNDESIRABILITY PRESENT DEPARTURE AMERICAN LEADERS ANY
LENGTH TIME TWO DIFFICULTIES OBTAINING TRANSPORTATION PRIORITIES LARGE
GROUP THREE UNCERTAINTY PURPOSES VALUE CONFERENCE STOP ONE AND TWO EASIER
IF CONFERENCE HELD LONDON STOP CABLE WHETHER VIEW ABOVE YOU DEEM ADVISABLE
OUR COMING PALESTINE IF SO HOW LONG YOU REMAINING ALTERNATIVELY WHETHER
MEETING DESIRABLE LONDON

ABBA HILLEL SILVER



AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETINGS HELD DECEMBER 7 AND 9, 1944.

Meetings of the American Zionist Emergency Council were called by Dr. Wise at short notice for Thursday afternoon, December 7th and for Saturday evening, December 9th, and were held at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

Appended are the lists of those attending these meetings and of the decision taken. A stenographic record of the discussion is available on file.

Thursday, December 7, 1944, 4:30 P. M.

PRESENT

Dr. Stephen S. Wise (presiding), Miss Juliet Benjamin, Maurice Boukstein, Philip Cruso, Daniel Frisch, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Chaim Greenberg, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Rabbi Irving Miller, Emanuel Neumann, Mrs. Tamar Pool, Samuel Rothstein, Louis Segal, Herman Shulman, Mrs. Rebecca Shulman, Robert Szold, Herman Weisman.

Dr. Nahum Goldmann.

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

The meeting adjourned at 8:00 P. M. and resumed at 10:30 P. M., when the following additional members were present: Mrs. Judith Epstein, Leon Gellman, Rabbi Wolf Gold, Mrs. S. Goldstein, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Captain Abe Tulin.

It was reported that the Resolution had come before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee the previous day, when Mr. Stettinius had appeared and requested that the Resolution be deferred for the time being. The Senate Committee had decided to hold over a decision until Friday. Discussion centered on what action, if any, should be taken in view of the further consideration to be given by the Senate Committee to the Resolution the following day and the renewed indication of the President's wish that the matter be left in his hands and no action taken on the Resolution at this time.

It was resolved:

- 1) to send a delegation on behalf of the Council to Washington that night;
- 2) to advise Senator Wagner and, if necessary, Senator Connally, that in the light of the circumstances the Council is willing not to raise any objection to the resolution remaining pending at this time;
- 3) that prior to such action the delegation confer with Dr. Silver and ask him to concur and to lead the delegation in this action.

It was also agreed that the delegation be given discretion to consider any compromise proposal that might be worked out in Washington.

Saturday, December 9, 1944, 8:30 P. M.

PRESENT

Dr. Stephen S. Wise (presiding), Maurice Boukstein, Philip Cruso, Mrs. Judith Epstein, Daniel Frisch, Moshe Furmanský, Leon Gellman, Rabbi Wolf Gold, Paul L. Goldman, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mrs. S. Goldstein, Chaim Greenberg, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Benjamin Itzkowitz, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Jeannette Leibel, Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Louis Lipsky, Marvin Lowenthal, Israel Mereminski, Isaac Naiditch, Emanuel Neumann, Mrs. Tamar Pool, Mrs. Rabinowitz, Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Mrs. Bertha Schoolman, Louis Segal, Herman Shulman, Mrs. Rebecca Shulman, Robert Szold, Captain Abe Tulin.

Dr. Nahum Goldmann, Dr. Bernard Joseph.

Arthur Lourie, Harold P. Manson, Harry L. Shapiro, Hans Lamm.

Dr. Joseph Cohn, Mendel Fisher, Robert Silverman.

At the meeting on Saturday night members of the delegation reported on their visit the previous day to Washington, where they had met with Dr. Silver and Dr. Joseph. They had failed to reach agreement with Dr. Silver on the line of action to be pursued. Later they had seen Mr. Stettinius and Senators Connally and Wagner. The Senate Committee had subsequently given consideration to the Resolution, and had adopted an amendment proposed by Senator Vandenberg, which concluded with the clause "...that the people may reconstitute Palestine as a free and democratic Commonwealth." This wording had apparently been protested by Senator Wagner, with the result that it was agreed to defer a final decision on the wording until the following Monday.

Dr. Silver's protest against the calling of what purported to be an official meeting of the plenum without the notice required by the By-Laws was recorded.

The following decisions were taken at this meeting:

It was decided that the decision previously taken by the Emergency Council which had never been revoked still stands, namely that we do not proceed with the X Resolutions without the green light from the President. It was agreed that an effort be made at the Executive Committee meeting in Washington on Monday morning to get Dr. Silver to concur in action for deferment of the Resolution, but that the Council's position remains unchanged.

On request for a ruling, Dr. Wise said that in view of the fact that a motion to reconsider the whole decision was defeated, the Executive Committee has no right to change the decision of the plenum.

Mr. Segal's motion that this body leave the final decision as to procedure and action to the Executive Committee, which is to meet in Washington Monday, without any instructions from this body, was tabled, by a vote of 9 to 8.

Mr. Segal's further motion that in view of the fact that the Executive Committee cannot change the decision of the plenum, and in view of the fact that some members feel that the decision of three weeks ago should be changed, that we reconsider that decision, was defeated, 6 for, 10 against.

A. L.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Monday, December 11, 1944

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Monday morning, December 11th, at 1720 - 16th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. Owing to delay in the arrival of Dr. Silver's train from Cleveland, the meeting began at 11:30 instead of 8:30 as scheduled. Full record on file.

PRESENT

Dr. Silver (presiding), Maurice Boukstein, Philip Cruso, Mrs. Judith Epstein, Leon Gellman, Rabbi Wolf Gold, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Chaim Greenberg, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Louis Lipsky, Emanuel Neumann, Mrs. Tamar Pool, Louis Segal, Herman Shulman, Dr. Stephen S. Wise.

Dr. Nahum Goldmann, Dr. Bernard Joseph.

Israel Mereminski, Elihu D. Stone, Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt, Mrs. Denise Tourover, Zorach Warhaftig.

Arthur Lourie, Harold P. Manson, Harry L. Shapiro.

Dr. Silver reported briefly on events to date. He urged that the wise thing to do was to do nothing. The delegation had made clear on Friday the position that the Council was not pressing for the resolution. The Senate Committee would act that afternoon at 2:30. Senator Vandenberg had agreed to a change in the wording of the Resolution and he hoped that further changes might still be obtained. He urged that there be no interference at this stage.

Reference was made to a discussion that had taken place earlier that morning, before Dr. Silver's arrival, and a statement was read which it was proposed should be submitted to Mr. Stettinius for his approval. In this connection, a telephone call had been put through to Mr. Stettinius with the object of obtaining an immediate appointment to see him.

Dr. Goldstein said that the statement would make it clear that the State Department was not out of accord with the declaration of the President to the Zionist Organization of America convention, and that having put the State Department on record in this way we could work for a better Resolution in the next Congress. Given this, we should not press for the Resolution.

In the course of the further discussion a telephone call came from Mr. Stettinius saying that he was prepared to see Dr. Wise at once. Dr. Silver again urged that nothing be said to Mr. Stettinius about deferring the Resolution. All they should do was to say that the Zionists had not pressed the Resolution and that it was out of their hands; that the appearance of Mr. Stettinius before the Senate Committee in opposition to the Resolution was the subject of misinterpretation and that it was highly desirable that he issue a communication to Dr. Wise, or anyone else, stating that his position did not indicate a change of attitude on the part of the President, but merely that an expression by the Senate at present was not timely.

It was agreed that Dr. Wise, Dr. Silver, Dr. Goldstein and Mr. Shulman should go to see Mr. Stettinius.

The meeting resumed in the late afternoon, when Dr. Silver reported on what had happened at the Foreign Relations Committee. It was decided:

1) to send to Mr. Stettinius without delay the text of the proposed message from him to Dr. Wise which had been discussed at the interview that morning;

2) that for the present no statement be issued to the press with reference to the action of the Senate beyond a statement that we are withholding comment at the moment pending further explanation.

It was further decided to hold a meeting of the plenum Wednesday evening, December 20th.

At the conclusion of the meeting, Dr. Silver said that he wished to correct the erroneous impression that only the plenum could act on political matters. The Council was a political body and everything that it did had a political character. The plenum met normally only once a month. If a change was proposed whereby the Executive Committee would not be entitled to make political decisions that could be done, but he did not think it would be right. Dr. Goldstein suggested, however, that it was for the plenum to decide on questions of major policy.

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A. L.



AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETINGS HELD DECEMBER 7 AND 9, 1944.

Meetings of the American Zionist Emergency Council were called by Dr. Wise at short notice for Thursday afternoon, December 7th and for Saturday evening, December 9th, and were held at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

Appended are the lists of those attending these meetings and of the decisions taken. A stenographic record of the discussion is available on file.

Thursday, December 7, 1944, 4:30 P. M.

PRESENT

Dr. Stephen S. Wise (presiding), Miss Juliet Benjamin, Maurice Boukstein, Philip Cruso, Daniel Frisch, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Chaim Greenberg, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Rabbi Irving Miller, Emanuel Neumann, Mrs. Tamar Pool, Samuel Rothstein, Louis Segal, Herman Shulman, Mrs. Rebecca Shulman, Robert Szold, Herman Weisman.

Dr. Nahum Goldmann.

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

The meeting adjourned at 8:00 P. M. and resumed at 10:30 P. M., when the following additional members were present: Mrs. Judith Epstein, Leon Gellman, Rabbi Wolf Gold, Mrs. S. Goldstein, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Captain Abe Tulin.

It was reported that the Resolution had come before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee the previous day, when Mr. Stettinius had appeared and requested that the Resolution be deferred for the time being. The Senate Committee had decided to hold over a decision until Friday. Discussion centered on what action, if any, should be taken in view of the further consideration to be given by the Senate Committee to the Resolution the following day and the renewed indication of the President's wish that the matter be left in his hands and no action taken on the Resolution at this time.

It was resolved:

- 1) to send a delegation on behalf of the Council to Washington that night;
- 2) to advise Senator Wagner and, if necessary, Senator Connally, that in the light of the circumstances the Council is willing not to raise any objection to the resolution remaining pending at this time;
- 3) that prior to such action the delegation confer with Dr. Silver and ask him to concur and to lead the delegation in this action.

It was also agreed that the delegation be given discretion to consider any compromise proposal that might be worked out in Washington.

Saturday, December 9, 1944, 8:30 P. M.

PRESENT

Dr. Stephen S. Wise (presiding), Maurice Boukstein, Philip Cruso, Mrs. Judith Epstein, Daniel Frisch, Moshe Furmansky, Leon Gellman, Rabbi Wolf Gold, Paul L. Goldman, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mrs. S. Goldstein, Chaim Greenberg, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Benjamin Itzkowitz, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Jeannette Leibel, Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Louis Lipsky, Marvin Lowenthal, Israel Mereminski, Isaac Naiditch, Emanuel Neumann, Mrs. Tamar Pool, Mrs. Rabinowitz, Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Mrs. Bertha Schoolman, Louis Segal, Herman Shulman, Mrs. Rebecca Shulman, Robert Szold, Captain Abe Tulin.

Dr. Nahum Goldmann, Dr. Bernard Joseph.

Arthur Lourie, Harold P. Manson, Harry L. Shapiro, Hans Lamm.

Dr. Joseph Cohn, Mendel Fisher, Robert Silverman.

At the meeting on Saturday night members of the delegation reported on their visit the previous day to Washington, where they had met with Dr. Silver and Dr. Joseph. They had failed to reach agreement with Dr. Silver on the line of action to be pursued. Later they had seen Mr. Stettinius and Senators Connally and Wagner. The Senate Committee had subsequently given consideration to the Resolution, and had adopted an amendment proposed by Senator Vandenberg, which concluded with the clause "...that the people may reconstitute Palestine as a free and democratic Commonwealth." This wording had apparently been protested by Senator Wagner, with the result that it was agreed to defer a final decision on the wording until the following Monday.

Dr. Silver's protest against the calling of what purported to be an official meeting of the plenum without the notice required by the By-Laws was recorded.

The following decisions were taken at this meeting:

It was decided that the decision previously taken by the Emergency Council which had never been revoked still stands, namely that we do not proceed with the Resolutions without the green light from the President. It was agreed that an effort be made at the Executive Committee meeting in Washington on Monday morning to get Dr. Silver to concur in action for deferment of the Resolution, but that the Council's position remains unchanged.

On request for a ruling, Dr. Wise said that in view of the fact that a motion to reconsider the whole decision was defeated, the Executive Committee has no right to change the decision of the plenum.

Mr. Segal's motion that this body leave the final decision as to procedure and action to the Executive Committee, which is to meet in Washington Monday, without any instructions from this body, was tabled, by a vote of 9 to 8.

Mr. Segal's further motion that in view of the fact that the Executive Committee cannot change the decision of the plenum, and in view of the fact that some members feel that the decision of three weeks ago should be changed, that we reconsider that decision, was defeated, 6 for, 10 against.

A. L.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING HELD DECEMBER 20, 1944

A meeting of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Wednesday, December 20th, at 8:15 P. M. at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Louis Lipsky (presiding), Miss Juliet Benjamin, Pinchas Curso, Mrs. Margaret Doniger, Mrs. Judith Epstein, Daniel Frisch, Moshe Furmanský, Leon Gellman, Paul L. Goldman, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mrs. Sam Goldstein, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Dr. James G. Heller, Benjamin Itzkowitz, Mrs. Rose Jacobs, Leib Jaffe, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Irving D. Lipkowitz, Dr. Judith Lieberman, Israel Mereminski, Rabbi Irving Miller, Isaac Naiditch, Emanuel Neumann, Mrs. Tamar Pool, Mrs. Etta Rosensohn, Miss Dvora Rothbard, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Samuel Rothstein, Mrs. Bertha Schoolman, Louis Segal, Salman Shocken, Mrs. Rebecca Shulman, Herman Shulman, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, Robert Szold, Abraham Tulin, Herman L. Weisman, David Wertheim, Dr. Stephen S. Wise.

Dr. Nahum Goldmann, Dr. Bernard Joseph.

Dr. I. B. Berkson, Arthur Lourie.

Moshe Bentov, Dr. Simon Bernstein, Isaiah L. Kenen, Rabbi Jesse Schwartz, Zorach Warhaftig, Baruch Zuckerman.

Dr. Wise suggested that someone other than Dr. Silver or himself preside and a motion was made and adopted that Mr. Lipsky take the chair.

Dr. Silver presented his report, which was followed by a lengthy discussion, culminating in a motion made by Mr. Wertheim, and seconded, to appoint a committee to study the situation. A subsequent motion made and duly seconded that Mr. Wetheim's motion be tabled was passed.

Dr. Heller moved that having heard Dr. Silver's report and the discussion which ensued, it was the judgment of members of the American Zionist Emergency Council that Dr. Silver acted in contravention of the decision of the Emergency Council in pressing the resolutions in Congress. This motion was seconded and a discussion followed, in the course of which Dr. Wise made a statement and read his letter of resignation.

Mr. Shulman moved an amendment to Dr. Heller's motion, that action on Dr. Wise's resignation be held in abeyance and that all officers of the American Zionist Emergency Council be asked to tender their resignations now; and that a special meeting be called within a week to consider reorganization of the Council and new elections.

A motion made by Mr. Segal to table Dr. Heller's motion was passed.

A motion made and seconded to table Mr. Shulman's motion was defeated.

Dr. Silver thereupon tendered his resignation, which he said was irrevocable. Whereupon the Chair indicated that the resignation of all the officers having been tendered, the purpose of the motion had been achieved and a meeting would accordingly be called in a week to consider reorganization of the Council and new elections.

The meeting adjourned at 3:20 A. M.

A. L.



AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING HELD DECEMBER 28, 1944

A meeting of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Thursday, December 28th, at 8:15 P. M. at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Louis Lipsky (presiding), Maurice Boukstein, Pinchas Cruso, Mrs. Judith Epstein, Moshe Furmanský, David Frisch, Leon Gellman, Rabbi Wolf Gold, Paul L. Goldman, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mrs. S. Goldstein, Chaim Greenberg, Dr. James G. Heller, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Isaac Hamlin, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Irving Lipkowitz, Dr. Judith Lieberman, Mrs. Tamar Pool, Mrs. Etta Rosensohn, Miss Dvora Rothbard, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Samuel Rothstein, Mrs. Bertha Schoolman, Herman Shulman, Mrs. Rebecca Shulman, Robert Szold, David Wertheim.

Dr. Nahum Goldmann, Dr. Bernard Joseph.

Arthur Lourie.

It was moved and duly seconded that the resignation of the co-chairmen and of the Treasurer (the latter's resignation had been tendered some time ago but had not been acted upon) be accepted, with appreciation of their past services. A substitute motion that all the resignations be tabled was defeated.

A motion was made and seconded that Dr. Wise be named chairman of the Emergency Council. Another motion, that the Council recess until Tuesday night in order to give the groups an opportunity to discuss the reorganization, was defeated. The plan of organization, as envisaged by some members of the Committee, was outlined. It called for the establishment of a steering or planning and action committee, to consist of the heads of the parties or their designees, together with a chairman of this committee, the chairman of the Executive and the chairman of the plenum; this committee to be in touch with the work from day to day. There would thus be the plenum, the Executive Committee with its chairman and this smaller committee with its chairman.

A further motion called for the election of two co-chairmen of the Council with equal status. The Chair ruled, however, that in terms of the constitution it was first necessary to deal with the nomination of the one chairman; a motion could then be made for the nomination of a co-chairman. It was then moved, seconded and carried that nominations be closed. Thereupon the nomination of Dr. Wise was voted upon and passed.

Mr. Wertheim stated on behalf of the Poale Zion that although his group was not voting for Dr. Wise as Chairman of the Council, this was not to be interpreted as a vote against Dr. Wise, since the Poale Zion considered the motion not as for or against Dr. Wise, but as an indication of their objection that they were not given the opportunity for further discussion until Tuesday night in connection with the proposal for a co-chairman.

A request made by the Mizrahi representatives that they be granted a fifteen minute recess was granted. When the meeting reconvened they read a statement which they had drawn up (subsequently issued to the press),

Mrs. Halprin was then nominated Treasurer of the Council, and there being no other nominations upon a vote was declared elected.

A motion was then made that it be recommended to the Executive Committee, for action at its meeting next week, that there be set up a committee on implementation of policy, that committee to consist of the heads of the parties, or such others as they may designate in their place, a chairman to be elected by the Executive Committee, the chairman of the Executive Committee and the Chairman of the Emergency Council.

It was moved that in view of the fact that this is a new proposal and there are other proposals which have not been considered by the groups, that the question of reorganization and the construction of the Council - committees and sub-committees, whether we are to retain the Executive or not, whether we are to have a political committee, or a steering committee, etc. - be postponed until the next meeting when the parties will have had an opportunity to discuss fully the plans and manner of reorganization. This motion was seconded but on a vote was negatived. It was pointed out that the proposal for a committee on implementation of policy was merely a recommendation to the Executive.

A motion calling for a recommendation to the Executive for the setting up of a committee on implementation of policy as determined upon by the Council and its Executive Committee was put to the vote and carried.

It was moved and seconded that the representatives of the Jewish Agency in the United States be invited to meetings of all the committees with the right to participate in the discussions. This motion was carried.

It was further decided unanimously to issue the attached statement to the press.

Dr. Joseph, who was preparing to leave the United States to return to Palestine, addressed the meeting briefly. (Report on file).

The meeting adjourned at 10:45 P. M.

A. L.