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American Zionist Emergency Council, minutes, 1945.

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AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD JANUARY 2, 1944

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Tuesday, January 2nd, at 4:00 P. M. at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Stephen S. Wise (presiding), Pinchas Cruso, Mrs. Judith Epstein, Daniel Frisch, Leon Gellman, Rabbi Wolf Gold, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Chaim Greenberg, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Louis Lipsky, Mrs. Tamar Pool, Mrs. Etta Rosensohn, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Herman Shulman, David Wertheim.

Dr. Bernard Joseph; Arthur Lourie.

MR. SHAPIRO'S RESIGNATION

Dr. Wise read a letter of resignation he had received that morning from Mr. Shapiro. Mr. Shapiro's resignation was unanimously accepted as of that day.

MEMORANDUM SENT BY MR. SHAPIRO TO LOCAL EMERGENCY COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN DECEMBER 29th

The memorandum which Mr. Shapiro had sent to the Local Emergency Committee Chairmen on December 29th was read. This memorandum had been sent out without the knowledge of members of the Council and carbon copies had not been left in the files. It had been drawn to the attention of the secretary that morning by persons who had received copies.

It was agreed that a telegram be sent to the local chairmen informing them that a communication would in due course be addressed to them setting forth the facts which led to the present situation. It was agreed that the Executive Committee consider the contents of such a statement at its next meeting.

LETTER FROM SENATOR TAFT TO DR. SILVER

A letter which Dr. Silver had received from Senator Taft, copy of which he sent on to the Council, was read. Senator Taft stated that he had written to Senator Wagner to ask him whether he would join with him in reintroducing the Palestine Resolution, and indicated to Dr. Silver that he would like to do this but would not unless it met with his approval. In Dr. Silver's covering letter he indicated that the Senator had acted on his own initiative in the matter.

It was agreed that Mr. Lourie should communicate with Dr. Silver and inform him that Senator Taft's letter has been placed before the Council, which was giving the matter consideration and hoped to take it up with Senator Taft direct.

ELECTION OF CHAIRMAN OF EXECUTIVE AND SECRETARY OF COUNCIL

Mr. Greenberg was unanimously elected chairman of the Executive Committee.

It was agreed to name Mr. Lourie secretary of the Council. It was further decided that the secretary be appointed acting director until a director is named.

RECOMMENDATION OF COUNCIL RE COMMITTEE ON IMPLEMENTATION OF POLICY

The recommendation of the Council that a committee be established, to consist of the heads of the four parties, or their designees, together with the chairman of the Executive Committee, the chairman of the Council and its own chairman, and the representatives of the Jewish Agency in this country was approved.

Mr. Shulman was unanimously elected chairman of the committee on implementation of policy.

After some discussion it was decided that this committee be called the Administrative Committee of the Council. The parties were asked to designate as their representatives persons who would be prepared to devote a substantial amount of their time to the work of the Council.

After discussion on the functions of the Administrative Committee, it was agreed that the committee should supervise the execution of policies and program determined upon by the Executive Committee in the political and public relations fields, and be responsible for carrying on the day by day work in those fields. All matters of policy which arise during the course of the deliberations of the Administrative Committee shall be submitted to the Executive Committee for determination. It is contemplated that the Administrative Committee will work in close cooperation with the chairmen of the various committees whose work is closely related to the political and public relations fields.

OTHER COMMITTEES

It was understood that with the resignation of the chairman of the Executive the resignations of all chairmen of committees are also automatically before the Council.

FINANCE COMMITTEE

It was resolved that a Finance Committee be constituted to consist of a chairman, to be nominated by the Executive Committee, and four members to be designated respectively by each of the four parties.

It was agreed that the Treasurer is automatically a member of the Finance Committee.

RESIGNATION OF MR. MANSON

A letter of resignation received from Mr. Manson was presented to the meeting and Mr. Manson's resignation was accepted.

PARTIES' STATEMENTS TO PRESS

In answer to an inquiry with reference to the contents of the Mizrachi statement to the press, Rabbi Gold said that the Mizrachi remained in the Council. They naturally retained the right to criticize when they thought criticism was appropriate.

It was the consensus that the parties should not prolong the controversy in the public press. At the same time it was pointed out that if any party found itself the object of attack it must be free to meet that attack.

REPLY TO MR. STETTINIUS

Dr. Wise referred to the draft letter which had been prepared to send to

Mr. Stettinius in reply to a communication received from him with reference to a cable from certain Arab groups in Cairo. It was decided to refer this draft to the Administrative Committee.

VISIT OF COLONIAL SECRETARY

Reference was made to the forthcoming visit to this country of Col. Oliver Stanley, British Colonial Secretary.

It was agreed that a delegation of the Emergency Council, and also perhaps the American Jewish Conference, should seek to meet with Col. Stanley.

ELEVATION TO PEERAGE OF DAVID LLOYD-GEORGE

It was decided to send an appropriate message of congratulations to Mr. Lloyd-George calling to mind his great contribution to the Zionist cause in helping to secure the Balfour Declaration.

MEETING OF CHAIRMEN OF LOCAL EMERGENCY COMMITTEES

It was agreed that the Administrative Committee take action with regard to setting a date for a meeting of the Local Emergency Committee Chairmen.

The meeting adjourned at 6:20 P. M.

A. L.



AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

HELD JANUARY 8, 1945

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Monday, January 8th, at 4:00 P. M. at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Chaim Greenberg (presiding), Mrs. Judith Epstein, Daniel Frisch, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Louis Lipsky, Emanuel Neumann, Mrs. Tamar Pool, Herman Shulman, Meyer W. Weisgal, David Wertheim, Dr. Stephen S. Wise.

Prof. Selig Brodetsky, Dr. Nahum Goldmann, Dr. Bernard Joseph.

Dr. I. B. Berkson, Arthur Lourie.

STAFF

Mr. Shulman reported that the question of engaging a director had been taken up at the first meeting of the Administrative Committee and it was unanimously decided to recommend the appointment of Mr. Meyer W. Weisgal. This recommendation was approved and Mr. Shulman was authorized to discuss the matter with Mr. Weisgal.

It was stated further that it was hoped to make a recommendation for the post of publicity director at the next meeting of the Executive Committee.

COMMITTEES

American Palestine Committee - Prof. Milton Handler of the Columbia Law School and a former assistant counsel to Mr. Stettinius was recommended for the post of chairman of this committee. This recommendation was unanimously approved.

Press and Radio - The suggestion of the Administrative Committee that Mr. Henry Montor be asked to take the chairmanship of the Press and Radio Committee was heartily approved. Mr. Montor had indicated that he was prepared to help as much as he can. It was also agreed that an effort be made to enlist the services of Mr. Ira Hirschmann on the Press and Radio Committee.

Committee on Contacts with Post-War Planning Groups - The Administrative Committee's recommendation that this committee should continue under the chairmanship of Mrs. Pool and Captain Tulin was approved.

Committee on Contacts with Governments-in-Exile - It was agreed that this committee should be discontinued.

Committee on American Jewish Religious Forces - Since the only religious groups involved in this committee are the orthodox groups, the Administrative Committee felt that the name should be changed to "Committee on Orthodox Religious Forces." On Rabbi Gold's return to New York the chairman would take

up with him the question of his continuing as chairman of this committee.

Committee on Contacts with Christian Clergy - The Administrative Committee's recommendation's that Rabbi Philip Bernstein (who is now abroad but is expected back shortly) be asked to continue as chairman of this committee, possibly with a co-chairman, was approved. A number of suggestions were made for a co-chairman. The Administrative Committee also recommended that the committee reorganize itself to consist of four or five Rabbis who would be able to deal with the Church people. This recommendation will be made to the chairman.

Committee on Intellectual Mobilization - The Administrative Committee felt that the work which it had originally been envisaged should be done by this Committee was extremely important and should be assigned to a member of the staff. There was some discussion on this phase of the Emergency Council work, in the course of which it was pointed out that we have neglected this activity, particularly among the academic groups. During the past year, for instance, there has not been a single Zionist article in such magazines as Harpers, The Atlantic Monthly, The Yale Review, etc. There have been, on the other hand, articles of a non-Zionist character. Instead of our having to answer anti-Zionist articles, Zionist articles should be appearing in these periodicals. We should have a man ready to stimulate the writing of such articles. Mr. Lowenthal has been on the staff on a full time basis for part of the year, but he was in any case not working with the academic groups. It was pointed out that in addition to a professional staff member, there should be a committee as well. It was agreed that before designating a committee we should find a suitable professional person and the chairman was authorized to find someone for this work.

It was subsequently suggested that since Mr. Neumann has been doing a great deal in the field of intellectual mobilization that he be asked to serve as chairman of this committee. The chairman was authorized to take up this matter with Mr. Neumann.

Finance and Budget Committee - As decided upon at the last meeting this committee is to consist of four persons, one to be designated by each party, together with a chairman, to be elected by the Executive. If possible, a majority of the designees are to be members of the Council.

It was agreed that it was desirable that the chairman of the Finance Committee should live in New York. It was urged that this Committee be constituted as soon as possible, and that the groups send in the names of their designees within the next week and that the party heads consult with the Treasurer during that time and agree on the chairman.

Committee on Economic Planning and Resources - It was stated that this Committee had not been functioning and that no appropriation of funds had been made for it.

Mr. Neumann explained that it was correct that there was no specific provision in the budget for this committee. That was an obstacle, but not the obstacle. The committee had originally had certain plans which had to be revised because the Nathan group had started an economic survey of Palestine and there was no need to duplicate that. Also, an economic conference on Palestine was planned to be held at the time when Mr. Kaplan would be in this country. In the meantime Mr. Neumann had been busying himself in connection with the JVA, not specifically in behalf of the Emergency Council. A few other projects had been carried out, e.g. the study made by Dr. Alfred Kahn on the economic soundness of the position in Palestine, which was published in a leading economic review. Reprints of this article were sent around.

Mr. Neumann had no recommendation to make at the moment concerning the activities of this committee. He would prefer to have the suggestions of the Executive as to how they view the matter. He pointed out, however, that economic studies of Palestine are timely at this point.

Community Contacts Committee - It was pointed out that there had been no meetings of this committee and that communications to the Local Emergency Committees had gone out in the name of the director. Two conferences had been held of the Local Chairmen, one in Cleveland when Mr. Gross was chairman and the second in Washington, when Rabbi Miller was chairman. The Administrative Committee had not yet taken up the question of the Community Contacts Committee but would do so at its next meeting and would consider whether it was advisable to have such a committee and if so make recommendations for the chairmanship.

X Committee on Labor Relations - Mr. Zaritsky was chairman of this committee, but there were no members. The American Jewish Trade Union Committee for Palestine was not affiliated with the Council, but was using the facilities of the Council for its work.

It was felt that there should be a committee to coordinate the work of the Trade Union Committee and the Council, and it was agreed that the Administrative Committee give further consideration to this.

Publications Committee - It was agreed that this committee was functioning very satisfactorily and that Mr. Lipsky continue as chairman.

Committee on Special Services - It was decided that this committee be discontinued.

ATTENDANCE OF COMMITTEE CHAIRMEN AT MEETINGS OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The question was raised as to whether the chairmen of the various committees are to continue to be invited to meetings of the Executive Committee. It was pointed out that Executive Committee meetings are cumbersome when too many people are present, and it was decided to go over the list of chairmen to see how many of them are not already members of the Executive before taking a decision as to whether they are all to be invited to meetings.

Mr. Neumann raised the question of the invitation extended to him to attend that meeting. Mr. Wertheim referred to a meeting some two years ago when an invitation was extended to Mr. Neumann to attend all meetings of the Executive Committee.

BUDGET

Dr. Joseph stated that he had been asked by the Treasurer of the Jewish Agency to convey to the Council his concern over the magnitude of the Council budget. The feeling of the Jewish Agency Executive was that the budget of the Council should not exceed \$250,000.

A discussion followed and it was agreed that the budget would be discussed on another occasion.

FUTURE POLITICAL ACTION

The Chairman indicated that the Administrative Committee had discussed the question of what could be done before the President leaves for the meeting of the "Big Three," and were considering certain action to be taken. It was

proposed that the President be asked to receive a Zionist delegation before his departure. Certain steps had already been taken to have that meeting arranged. In addition representatives of the Council would be in Washington that week and would see a number of people.

Reference was made to the impending appointment of an Ambassador to Turkey.

The Administrative Committee had also decided to seek an interview with James C. Dunn, Assistant Secretary of State, who is in charge not only of the European Division of the State Department but also of the Near Eastern Division.

It was decided that if an appointment with the President is obtained a special meeting of the Executive will be called to decide on the composition of the delegation.

RESOLUTION IN CONGRESS

Mr. Shulman reported that in addition to writing to Dr. Silver, as reported at the last meeting, Senator Taft had also communicated with Senator Wagner about reintroducing the Resolution.

Another letter received from Dr. Silver on this subject was read in which Dr. Silver indicated that he had written to Senator Taft acknowledging his letter and informing him that he had communicated its contents to the Council, and that the representatives of the Council would undoubtedly get in touch with him in the near future.

It was agreed that the decision of the plenum still stood, and that we do not wish to reintroduce the resolution until after the return of the President.

MEETING OF CHAIRMEN OF LOCAL EMERGENCY COMMITTEES

It was decided to arrange three meetings of Local Emergency Committee Chairmen, in each of which not more than fifty delegates would participate (in order to comply with Mr. Byrnes' recent order), to be held, early in February, in Atlantic City, Boston, and Cincinnati or Chicago.

STATEMENT TO BE ISSUED BY THE EMERGENCY COUNCIL

Following Mr. Shapiro's memorandum to the Local Emergency Committee Chairmen on December 29th, a telegram had been sent to the chairmen by the Council in which it was indicated that a statement giving the facts in the controversy would follow. A draft was submitted to the meeting, but was referred for further consideration to a sub-committee which was to redraft it and bring it to the Administrative Committee with power to act.

The meeting adjourned at 6:45 P. M.

A. L.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

January 15, 1945

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the Council was held Monday, January 15th, at 4:00 P. M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Chaim Greenberg (presiding), Mrs. Judith Epstein, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Prof. Milton Handler, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Louis Segal, Herman Shulman, Mrs. Rebecca Shulman, David Wertheim, Dr. Stephen S. Wise.

Dr. Bernard Joseph; Dr. I. B. Berkson, Arthur Lourie.

CHRISTIAN CONFERENCES IN ST. LOUIS AND CINCINNATI

Mr. Tuvim presented a report on the Christian conferences, sponsored by the American Palestine Committee and the Christian Council on Palestine, held during the past week in St. Louis and Cincinnati, both of which had been eminently successful.

In Cincinnati, where the conference took place on January 9th, two meetings were held. The afternoon session was attended by over 400 Christians, outstanding leaders in the civic, religious and educational fields. At the dinner meeting about 450 were present. The speakers at these meetings were: Prof. Friedrich, Dr. Poling, Dr. Phillips, Dr. Atkinson, Dr. LeSourd and Dr. Heller. About 150 people in Cincinnati joined the American Palestine Committee and the Christian Council on Palestine as a result of these meetings.

The Cincinnati conference had to be arranged under great difficulties. A great deal of pressure was brought to bear on the Christian leaders by the Council for Judaism. Several of them expressed reluctance to proceed, giving as a reason that holding such a conference might be embarrassing to the President. The Council for Judaism attacked the conference in several articles which appeared in the public press. All this served, however, to arouse even greater interest in the conference and to result in larger attendance at the meetings.

In St. Louis 21 meetings were held in the course of two days. All of them were successful.

There were four meetings of teachers, attended by 4400 teachers in all, - two in the city of St. Louis, one for the county, and one in East St. Louis. James MacDonald, Prof. Friedrich and Dr. Lindeman addressed these meetings.

There was a meeting of ministers in the morning, addressed by Dr. Lowdermilk, Rev. Phillips and Dr. Lindeman. A tea arranged by a missionary women's group drew well over 300 ladies, who were addressed by Rev. Phillips and Mrs. Lowdermilk. About 100 of those present at this meeting signed membership cards.

There was a luncheon meeting arranged for about 85 out of town guests and sponsors. Some of the communities near St. Louis had sent Christian delegates to the conference. The Dagan film was shown at this meeting and there was a

round table discussion. The purpose of that meeting was to acquaint the out of town people with the work of the American Palestine Committee and the Christian Council and to give them an idea as to how to set up committees of their own.

About 6,000 membership cards and kits of literature were distributed at these various meetings. About 450 signed cards have been brought back from St. Louis; and another 500 are expected to come in.

In addition to the speakers mentioned above, Dorothy Thompson, Dr. Silver, Dr. Atkinson, and Dr. LeSourd participated. Dorothy Thompson spoke for forty minutes and delivered an excellent address. She was given a tremendous ovation.

Dr. Clark Walker Cummings, the chairman of the St. Louis conference, who is secretary of Church Federation, was extremely helpful. He has now taken the chairmanship of the American Christian Palestine Committee in the St. Louis area.

Our own committees in Cincinnati and St. Louis had done excellent preliminary organization work in their localities.

The next conferences scheduled are to be held in San Francisco on February 27th and in Los Angeles on March 1st.

It was suggested that a report on the Christian conferences held in Cincinnati and St. Louis be sent to the Local Emergency Committees.

ACTION BEFORE THE PRESIDENT'S DEPARTURE

It was reported that Prof. Handler, who will now be our liaison officer with the American Palestine Committee, had had his first meeting that afternoon with Dr. LeSourd and Dr. Voss and the question had been discussed there of bringing to the attention of the President the action taken by the Christian bodies in this country on Palestine, e.g. the resolutions adopted by the Labor groups, the Petition of the University professors, etc., since it appeared that the President was not aware of the extent of Christian support in the United States for the Zionist program. In addition, it was proposed that important members of the Christian Council and the American Palestine Committee throughout the country should be asked to write or wire to the President indicating their views, and that letters be sent him from the National Conference on Palestine in the name of Dr. Marsh for the American Palestine Committee and Dr. Voss for the Christian Council, and from Bishop Oxen, on behalf of the three Methodist Jurisdictions who have adopted Palestine Resolutions.

The action proposed by the Christian groups was believed to be most desirable. It was agreed that the emergency committee chairmen should be apprised of this action and asked to use their local contacts to stimulate the sending of telegrams and letters from Christian groups and individuals.

There followed discussion on action to be taken by Jewish groups and individuals in the next few days before the President's departure.

It was agreed that the Local Emergency Committees should be contacted at once and requested to take the necessary action to have letters and wires sent to the President from local and national organizations and from individuals.

The American Jewish Conference would be asked to contact its delegates to cooperate in this activity.

In addition, it was believed that something further should be done to impress the President with the deep feeling that exists in this country with regard to the need for action on the Palestine question to be taken by him. After some discussion it was decided that a Day of Prayer be proclaimed.

It was decided that Dr. Goldstein be named a committee of one, with power to coopt other members, to supervise this activity.

REPORT ON WASHINGTON TALKS

Mr. Shulman reported that Dr. Wise and he, together with Dr. Goldman and Dr. Joseph, had spent several days in Washington last week. They had seen a number of people connected with the White House. They also saw Senator Wagner, who had had a talk with the President. Dr. Joseph, Dr. Goldmann and Mr. Shulman had called on James C. Dunn, Assistant Secretary of State, and in the course of a conversation lasting 1½ hours, presented the Palestine problem to him. Mr. Dunn expressed great interest and suggested that further meetings be held with him as he was anxious to acquaint himself more fully with the Palestine question. He asked that a copy of the Lowdermilk book be sent him. (Full report on Washington talks on file).

In connection with the proposed meeting with the President, it was decided to prepare a brief memorandum to be presented to him at that meeting; and possibly a fuller one elaborating on the points made in the shorter memorandum.

A suggestion made that a substantial delegation call on the Secretary of State, to comprise both Christians and Jews, was approved.

ZIONIST CONFERENCE IN JERUSALEM

A cable received from the Zionist Executive in Jerusalem was read. The Executive is contemplating convening a world conference in Jerusalem at the end of February, while Dr. Weizmann is in Palestine, in which representatives of the Zionist movement all over the world, including delegates from the liberated countries, would participate. The ultimate decision to hold this conference depended on the assurance of a delegation, representing all the four parties, from America.

After some discussion it was decided to send a cable to Jerusalem stating that we will explore the possibilities of obtaining the necessary priorities. It was agreed that an approach to the State Department in connection with priorities should not be made until the Secretary of State has been seen on the other matter.

FINANCE AND BUDGET COMMITTEE

Mr. Louis P. Rocker was unanimously elected chairman of this Committee.

The designees of the parties on the Finance and Budget Committee are: Hadassah--Miss Juliet N. Benjamin; Z.O.A.--Mr. Herman Weisman; Mizrachi--Mrs. B. J. Goldstein; Poale Zion--Mr. Philip Cruso.

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A report was made on action taken with regard to a new Executive Director.

STATEMENT TO CHAIRMEN OF LOCAL EMERGENCY COMMITTEES

The statement to be issued by the Council with reference to the internal reorganization was reported on and it was agreed that the representatives of the four groups meet the following day and try to come to an agreement on this statement.

The meeting adjourned at 7:00 P. M.

A. L.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING HELD JANUARY 25, 1945

A meeting of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Thursday evening, January 25th, at 8:15, at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Stephen S. Wise (presiding), Maurice Boukstein, Pinchas Cruso, Mrs. Judith Epstein, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mrs. B. J. Goldstein, Hayim Greenberg, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Benjamin Itzkowitz, Leib Jaffe, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Rabbi I. H. Kowalsky, Jeannette Leibel, Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Louis Lipsky, Marvin Lowenthal, Israel Mereminski, Isaac Naiditch, Emanuel Neumann, Louis P. Rucker, Dvora Rothbard, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Samuel Rothstein, Mrs. Bertha Schoolman, Herman Shulman, Mrs. Rebecca Shulman, Louis Segal, Meyer W. Weisgal, Herman Weisman, David Wertheim.

Dr. I. B. Berkson, Arnold K. Isreeli, Hans Lamm, Arthur Lourie.

Mordecai Bentov, Dr. Joseph Cohn, Isaiah L. Kenen, Zorach Warhaftig, Mrs. Rachel Yarden, Samuel J. Zacks, Reuben Zaslani, Baruch Zuckerman.

MINUTES

The minutes of the Emergency Council meetings held December 20th and 28th were approved.

CAIRO TRIAL

The question was raised as to whether the Council ought to appeal for commutation of the death sentence imposed on Hakim and Ben-Zuri.

After discussion, a motion was made and adopted that individual members of the Council, as individuals, and not as a Zionist group, request religious groups, Jewish and non-Jewish, to intercede on behalf of the two boys and cable appeals to the Egyptian King and Government.

MR. ZASLANI'S ADDRESS

Mr. Reuben Zaslani of the Political Department of the Jewish Agency in Jerusalem, who had just arrived in New York, delivered a brief address on the political situation in Palestine. It was agreed that he should be asked to address the Council at greater length on another occasion. (Mr. Zaslani's address on file).

REORGANIZATION OF EMERGENCY COUNCIL

Mr. Greenberg reported on the reorganization of the Emergency Council.

As part of the reorganization, it was necessary to review the standing committees which has been set up last year by the Council and to reorganize them where necessary.

American Palestine Committee: Since Mr. Shulman has assumed new duties he was not in a position to continue as chairman of this committee. The Council has been fortunate in enlisting, in the capacity of liaison between the Emergency Council and the American Palestine Committee, Professor Milton Handler, of Columbia Law School, who had until recently held an important position in Washington. Prof. Handler assumed his new duties last week.

Committee on Contacts with Post-War Planning Groups: This was the most recent committee which had been set up, under the co-chairmanship of Mrs. Pool and Captain Tulin, before the reorganization of the Council. A selection is being made of the many post-war planning groups to be contacted.

Finance and Budget Committee: This committee has been reorganized under the chairmanship of Mr. Louis P. Rucker. It has been established on the basis of representation of the four constituent organizations of the Council. The Treasurer is also a member of this committee.

Publications Committee: One of the most successful committees has been the Publications Committee, under the chairmanship of Mr. Louis Lipsky, and he would continue in that capacity.

Committee on Contacts with Christian Clergy: Some exploratory work has still to be done on this committee. Rabbi Bernstein is still out of town. It is contemplated asking Rabbi Joshua Liebman to serve as co-chairman of this committee.

Committee on Labor Relations: The American Jewish Trade Union Committee for Palestine has been very active, and a number of substantial achievements can be registered. The chairman of the committee, however, has not been attending our meetings, and the future functioning of the committee will require further discussion.

The Committee on Special Services has been abolished; as has the Committee on Contacts with Governments-in-Exile, which is a function of the Jewish Agency.

Some changes are to be made in the composition of the Committee on American Jewish Religious Forces, which it was suggested should be called "Com. on Orthodox Jewish Forces" because it was assumed that the committee would deal only with orthodox Jewish groups. Rabbi Gold, however, feels that the contacts of that committee should not be and was not intended to be limited to orthodox Jewish groups. He is of the opinion that the Committee should be authorized to approach, when necessary and with the consent of the Executive, non-Jewish religious forces as well. If the scope of the committee is enlarged, other people will have to be included.

Committee on Economic Planning: It has been decided to do nothing further about this committee until the arrival of Mr. Eliezer Kaplan, who is expected in this country sometime in March, when the reorganization of the committee will be undertaken.

POLITICAL REPORT

Dr. Wise reported on his visit to the President on January 22. A memorandum had been left with the President on that visit, and thereafter a letter was sent to him dealing with some of the points raised during the interview.

Mr. Shulman reported that Dr. Goldmann and he had been in Washington for

two days the previous week, and Dr. Wise and Dr. Joseph were also there for one day. They had had conversations with a number of people connected with the White House; and Dr. Goldmann, Dr. Joseph and Mr. Shulman had spent an hour and a half with Mr. James C. Dunn, Assistant Secretary of State. In addition, Dr. Wise and Mr. Shulman had had a long talk with Senator Wagner.

Mr. Shulman reported on a conversation which Senator Wagner had had with the President and on a letter which he had sent him.

(Reports of Washington talks on file).

A matter which had come up the previous day, and which required immediate action, was the news that had been received, by Dr. Silver and by Dr. Wise, of the possibility of Col. Hoskins being appointed economic advisor to the Middle East. Col. Hoskins' pro-Arab bias and his activities in Washington in circulating a document among Congressmen and Senators which was extremely anti-Zionist, are well known. Immediately on receipt of this news, Dr. Wise and the chairmen of the Executive Committee and the Administrative Committee got together and drew up a letter which was sent, under Dr. Wise's signature, to Mr. Stettinius. The matter was one of great urgency and it had not been possible to call together the full Administrative Committee. Thereafter, the constituent organizations of the Council were contacted and, with the exception of Hadassah, which had doubts as to the advisability of this procedure, agreed to send telegrams to Mr. Stettinius, to Mr. Crowley, head of the Foreign Economic Administration, and to Mr. Clayton, head of the Economic Division of the State Department. The American Jewish Conference, too, through Mr. Lipsky, sent a letter. In addition, the assistance of a number of friends in Washington had been enlisted.

There was some discussion on the action taken in connection with Col. Hoskins. It was suggested by certain of the Hadassah representatives present that it would be unfortunate for the Emergency Council to be on record as having opposed the appointment of Col. Hoskins, as this might serve to prejudice him further in the event that he was appointed.

It was pointed out that it would be impossible to make Col. Hoskins more anti-Zionist than he is at present. He has been connected with the Beirut University, the center of anti-Zionism in the Near East. His people are among those who built up that school in the last generation. His hostility was a fact and had to be accepted as such.

Dr. Wise said that for the Emergency Council, as a political body, not to have registered its protest against such an appointment would have been impossible.

The question of procedure was raised. Mrs. Halprin felt that the administrative committee should have been called together to decide on action to be taken in this matter. As it was, Hadassah had not been consulted before the letter was sent to Mr. Stettinius. It was pointed out that information reached the officers indicating that the decision might be taken within a matter of hours and if action was to be taken it could not be delayed until a meeting was convened.

A motion was made and adopted that in view of the question raised as to procedure, the Council approves the action taken by its officers. Mrs. Halprin, Mrs. Epstein and Mrs. Schoolman refrained from voting on this motion.

A number of other questions had been taken up in Washington, among them: the question of procuring a ship to transport the children from France, Belgium

and Switzerland to Palestine; the separation of Palestine from the Near East Division of the State Department; in view of the fact that the Palestine problem was not merely a part of the Near Eastern complex, but had implications extending far beyond that region; the forthcoming meeting of the President with Mr. Churchill and Mr. Stalin; and the proposal taken up by Dr. Joseph that the GI rights to benefits, etc. for those who decide to settle outside the United States after the war apply specifically to Palestine as well.

A general discussion on the political report followed.

Mr. Mereminski suggested that steps be taken to approach the Russian Embassy and ask them to convey to Mr. Stalin that the Jews of America expect from him support not only for a Jewish Commonwealth but also for the right of Jews all over the world, including Russia, to emigrate to Palestine.

Mr. Greenberg stated that the Executive would take up the question of representations both to the British Embassy and the Soviet Embassy in connection with emigration from the Balkans. As far as the Soviet authorities are concerned it is proper for us to approach them and tell them what we know about the situation in Rumania, in Bulgaria, etc. Despite the fact that Dr. Goldmann received word from the Russian Consul in New York, who was authorized by the Ambassador of the U.S.S.R. at present out of the country to make the statement, that Russia has nothing against emigration from Bulgaria, we know that the ultimate authority in Bulgaria is the Soviet Union and we have a right to ask about the ban on emigration. The question of the emigration of Jews from Russia itself, however, is an exceedingly delicate matter, and Mr. Greenberg warned against taking up that problem.

Mr. Warhaftig said that the problem of the Jews in the territories neighboring on Russia should be put not only to the Russian Government, but also to the British and American. The problem of the Jews is not a Soviet problem but a world problem; therefore this problem of emigration from Bulgaria should be put to the United States and Great Britain as well.

Mr. Neumann, discussing a reference made at the interview with the President on possible objections to the feasibility of the Lowdermilk plan, said that the fact is that no objections have been indicated.

Mr. Neumann presented the following new facts in connection with the J.V.A. In addition to two engineers who have been in Palestine for several months, arrangements have been made to have a consultant engineer (a member of the Board of the Commission on Palestine Surveys) visit Palestine. He is now in Delhi, India. Only a week ago the Society of American Engineers awarded him the highest award of the engineering profession. He will spend some time in Palestine, without compensation. He is going there at the official request of the Department of the Interior of the United States Government, with the help of the Department of State.

Mr. Zuckerman said he did not share entirely the opinion of Mr. Greenberg with regard to Russia. He did understand that the question of the Jews in Russia should not be raised now. The problem of emigration from Russia should not be mixed up with the question of emigration of Jews from the Balkans. But in connection with the whole question of the migration of people to Palestine, the time may come when we may be able to speak to the Russian Government as well.

ACTION BEFORE THE PRESIDENT'S DEPARTURE

Dr. Goldstein reported that in accordance with the decision taken by the

Executive Committee at its meeting on January 15th, to stimulate public action in connection with the coming departure of the President for the Conference of the Big Three, a committee was appointed to deal with the synagogue phase of the action, which called for a Day of Prayer to be observed in synagogues throughout the country. This committee consisted of Rabbi Wolf Gold, Dr. Stephen S. Wise and Dr. Goldstein, and they were assisted by Rabbi Kirshblum, Rabbi Ahron Opher of the Synagogue Council of America, and Mr. Magida. The cooperation was secured of the Synagogue Council of America, which communicated with all the Rabbis throughout the country. Additional appeals to the Rabbis were issued by the Rabbinical Assembly of America, the Rabbinical Council of America, as well as by the United Synagogue of America, the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations and other national bodies. On Saturday January 27th, the sermons and services in the synagogues will all be devoted to the theme of the vital stake which Jews all over the world have in the forthcoming meeting of the President of the United States with the leaders of other Allied Nations, and emphasizing the anxiety with which these deliberations are viewed by Jews everywhere and their hopes that from them will emerge a new era in Jewish history through the reconstruction of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth.

In addition to the Synagogue Council action, which has been publicized in the Yiddish press, action was taken throughout the country, through the local emergency committees, to have organizations and individuals send telegrams to the President before his departure. This request is meeting with a very encouraging response.

The American Palestine Committee and Christian Council have also taken action, calling on groups and prominent individuals to send communications to the President.

RESOLUTION BEFORE CONGRESS

Mr. Shulman referred to the Geelan and Celler resolution which had been introduced in the House. It was agreed that the Council continue with the line adopted, that we should not press for the resolution at this time, but would try to get clearance at the proper time.

The meeting adjourned at 11:20 P. M.

A. L.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
MINUTES OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING

February 5, 1945

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Monday, February 5th, at 3:45 P. M. at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Hayim Greenberg (presiding), Mrs. Judith Epstein, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mrs. B. J. Goldstein, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Prof. Milton Handler, Rabbi I. M. Kowalsky, Louis Lipsky, Emanuel Neumann, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Louis Segal, Herman Shulman, Mrs. Rebecca Shulman, Captain Abraham Tulin, David Wertheim, Dr. Stephen S. Wise.

Dr. Nahum Goldmann; Dr. I. B. Berkson, Arnold K. Isreeli, Arthur Lourie.

POLITICAL REPORT

Mr. Shulman reported on the conversations which Dr. Wise, Mr. Greenberg and he had had in Washington the previous Wednesday, with the head of the Foreign Economic Administration and his deputy assistant and with the head of the Economic Division of the State Department and Mr. Charles Taft, on the subject of the proposed appointment of Col. Hoskins; and with Mr. Joseph Grew, Acting Secretary of State. (Report of conversations on file). There was reason to hope that the appointment of Col. Hoskins would not be made.

The conversations with Mr. Grew was very satisfactory. Mr. Grew showed keen interest in the Palestine question and said he had been reading everything in the State Department on the subject. Two main questions were discussed with him: the question of immigration and the need for the establishment of Palestine as a separate department in the State Department, apart from the Near East complex. Mr. Grew showed interest but indicated that the matter would have to be taken up again on the return of Mr. Stettinius.

Mr. Grew expressed the wish to discuss the Palestine situation further at another meeting.

Dr. Wise reported on the visit which Dr. Goldmann and he had made to Mr. Edwin C. Wilson, newly appointed Ambassador to Turkey. The question of facilitating the immigration of Jews from the Balkans to Palestine via Turkey was discussed with Mr. Wilson, who was friendly and apparently anxious to be helpful.

Mr. Shulman further reported that Congressman Dirksen of Illinois is going to the Near East to make a thorough study of that part of the world. Before he leaves it is hoped to meet with him.

RESPONSE TO CALL FOR ACTION TO LOCAL EMERGENCY COMMITTEES

It was reported that there had been a very good response on the part of Christians and Jews to the call issued by the Emergency Council, the American Palestine Committee and Christian Council on Palestine to send messages to the President prior to his departure.

ATLANTIC CITY CONFERENCE

It was reported that the conference of chairmen of local emergency committees from the Eastern States south of Connecticut, which was held in Atlantic City February 3rd and 4th, had proved to be a useful and satisfactory meeting. In view of the recent order of the War Mobilization Board, the number of those present had to be limited to fifty people. Over forty local chairmen attended; and it was therefore possible to invite only those members of the Council who were participating in the program. (Minutes of conference on file).

It is planned to have possibly two more of these meetings, the first to be held in Boston February 24th and 25th, for local committee chairmen in New England, to be followed by a conference in Chicago. These meetings, too, will have to be restricted to 50 participants.

APPLICATION OF LEFT POALE ZION

An application had been received from the Left Poale Zion for admission to the Council as a constituent organization. Mr. Paul Goldman had, however, asked to meet with officers of the Council before the matter is discussed by the Executive.

It was pointed out that if the Left Poale Zion are admitted to the Council as a constituent organization, the Hashomer Hatzair will make a similar request. Neither the Left Poale Zion nor the Hashomer Hatzair ever appeared as a separate Zionist party on Congress lists.

It was agreed that a meeting be arranged with Mr. Goldman and one or more of the officers before deciding the matter.

MEETINGS

It was decided that the Executive Committee meet hereafter on the first and third Mondays of each month, at 3:30 P. M. and that the full Council meet on the third Monday of each month, at 8:15 P. M. The Administrative Committee will fix its own meeting dates.

COMMITTEE ON CONTACTS WITH POST-WAR PLANNING GROUPS

Captain Tulin reported on the luncheon meeting held that day with Mr. Clark Eichelberger, director of the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, and Dr. Atkinson, a member of the Commission's Executive Committee, which had been arranged by the Committee on Contacts with Post-War Planning Groups of the Emergency Council. Present at this meeting were, in addition to the two representatives of the Commission, Prof. Janowsky, Marvin Lowenthal, Dr. Berkson, Mrs. Pool and Captain Tulin.

The request was made of the members of the Commission that we be given an opportunity to present the Zionist view of the Palestine and Near East situation to the Commission. Mr. Eichelberger proposed that the Emergency Council, through its committee on contacts with post-war planning groups, present a very short

memorandum to the Executive Committee of the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, within the next few days, indicating why we believe that the problem of Palestine, as a world problem, falls within the scope of their work and asking the Executive Committee to arrange for the full Commission to give us a hearing on the question.

Mr. Eichelberger had indicated that the Executive Committee of the Commission might arrange to appoint a committee to study the matter. He stated further that if the Executive Committee agreed to the proposal for a committee, Dr. Atkinson would be asked to name the members.

In the discussion which followed Captain Tulin's report several members of the Executive expressed doubts as to the advisability of accepting the proposals made at the luncheon. It was pointed out that the chairman of the Commission, Prof. James T. Shotwell, is an anti-Zionist, and several other members of the Commission's Executive Committee have shown themselves to be biased, and ready to accept the Arab point of view completely. It would be a dangerous thing, it was believed, to permit the study to be made, bearing in mind the people connected with the Commission and remembering too, our experiences in the past with experts' reports. It was feared, too, that the opportunity would be taken by the pro-Arabs on the Commission to provide a forum for Arab propagandists in this country.

It was urged that the matter be considered further before proceeding with the proposal made by Mr. Eichelberger and that certain persons associated with the Commission be consulted. It was suggested further that so far as the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace was concerned, the approach should be to individual members rather than to the organizations as a whole.

Dr. Berkson did not share the fears of some of the other members of the Executive, did not see that there was danger in proceeding with the proposals made. It was likely that the Commission would not take a specific attitude on Palestine, but in any case we should not assume that people's views are static, and he urged that if we have an opportunity to present the Zionist case to an important body like the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, we should grasp that opportunity. He could see only good coming from it.

The suggestion was made and approved that when Dr. Weizmann comes to this country in the spring, we should arrange for him to meet with members of the Commission. That should be done instead of proceeding with the proposal, to have a committee appointed to make a study of the Palestine question.

There was some discussion on the functions of the Committee on Contacts with Post-War Planning Groups. Captain Tulin said he agreed with the necessity of defining the scope of activities of the committee and urged that there should be a closer liaison between it and the Executive Committee.

It was agreed that the co-chairmen of the Committee on Contacts with Post-War Planning Groups meet with the Administrative Committee and draw up terms of reference for the committee.

IRANIAN INSTITUTE

Attention was drawn to the "Iranian Institute and School for Asiatic Studies" whose faculty is headed by Prof. Arthur Upham Pope. Mrs. Pool had noted that among the courses offered by this Institute there was nothing on Palestine and she suggested that Dr. Berkson be asked to give a weekly lecture on the subject. She had talked to Prof. Pope and he is very anxious to have such a course included.

It was the consensus that this suggestion was a good one.

The meeting adjourned at 6:15 P. M.

A.L.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

February 19, 1945

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Monday afternoon, February 19, at 3:30, at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Hayim Greenberg (presiding), Maurice Boukstein, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Prof. Milton Handler, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Louis Lipsky, Mrs. Tamar Pool, Mrs. Etta Rosensohn, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Louis Segal, Herman Shulman, Mrs. Rebecca Shulman, Captain Abraham Tulin, David Wertheim, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Meyer W. Weisgal.

Dr. Nahum Goldmann; Arnold K. Isreeli, Arthur Lourie; Isaiah L. Kenen.

JTA REPORT OF DR. BERNARD JOSEPH'S STATEMENT RE AMERICAN DELEGATION TO PALESTINE

Dr. Goldmann read a cable he had received from Mr. Shertok branding as utterly false the report that had appeared in the JTA of January 31st to the effect that Dr. Joseph, on his return to Jerusalem, had proposed that the Jewish Agency Executive invite Dr. Wise, Mrs. Halprin and Dr. Goldstein to Palestine for conversations and that the Jewish Agency Executive had disagreed with this proposal. Dr. Joseph had made no such suggestion nor did the Executive consider any such proposal.

It was left to the office to decide what use should be made of Mr. Shertok's cable.

SAN FRANCISCO CONFERENCE

The question of the United Nations Conference to be held in San Francisco on April 25th and the possible bearing which it might have on the Palestine issue was discussed, and Dr. Goldmann reported on the results of inquiries he had made in Washington as to the agenda of the Conference. He also outlined some of the questions that must be considered before April 25th and reported that he had sent a cable to the Jewish Agency Executive in Jerusalem inquiring as to their views on the position to be taken by the Agency with regard to the immediate post-war future of Palestine - the period between the cessation of hostilities and the actual establishment of the Jewish Commonwealth, and also inquiring whether the Jewish Agency, in view of its special status under the Mandate, will wish to submit a separate memorandum to San Francisco or join with other bodies in a comprehensive joint memorandum.

In the discussion that followed, various points and suggestions were made. (Report of discussion on file).

It was suggested by several members of the Executive that every effort be made to have a Jewish Agency representative at San Francisco to present our case and that our propaganda be directed to that end. Despite the fact that there was

no precedent for such a demand, that the Jewish Agency was not granted representation at previous international conferences and was never given permission to appear officially before the Mandates Commission, this demand should now be made.

It was believed that the Jewish Agency might be permitted to present its case to the Commission which will deal with Mandates. It was urged that even though we might not be given direct entry to the Conference it would be advisable to create a favorable atmosphere for our case before and during the Conference, and that a meeting in San Francisco arranged by the local emergency committee together with the Christian groups might be helpful to that end.

It was reported that the American Jewish Conference has been giving some thought to the San Francisco Conference and felt that this was a good opportunity to dramatize Jewish demands. It has been considering joint meetings of the Conference and the Emergency Committees all over the country including San Francisco, which would be fully publicized.

After further discussion it was decided that an effort be made to ascertain from those officials in the State Department who are dealing with the matter what the Department is thinking on the subject of Mandates. Later on the representatives of the Emergency Council and the Jewish Agency should see the Secretary of State and others, who should not be approached at this time. When the desired information has been obtained, the Council should then begin to discuss the matter and inform Jerusalem of our thinking.

INTER-AMERICAN CONFERENCE ON WAR AND PEACE

Reference was made to the Inter-American Conference to be held in Mexico City starting February 21st. It was believed that it was important for Dr. Goldmann to go to Mexico and to endeavor to obtain an expression of opinion from the foreign ministers of the South American countries, a number of whom are members of Pro-Palestine Committees in their respective countries. Dr. Goldmann indicated that he was investigating the possibilities of going to Mexico and if he could not go himself someone else would go in his stead.

DR. MAGNES' LETTER IN NEW YORK TIMES FEBRUARY 17

The letter by Dr. Magnes which had appeared in the New York Times on February 17th and a reply to be submitted to the Times was discussed.

It was reported that Mr. Elisha Friedman was preparing a draft reply and had suggested that it be signed by a large number of Jewish organizations - the four constituent groups of the Emergency Council together with the American Jewish Conference, the Palestine Economic Corporation and others.

Attention was drawn to the fact that Dr. Magnes' letter, (which had been cabled from Jerusalem) appeared only a few days after the close of the Yalta Conference and may have been intended to be a trial balloon and to get a reaction. It was pointed out, too, that the Arab Conference in Cairo might have motivated Dr. Magnes to write the letter at this particular time.

After some discussion in which various suggestions were made as to the contents of the letter and who should be the signatories, it was decided that a letter should be sent to New York Times and that the letter be signed only by the four constituent bodies of the Emergency Council, with perhaps the addition of the American Jewish Conference. It was also agreed that an attempt be made to have letters sent the Times by important individuals and, if possible, by Prof. Einstein.

Judge Rothenberg, who believed that in view of the fact that Dr. Magnes is an individual, no doubt important, but who stands by himself, a reply should be made to him by an important individual, voted against having the letter signed by the four organizations.

It was further decided that a committee consisting of one representative from each of the four organizations approve the letter to be sent to the Times.

Reference was made to information which had been received to the effect that the O.W.I. was broadcasting Dr. Magnes' letter, reports on the Arab Conference in Cairo and similar news antagonistic to the Zionist case. It was stated further that a number of Arabs are employed by the O.W.I. and that prof. Hitti is also being used by Government services.

It was agreed that the question of the Arabs and other enemies of ours in Government services should be taken up with the State Department on Mr. Stettinius' return.

RABBI GOLD'S VISIT TO WEST COAST

A discussion took place on telegrams which had been received with regard to meetings which Rabbi Gold had addressed on the West Coast. It was agreed that the matter be held over until Rabbi Gold's return.

INFORMATION FOR CHAIRMEN OF LOCAL EMERGENCY COMMITTEES

It was reported that the Administrative Committee had decided to resume sending to the local emergency committees regular material similar to the Confidential Bulletin which had been issued for a short time last year. The first statement had already gone out, and it was hoped to issue similar statements every two weeks.

COMMITTEE ON COOPERATION WITH POSTWAR PLANNING GROUPS.

Mrs. Pool presented a report on the work of this committee.

The committee was formed at the end of November, 1944, and a number of meetings had been held since that time. Communications had been sent to the leading postwar planning groups together with a list of all our available material. Copies of the reprint of Dr. Alfred Kahn's article which had appeared in the American Economic Review were also sent to these groups.

The committee assisted the Research Bureau for Postwar Economics in its conference on "Reconstruction Problems of Asia" and arranged for Mr. Harry Viteles to address this conference on Palestine. They also arranged for an exhibit of statistics and photographs to be displayed there.

A number of contacts with representatives of postwar planning groups were made. Members of the Committee had met with Mr. Walter W. Van Kirk, Secretary of the Commission on a Just and Durable Peace of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America; Dr. Vera Micheles Dean, Director of Research, Foreign Policy Association; Mr. Clark Eichelberger and Dr. Henry Atkinson, of the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace; Dr. Lyman Bryson, Director of Education of the Columbia Broadcasting System; Dr. William A. Neilson, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace.

From Dr. Dean of the Foreign Policy Association, the Committee had learned

that Mr. Grant McLellan, of the Research Staff of the F.P.A., was writing a 10,000 word study on Palestine. Arrangements were made for Mr. McLellan to meet with Dr. Berkson and Dr. Yassky, from whom he obtained detailed information.

A kit of material is being prepared by the Research Department to be given to postwar organizations, and this material will also be sent to the study departments of the radio companies such as that of the Columbia Broadcasting System.

There was some further discussion on the functions of the Committee on Cooperation with Postwar Planning Groups. It was suggested that the Committee should prepare a selected list of organizations to be contacted dealing with postwar planning from among the large number in this field and submit them to the Administrative Committee or the Executive Committee together with full information concerning them. It was suggested that it was not always advisable to contact the leading people in the various organizations at the outset, but that it would be preferable first to approach other individuals in these groups and endeavour to win them over.

It was agreed that the Committee on Cooperation with Postwar Planning Groups should meet with the Administrative Committee to discuss thoroughly their terms of reference.

The meeting adjourned at 6:30 P. M.

A. L.



AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING HELD FEBRUARY 19, 1945.

A meeting of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Monday evening, February 19th, at 8:15, at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Stephen S. Wise (presiding), Miss Juliet N. Benjamin, Maurice Boukstein, Pinchas Cruso, Moshe Furmansky, Paul L. Goldman, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mrs. B. J. Goldstein, Hayim Greenberg, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Prof. Milton Handler, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Miss Jeannette Leibel, Louis Lipsky, Israel Mereminski, Isaac Naiditch, Mrs. Tamar Pool, Louis P. Rocker, Mrs. Etta Rosensohn, Miss Dvora Rothbard, Louis Segal, Herman Shulman, Mrs. Rebecca Shulman, Robert Szold, Captain Abraham Tulin, David Wertheim.

Dr. Nahum Goldmann; Arnold K. Isreeli, Hans Lamn, Arthur Lourie, Meyer W. Weisgal.

Dr. Joseph Cohn, Moshe Dickstein, Mrs. Bebe Idelson, Isaiah L. Kenen, Dr. Ludwig Lewisohn, Miss Sophie Udin, Zorach Warhaftig, Mrs. Rachel Yarden, Samuel Zacks, Reuven Zaslani, Baruch Zuckerman.

Apologies were received from Mrs. Epstein, Dr. James G. Heller and Samuel Rothstein.

POLITICAL REPORT

Col. Hoskins

Mr. Shulman reported on interviews in Washington with the head of the Foreign Economic Administration and his deputy assistant; and with the head of the Economic Division of the State Department and Mr. Charles Taft, special advisor on economic matters, on the subject of the proposed appointment of Col. Harold Hoskins to the post of economic advisor in the Middle East. (Report of conversations on file). As reported at the Emergency Council meeting of January 25th, protests against such an appointment had been sent to the State Department and the Foreign Economic Administration by the Emergency Council, and by its constituent organizations individually.

There had been further developments in connection with this proposed appointment and the matter was followed up further by the delegation of the Emergency Council which was in Washington last week, and subsequently. (Details on file).

(As learned later, Col. Harold Hoskins was subsequently appointed to another post and Mr. John Dawson was appointed economic advisor in the Middle East).

Interview with Lord Halifax

A joint delegation, representing the Emergency Council, the American Jewish Conference and the Jewish Agency called on the Earl of Halifax, British Ambassador to the United States, on February 16th and submitted a memorandum to him. (Copy attached). Lord Halifax undertook to submit the memorandum to the British Government with the request that it be given immediate consideration.

In the course of the interview, Lord Halifax indicated to the delegation that he was confident that his Government should be able at the present time to work out a solution for Palestine which should meet with the approval of all reasonable Jews. He urged that the Jews of America should not take the position that Great Britain was not acting in good faith and that it was not making an honest attempt to solve the problem of Palestine. Some members of the delegation made it clear to Lord Halifax that in the light of a situation where the Palestine certificates are being exhausted and no provision is being made for the refugees we could not convince our public of Britain's sincerity. If he wished us to retain faith in Great Britain's good will we must be given some basis for that faith. Failure to do something substantial and constructive without delay would inevitably strengthen the extremists in Zionist life.

Lord Halifax had inquired of the delegation concerning the number of Jews who wish to go to Palestine. The delegation cited the case of Rumania, where more than 80% of the 270,000 Jews wish to go to Palestine, and 50,000 have already registered.

It was reported that the Emergency Council had received, unsolicited, copy of a telegram sent by Judge Proskauer to Lord Halifax on February 17th, indicating that the American Jewish Committee supported the request made to him by the delegation representing the Jewish Agency, the American Jewish Conference and the Emergency Council to open the doors of Palestine to Jewish immigration.

Other Conversations in Washington February 16

Dr. Wise and Mr. Shulman had had a conversation with Senator Wagner. Dr. Wise, Mr. Greenberg, Dr. Goldmann and Mr. Shulman had met with Mr. Archibald MacLeish, one of the new Assistant Secretaries of State, in charge of cultural and public relations in the State Department, from whom it was believed we could expect reasonable cooperation; with Mr. Joseph Grew, Acting Secretary of State; and with Mr. James C. Dunn. Dr. Goldstein participated in the conversations with Mr. Dunn at which the latter's assistant was also present. (Report of conversations on file).

In accordance with the decision to do everything possible to obtain a ship to transfer the children in France, Switzerland and Belgium to Palestine, that matter had also been taken up in Washington and it is being given consideration there.

SAN FRANCISCO CONFERENCE

There was a full discussion in which a large number of the members of the Council participated, on the United Nations Conference to be held in San Francisco on April 25th and the bearing it may have on the Palestine question. (Discussion on file).

PROGRAM OF EMERGENCY COUNCIL

Mr. Greenberg outlined what he believed should be the program of practical activities to be undertaken by the Council during the next few months.

He did not think the time was appropriate to revive the Congressional Resolution. But in addition to diplomatic negotiations we must arouse public opinion again in the next few months. For the brief period between today and the San Francisco conference, which should be considered a milestone in the history of our movement, we should organize public opinion on an entirely different scale. With the assistance of the two non-Jewish organizations, the

Committee
American Palestine/and the Christian Council, who are ready to cooperate with us, it is possible within the next eight or nine weeks to have 20 to 25 communities hold conferences, on a local scale, in which many non-Jews would participate -- representatives of Chambers of Commerce, Bar Associations, A.F. of L. and C.I.O. units, Church and other organizations, War Veterans, women's clubs, etc. A great deal of publicity should be given these conferences and they should pass resolutions to be brought to the attention of the State Department and the White House.

In addition it would be a good thing to have the 48 Governors, or the majority of them at least, address a statement to the President urging him to take steps to assure the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth and the opening of the doors of Palestine. Perhaps the Mayors of cities throughout the country could take similar action. The Mayor of New York might be induced to take the initiative.

As to San Francisco, we should not minimize the importance of that Conference, but at the same time we should not exaggerate the bearing that that Conference will have on our problem. We had been thinking there would be no real Peace Conference. On the basis of the Yalta statement it seems probable that there will be a formal Peace Conference. Of course it may be that many of the decisions will have been taken in advance. San Francisco will probably deal with a number of general problems, some of which will bear on our problem.

Mr. Greenberg doubted that Jews would be admitted to the Conference as participants, but it is not impossible that the Jewish Agency will be given a hearing. Although nothing in regard to Palestine would, in his opinion, be formally and finally decided in San Francisco, that Conference will create a political climate. Therefore it is very important that between now and the San Francisco Conference American public opinion should be expressed and should bring our case to the attention of the United States Government and the representatives of other Governments.

As decided upon by the Executive Committee that afternoon some exploratory work would be done in Washington in the next week with regard to the implications of the San Francisco meeting. When we have gathered more information we will be in a better position to discuss strategy.

In connection with the local conferences referred to above, which should address themselves to Congress or the President, we must decide how to formulate our demands. We should not limit ourselves to the formulation of our final goal, -- the Jewish Commonwealth. This must be emphatically stressed every day, but at the same time we should take into consideration the undeniable fact that for a few months to come and perhaps for a year or two, no final solution may be taken by the great powers. If within that time no substantial immigration will flow into Palestine and no substantial purchase of land will be made, that would prejudice to a large extent our ultimate demands. Therefore there is no divergence from our final goal, when we stress at the same time that Jewish immigration and the lifting of the ban on land purchase be granted immediately, before any Peace Conference takes place and before any final settlement is made. In raising that demand there is not the slightest departure from the Biltmore program. People will understand that when there are hundreds of thousands clamoring for entrance into Palestine we cannot talk only of our ultimate goal.

We have already begun this program, although not in a public way. We have been discussing our immediate problem with important people in Washington; there was not a single conversation in which we did not stress our ultimate goal. There have been pledges given us; if there are difficulties in reaching a decision

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on the future of Palestine, as an earnest, on the way to establishing the Commonwealth, the doors of Palestine should be opened for those who wish to go there. Along those lines we can conduct our public campaign. No public document that will be issued by this body or the American Jewish Conference, no appeal to Government or the press, or to non-Jewish organizations, should be permitted in which the essential demand for a Jewish Commonwealth should not be included.

Mr. Greenberg asked that this program be adopted tonight and that the Executive be authorized to begin action.

Following discussion on the program outlined by Mr. Greenberg, the following motion was unanimously adopted: that the Council embark on a nation-wide campaign basing our propaganda on the Biltmore program, and demanding that pending the final decision on the political status of the Jewish people in Palestine the doors of Palestine be opened immediately to Jewish immigration. 13

It was further decided that Dr. Weizmann, Mr. Ben-Gurion, Mr. Shertok and Mr. Kaplan be invited to come to this country as soon as possible for discussions prior to the San Francisco Conference.

It was also decided that a special committee be named to work out the proposals connected with the San Francisco Conference.

The meeting adjourned at 12:00 P. M.



A. L.

MEMORANDUM

Submitted to Lord Halifax on behalf of the American Jewish Conference, American Zionist Emergency Council, and the Jewish Agency for Palestine.

1. Reports from the liberated areas of Europe reveal the appalling plight of the surviving Jews of Europe. Not only has the Jewish population been decimated, but the psychological and material condition of the survivors is in many cases beyond description.

2. As one example we cite the case of the Jews of Rumania of whom there are today about 270,000. Persecuted and robbed under the Axis, they continue today to be singled out as pariahs in a state where a long established anti-Semitism has been nurtured by the poison of Nazi propaganda. A representative of the Jewish Agency at present in Bucharest reports that:

"The majority are completely pauperized; without means of existence, without food, without clothing, and in many cases without a place to sleep. But above all they are afflicted by fear of the future and a general sense of despair. At least 80% of Rumanian Jewry wishes to go to Palestine. When the news reached Bucharest that from 500 to 700 Palestine immigration certificates per month were all that were available for Rumanian Jewry (and that only until the balance remaining under the White Paper runs out in April) there was a general day of mourning among the Jews."

3. Everywhere among the Jews of Europe there is an overwhelming demand to emigrate and begin life afresh in Palestine. But the number of Palestine immigration certificates still available under the White Paper is so negligible in relation to Jewish needs that immigration may be regarded as virtually stopped. The conscience of mankind has been deeply shocked by the outrages perpetrated on the Jews. The answer however, in the past, to every plea for action by the United Nations to save these victims of the Nazis, was that there was no possibility of taking effective measures to rescue any large numbers as long as they were in enemy controlled territory. Today the fate of most of those who survive is in the hands of the United Nations. The world will not understand a policy of inaction at a time when delay may mean for these people death by starvation and disease. They plead to be allowed forthwith to rebuild their lives in the Jewish National Home. It is inconceivable that while their own people in Palestine are waiting to receive and welcome them, they should be condemned to continue in utter hopelessness where they are unwanted and do not wish to remain — in surroundings associated for them with recollections of grief and horror.

4. We believe that even as a war measure the policy of the White Paper was short-sighted and mistaken. Its application today is as indefensible as it is heartless. One result of this policy is that even when action is taken by the democratic powers in behalf of the refugees, that action is vitiated by the refusal to recognize that an end must be put to Jewish wandering and that every Jew who so desires must be entitled to enter Palestine as of right and to settle among his own people there.

5. A striking instance of the futility and cruelty of a policy which ignores this claim has just arisen in connection with some 1,700 Jews who had escaped from Germany and are now in Switzerland. It appears that this group cannot remain in Switzerland and is about to be sent to temporary refugee camps in Algiers. The great majority of them had eagerly looked forward to settlement in Palestine and their disappointment is correspondingly intense. Their removal now to a temporary camp in North Africa means the prolongation of the individual tragedy of each of these refugees. There is no justification for the failure to send them to Palestine. If ships are available to take them to Algiers, they must likewise be available to take them instead to Haifa. The excuse that there is a housing shortage in Palestine is an untenable one. Admittedly, just as with every other country in the world today, Palestine suffers from a shortage of housing; but the Jews of Palestine are anxious and, if assisted by the local Administration, will be ready and able to provide the necessary accommodations for these immigrants. Moreover, there are large UNRRA camps in Palestine previously used to accommodate Poles, Yugoslavs, Czechs and others who are now returning to their own countries. As a temporary measure the Jewish immigrants could be housed in these camps until their absorption into the general economy of the country. The removal of the refugees to North Africa and their subsequent transfer elsewhere for final rehabilitation is wasteful in terms both of human life and of available resources and should be abandoned in favor of immediate settlement in Palestine.

6. In the crucial decisions now being taken, the question as to what is to become of European Jewry can no longer be ignored. Eight Jews in every ten in Europe have been butchered by the Nazis. The survivors are entitled to demand that the home promised to the Jewish people by the nations of the world a quarter of a century ago shall forthwith be opened to every Jew who wishes to settle there. Pending the determination of the future status of Palestine as the Jewish Commonwealth, there can be no justification for delay on the question of immediate Jewish immigration into Palestine. Time is all important and the issue must be dealt with now. We appeal to His Majesty's Government to meet this problem in the same spirit of broad and constructive humanity and with the historic vision of its decision over a quarter of a century ago when it issued the Balfour Declaration, with its promise of a restored homeland for the Jewish people.

2/15/45

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

March 5, 1945

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Monday, March 5th, at 3:30 P. M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Hayim Greenberg (presiding), Pinchas Cruso, Mrs. Judith Epstein, Rabbi Wolf Gold, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Prof. Milton Handler, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Louis Lipsky, Mrs. Tamar Pool, Louis P. Rocker, Mrs. Etta Rosensohn, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Herman Shulman, David Wertheim.

Dr. Nahum Goldmann; Dr. I. B. Berkson, Arnold K. Isreeli, Arthur Lourie, Meyer W. Weisgal.

Isaiah L. Kenen, Moise Novomeysky, Reuven Zaslani.

The Chairman welcomed Mr. Novomeysky.

POLITICAL SITUATION

The Chairman outlined the events which had occurred since the last meeting of the Executive and which had caused much disquiet. There was the statement on Palestine and the Middle East in Mr. Churchill's address to the House of Commons reporting on the Yalta meeting; Mr. Roosevelt's brief and disturbing reference to the Palestine question in his report to Congress; and there was also the Arab Conference in Cairo which had concluded its sessions that week-end, and which, while not admitting the Arab speaking countries in North Africa, Cyrenaica and Tripolatania, as full participants, recognized Mussa el Alami, the representative of the Palestine Arabs, as an official delegate. Even assuming that the British Government had no knowledge of it, the fact that the representatives of the Arab States gave this status to a representative from Palestine and made him a co-signatory to the constitution drafted at the Conference was, in Mr. Greenberg's opinion, most disquieting.

Mr. Shulman reported that at the Administrative Committee meeting held on Friday the matter of the President's reference to Palestine in his report to Congress had been discussed and it was decided to endeavor to obtain an appointment with Mr. Roosevelt at the earliest possible time. Dr. Wise had therefore sent a telegram to him requesting an appointment. (Copy attached).

The question of issuing a public statement commenting on the President's remarks had also been discussed by the Administrative Committee but it was agreed first to await the appointment with the President.

It had been hoped to see Mr. Stettinius, but he had not yet returned to Washington and it had been decided that it would be preferable to await his return rather than see any other members of the State Department.

Mr. Zaslani stressed the significance of the role played by Mussa el Alami in the Arab Conference. The Palestine Arab representative was permitted full

participation in the conference with the knowledge and, if not encouragement, at least favorable acquiescence of the British. The Political Department of the Agency in Jerusalem, during the first session of the Arab Conference in Alexandria, in a semi-official way called the attention of the British authorities in Cairo to the fact that the members of the Arab Conference were allies of theirs and as such should await the decision of the allied nations on Palestine. The Agency could have no objection, of course, to the Arab nations listening to a plea by a Palestine Arab. But they did insist that it was the business of Great Britain and others to prevent the Palestine delegate from being given the status that he was given. The Agency did not get any satisfaction on this point. A high British official, in a discussion with a member of the Political Department of the Jewish Agency, argued that the Jews have organized the support of members of Parliament and similar bodies and should not object to the Arabs of Palestine organizing Arab support. But now, with Saudi Arabia and the other Arab countries becoming official members of the United Nations as a result of their declaration of war, just as they have certain privileges as members of the United Nations they should also have certain obligations. Since the United Nations have not declared Palestine as an Arab State they have no right to consider it as such. It is an attempt to create a political status for the Arabs of Palestine which they have not had up to now. Mr. Zaslani had no doubt that the Jewish Agency would take up this matter as well.

Mr. Zaslani also pointed to another danger. He referred to recent broadcasts by commentators in which the importance of the Middle East countries to communications in connection with the war in the Far East was stressed. This argument is now being used as if it were part of an organized campaign. In our work with the press, we should concentrate on counteracting that line of attack.

Mr. Zaslani warned further against dangerous compromises in connection with immigration which have already been hinted at in press reports and which, in his opinion, are part of a subtle campaign to prepare public opinion. For instance, there have been reports that the Arabs wish to be generous and will allow us some immigration. Although we should not refuse any certificates given us, such offers should not weaken our fight for renewed immigration on a large scale.

The question was raised as to whether a statement should now be issued to the press making reference not only to the remarks made by Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt, but also the status given to the Palestine Arab representative by the Arab States.

After a full discussion (report on file) it was agreed that some form of statement must be issued before the reply is received from the President. (Copies of statement already circulated).

SAN FRANCISCO CONFERENCE

Dr. Goldmann reported on the results of inquiries which had been made in Washington as to the recommendations on the question of Mandates which would be made to the San Francisco Conference.

Dr. Goldmann reported further that he had received a cable from the Jewish Agency Executive, in reply to his inquiry, indicating that the Jewish Agency itself wishes to present the matter of Palestine and the Mandate. As to a memorandum to be submitted on general Jewish matters the Agency inquired as to who would be the signatories to such a memorandum.

There had not yet been a reply from them on the question of whether we should demand representation at the Conference or whether we should limit ourselves

to the demand for a hearing.

Dr. Goldmann referred to a conversation he had had with the Russian Ambassador.

In the discussion that followed it was strongly urged that we launch a campaign asking for official representation for the Jewish Agency at the San Francisco conference. Such a demand would give us an excellent opportunity to bring our case before the public in a dramatic way.

Despite the fact that there may be difficulties about establishing a legal basis for such a demand, it was felt that that should not deter us. It could be indicated that with reference to Palestine certain agreements were made internationally in which fifty-two nations were involved and of which the Jewish people was the express beneficiary. Their interests under the Mandate might be directly involved by what is going to happen at San Francisco. We have been informed that the Conference will discuss the dissolution of the League of Nations and therefore the status of Palestine may be affected. We have the right to have a voice when our existence is being affected.

After further discussion a motion was made and adopted that we seek representation for the Jewish Agency at the San Francisco Conference in all matters relating to Palestine; and that a cable be sent to the Jewish Agency asking for their approval, and if a reply is not received in ten days that the matter be reviewed. In the meantime, we are free to incorporate the idea in our propaganda in a general way.

The question of the subject matter of the memorandum to be submitted by the Jewish Agency to the San Francisco Conference was taken up and it was decided to hold a special meeting of the Executive Committee that Thursday evening to be devoted to a thorough discussion of this matter.

The meeting adjourned at 7:00 P. M.

A. L.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

March 6, 1945

A special meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Tuesday, March 6th, at 3:30, at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Hayim Greenberg (presiding), Daniel Frisch, Rabbi Wolf Gold, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Louis Lipsky, Mrs. Tamar Pool, Louis P. Rocker, Herman Shulman, Mrs. Rebecca Shulman, Captain Abraham Tulin, David Wertheim.

Reuven Zaslani; Dr. I. B. Berkson, Arnold K. Isreeli, Arthur Lourie, Meyer W. Weisgal.

NEW STAFF

Mr. Weisgal reported that Mr. Gerold Frank, who had just returned from Palestine where he had spent eight months, had been engaged to take charge of the publicity work of the Emergency Council. He had already begun work in this capacity. Mr. Frank was under contract to the Council for a year, which period would end in June 1945, and at that time the question of a new contract will be taken up.

The Administrative Committee had considered the application of Dr. Benjamin Akzin for a post in the Emergency Council. Dr. Akzin had expressed interest in doing work for us in Washington, where he has excellent contacts and is well-equipped to be of real service. It was felt, however, that it would be more advisable to have him start in the New York office and the Administrative Committee recommended to the Executive that Dr. Akzin be offered a post with the Council with the understanding that he would work in New York for the first few months in order to acquaint himself with the work. The question of Dr. Akzin's transfer to Washington could be reconsidered at a later stage. This recommendation was accepted.

It was reported that a number of other applicants for posts in the Emergency Council are being considered, and it was decided that the question of personnel, with the exception of those posts in which political aspects of our work are involved, should be turned over the Administrative Committee with power to act.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN

Mr. Weisgal recommended Mr. Samuel Cherr for the chairmanship of this committee. Mr. Cherr, who is Vice-President of Young and Rubicam, and has had vast experience in public relations work, is very eager to serve Zionism actively. His energy and his great ability in the field of public relations would be of invaluable service to us.

It was unanimously decided that Mr. Cherr be invited to assume the Chairmanship of the Press and Radio Committee.

CHICAGO CONFERENCE OF LOCAL EMERGENCY COMMITTEE CHAIRMEN

It was recommended that the third regional conference of emergency committee chairmen, which was scheduled to be held in Chicago March 17th and 18th, be postponed. Although the two previous conferences, held in Atlantic City and Boston, had been very valuable, it was felt that with the political situation changing daily, and in view of the fact that Dr. Weizmann and Mr. Ben-Gurion will be here shortly when matters of major policy now pending will be taken up and decided upon in consultation with them; it would be advisable to postpone the conference. It was also pointed out that the Ohio Region was having a conference in Columbus, Ohio, on March 18th, and this would affect the attendance of the Chicago meeting.

After some discussion it was agreed that the Chicago conference should be postponed.

DR. WEIZMANN'S STATEMENT TO SMALLER ZIONIST ACTIONS COMMITTEE

A report of Dr. Weizmann's remarks to the Smaller Zionist Actions Committee that day, on the eve of his departure from Palestine, which Falcor had just received, was read. Dr. Weizmann had said: "I believe we are approaching better days and am convinced that at least the younger ones among you will be privileged to live in a constructed Jewish state -- we deserve it and have done much for achieving it." Dr. Weizmann also said, in analyzing the political situation, that as it appeared to him "from afar...there is no ground for pessimism, although there is no reason for excessive optimism." He had also raised the issue of Jewish representation at San Francisco.

It was agreed that a communication be addressed to the Local Emergency Committee Chairmen incorporating these sections of Dr. Weizmann's statement; whether this is to be done by telegram or letter to be left to the discretion of the Chairman of the Executive.

BUDGET

Mr. Louis P. Rucker, chairman of the Finance Committee, reported that his committee had held two meetings, the first of which was an organization meeting. The procedure for signing checks was decided upon at this meeting, namely, the chairman of the Finance Committee and the Treasurer of the Council will sign checks regularly; they will each have two substitutes, who will be available to sign checks in their absence from the city. Mr. Cruso and Miss Juliet Benjamin are substitutes for Mr. Rucker; Mr. Greenberg and Mr. Shulman will substitute for Mrs. Halprin.

An analysis had been made by the Finance Committee of last year's income and expenditures and of the budget which had been drawn up for this year. Mr. Rucker outlined the major expenditures and there was discussion on some of the items.

In connection with increases in the salaries of some of the non-executive staff, some of which Mr. Shapiro had promised would be effective as of last October, the Finance Committee was prepared to make certain recommendations to the Executive. It was agreed that all questions relating to the non-executive staff should be dealt with by the Finance Committee. All matters connected with the executive staff would be referred to the Administrative Committee.

After some discussion on the details of the budget, it was decided that the Chairman of the Finance Committee and the Treasurer should go over the entire budget carefully with Mr. Weisgal and submit their recommendations to another meeting; and in the meantime the Funds be requested to make remittances to the Council on the basis of the amount it received last year.

JOINT MEETINGS OF AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE AND EMERGENCY COUNCIL

It was reported that the proposal to hold joint meetings throughout the country of the American Jewish Conference and the Emergency Council had been discussed in the Administrative Committee and had also been taken up with representatives of the Conference, and the details are now being worked out. Communications are being prepared by both bodies for circulation among their constituencies.

There was some discussion on the theme of the joint meetings and how the demand for representation of the Jewish Agency could be included in the propaganda. It was agreed that pending a formulation of a specific formula, which would have to await a reply from the Jewish Agency, we could in the meantime build up sentiment in support of the idea that the Jewish voice be heard.

The meeting adjourned at 6:20 P. M.

A. L.



AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

March 19, 1945

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Monday, March 19th, at 3:30, at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Hayim Greenberg (presiding), Maurice Boukstein, Mrs. Judith Epstein, Daniel Frisch, Leon Gellman, Rabbi Wolf Gold, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mrs. Rose L. Halprin, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Louis Lipsky, Mrs. Etta Rosensohn, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Herman Shulman, David Wertheim, Dr. Stephen S. Wise.

Dr. Nahum Goldmann; Samuel Cherr, Prof. Milton Handler, Mrs. Tamar Pool, Captain Abraham Tulin.

Dr. Benjamin Akzin, Dr. I. B. Berkson, Gerold Frank, Arnold K. Isreeli, Arthur Lourie, Meyer W. Weisgal.

Isaiah L. Kenen, Reuven Zaslani.

The Chairman welcomed Mr. Samuel Cherr, who had just assumed the chairmanship of the Press and Radio Committee; and Dr. Benjamin Akzin and Mr. Gerold Frank, who had recently joined the staff of the Emergency Council.

POLITICAL REPORT

Mr. Shulman reported on a number of conversations which Dr. Goldmann and he had had in Washington the previous week in connection with the San Francisco Conference and the contents of the Jewish Agency memorandum to be submitted to the Conference. Mr. Shulman had also called on Senator Wagner, who hopes to see the President very soon; and Dr. Goldmann and Mr. Shulman had seen Mr. Bloom, who is to be one of the United States representatives at the United Nations Conference at San Francisco.

In addition, Mr. Shulman had spent an hour with Mr. Rayner, who is in charge of the Oil Division in the State Department, and had discussed with him the pipeline which is now apparently to be built by private oil companies and not by the United States Government.

Mr. Rayner indicated that he saw no reason why our problem should be affected in any way by the oil concession in Saudi Arabia, nor why Ibn Saud should be in a position to impose any conditions. No decision had yet been reached re the terminus of the line, but Haifa was still under consideration. The price of oil for the local population, the employment of local labor, etc. were also discussed with Mr. Rayner.

Mr. Greenberg, Mr. Zaslani and Mr. Shulman had met with Mr. Wayne Adams, who had been one of Dean Landis' assistants in the Middle East. Mr. Adams is connected with the Department of Agriculture and is a soil conservationist. He

had visited Palestine and is very enthusiastic about Jewish colonization and development there. Mr. Adams made a great impression on the delegation which met with him. He is prepared to devote a considerable amount of time to work with us.

Representatives of the Council were also to have seen Mr. Stettinius on this visit to Washington, but he was tied up with meetings with the United States delegation to the San Francisco Conference. It was hoped to arrange an appointment with him one day that week.

The possibility of having an individual appointed to the State Department who would deal with Palestine alone was explored further in Washington. It will not be possible, however, to report anything definite on this matter until Mr. Stettinius is seen.

Dr. Goldmann referred to a conversation which he had had in Washington in which the question of San Francisco and the future of the Mandatory system had come up. Dr. Goldmann had pointed out that there was danger for us in changes which might be made in regard to Mandates and that we might lose our rights if the Palestine Mandate was terminated without appropriate reservations. It was suggested that the Jewish Agency approach the Conference and the Great Powers officially in order to obtain the necessary safeguards.

As regards the demand that the Jewish Agency be heard at San Francisco, Dr. Goldmann had been told that this would be a matter for the Steering Committee of the Conference to decide. The claim should also be submitted to the State Department.

DR. WISE'S VISIT TO THE PRESIDENT

After discussion it was agreed that the report of the visit of Dr. Wise to the President, which was on the agenda for the full meeting of the Council that evening should be presented first to the Executive Committee.

Dr. Wise then reported on his conversation with the President on Friday, March 16th. (Report on file). There followed a full discussion (on file) in which many questions were asked of Dr. Wise, and suggestions made with regard to the program the Council should adopt in the light of the information gleaned from this conversation.

It was agreed that a statement be issued by the Council on the declaration made by the President and that this statement should indicate the action the Council intends to take. Mr. Lipsky presented a draft resolution, and after a discussion it was decided that a small committee be appointed to work on this statement and submit it to the full Council at its meeting that evening.

It was further decided that a committee be named to draw up, within the coming two days, a detailed program of action based on the new information before the Council.

The meeting adjourned at 6:45 P. M.

A. L.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING HELD MARCH 19, 1945

A meeting of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Monday evening, March 19th, at 8:15, at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Stephen S. Wise (presiding), Miss Juliet Benjamin, Dr. Philip Bernstein, Maurice Boukstein, Samuel Cherr, Pinchas Cruso, Daniel Frisch, Moshe Furmansky, Leon Gellman, Paul L. Goldman, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mrs. B. J. Goldstein, Hayim Greenberg, Mrs. Rose L. Halprin, Isaac Hamlin, Prof. Milton Handler, Benjamin Itzkowitz, Leib Jaffe, Miss Jeannette Leibel, Dr. Judith Lieberman, Louis Lipsky, Israel Mereminski, Isaac Naiditch, Mrs. Tamar Pool, Mrs. Etta Rosensohn, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Miss Dvora Rothbard, Samuel Rothstein, Louis Segal, Mrs. Bertha Schoolman, Mrs. Rebecca Shulman, Herman Shulman, Robert Szold, Capt. Abraham Tulin, David Wertheim,

Dr. Nahum Goldmann; Dr. Benjamin Akzin, Dr. I. B. Berkson, Gerold Frank, Hyman Getzoff, Ysaye Hassan, Arnold K. Isreeli, Hans Lamm, Arthur Lourie, Meyer W. Weisgal.

Dr. Joseph Cohn, Michael Garber, Isaiah L. Kenen, Dr. Ludwig Lewisohn, Michael Traub, Zorach Warhaftig, Reuven Zaslani, Baruch Zuckerman.

TELEGRAM RECEIVED FROM 146 ZIONISTS

A telegram received on March 11th from 146 Zionists in various parts of the country was read.

Mr. Lipsky pointed out that in view of the fact that Dr. Silver is part of the concern in this telegram, and since he has stated publicly that it is his intention to continue as a member of the Emergency Council and in view of the fact that he issued a statement to the press expressing certain views on the political situation, it would be proper to ask him to express his views to the Council as to what action should be taken by the Council. Mr. Lipsky therefore moved that a letter be sent to Dr. Silver asking him to attend a meeting of the Emergency Council and give us the benefit of his counsel. After discussion, this motion was adopted.

With regard to the telegram, it was believed that the signatories should received a comprehensive reply from the Emergency Council. A full discussion followed on the nature of the reply to be sent to them. It was decided that the Administrative Committee prepare a communication along the lines ^{indicated} in the course of the discussion. (Copy of reply has since been circulated to members of the Council.)

POLITICAL REPORT

Mr. Shulman reported on a number of conversations in Washington. (See Minutes of Executive Committee of March 19th for reports of interviews in Washington the previous week.)

With regard to the proposed appointment of Col. Harold Hoskins to the post of Economic Advisor in the Middle East, the most recent information received was that the Foreign Economic Administration had appointed Mr. John P. Dawson to this

post and he is now in Cairo. Col. Hoskins had been appointed by the State Department to another post in the Middle East, with the understanding that when he completes his assignment he will be transferred elsewhere.

Dr. Wise's Visit to the President

Dr. Wise reported on his conversation with the President on Friday, March 16th. (Report on file).

There followed a full discussion (on file), in the course of which the following points were stressed with regard to the work which must be done by the Council henceforth:

- 1) The idea that the Arabs' consent must be obtained before a decision on Palestine can be reached must be broken down.
- 2) We must hammer away at the fact that the Arabs have no right legal or otherwise to determine the fate of Palestine. We must stress in our propaganda that the meaning of the Balfour Declaration is that the Arabs are not to be a determining factor.
- 3) We must break down the impression that the Arabs have the power militarily to prevent a decision in our favor.
- 4) We must drive home the point that the Arabs represent a reactionary element in the Middle East.

It was agreed that the Council should engage in a very vigorous campaign stressing all our major demands: 1) that the major decision on Palestine be not postponed; 2) that Palestine be immediately opened to large-scale Jewish immigration; and 3) that we be granted an opportunity to present our case at the San Francisco conference.

CABLE FROM MR. SHERTOK

The following cable received by Dr. Wise from Mr. Shertok that day was read:

"WE ALL GREATLY RELIEVED BY STATEMENT YOU ELICITED HEARTIEST GOOD WISHES"

STATEMENT TO PRESS

The statement prepared by the sub-committee appointed at the Executive Committee meeting that afternoon was read. A discussion followed, and it was decided to issue the statement submitted incorporating a number of changes suggested at the meeting. (Statement already circulated).

The meeting adjourned at 1:00 A. M.

A. L.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

April 2, 1945

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

PRESENT

Hayim Greenberg (presiding), Mrs. Judith Epstein, Leon Gellman, Rabbi Wolf Gold, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Dr. James G. Heller, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Mrs. Etta Rosensohn, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Louis Segal, Herman Shulman, David Wertheim, Dr. Stephen S. Wise.

Dr. Nahum Goldmann; Rabbi Philip Bernstein, Prof. Milton Handler, Mrs. Tamar Pool, Captain Abraham Tulin.

Jacob M. Alkow, Dr. I. B. Berkson, Gerold Frank, Arnold K. Isreeli, Arthur Lourie, Meyer W. Weisgal.

Saul Spiro, Reuven Zaslani.

IMMIGRATION SITUATION

The report which had appeared in the JTA on April 1st of the Duke of Devonshire's statement in the House of Lords, and the cable received that day from Mr. Shertok were discussed. The Parliamentary Under-Secretary for Colonial Affairs, replying to an appeal by Lord Strabolgi for additional immigration certificates, had announced that the Colonial Office had rejected a demand of the Jewish Agency for extra certificates in addition to the quota assigned under the White Paper, and declared that many Jewish survivors in Europe do not wish to go to Palestine. He had stated further that rejection of the demand for new certificates was also motivated by the fact that Palestine's physical capacity does not permit the admission of more refugees from Europe.

The cable from Mr. Shertok (copies already circulated) described the terrible situation of the surviving Jews in the liberated countries of Europe and the pressing need of bringing them to Palestine without delay, and urged that a major effort be undertaken to prevail upon the British Government fundamentally to change its immigration policy.

A number of suggestions were made as to immediate action to be taken and after discussion it was agreed that a letter should be sent to the President, that an interview should be sought with representatives of the State Department, and that a vigorous public protest be launched against this decision of the Colonial Office. It was suggested that the mass meetings being arranged throughout the country should be utilized in this connection, that the contents of Mr. Shertok's cable should be brought to the attention of radio commentators, newspaper columnists and members of Congress, and that the sending of wires and letters to Washington should be stimulated. It was believed that the country should be aroused to make as strong a protest as possible.

In connection with the public campaign, there was some discussion on the question of policy involved. The opinion was expressed that there was danger in placing the entire emphasis on immigration. It was pointed out, however, that in all our public statements, in all the memoranda we submit to Government, in all negotiations that we conduct, we have pressed and will continue to press for a decision now for the establishment of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth. But the public outcry which we will try to arouse at this moment, for a short period of time, must seek immediate action on the situation described in Mr. Shertok's cable. There was no question of stressing immigration to the exclusion of the Commonwealth or vice versa. They are both integral to our program.

After further discussion a motion was adopted to the effect that the Administrative Committee take all necessary steps to implement the program proposed and act on the cable of the Jewish Agency Executive to protest against the policy of the British Colonial Office as indicated in the statement made by the Duke of Devonshire. Rabbi Gold and Mr. Gellman refrained from voting.

NEXT MEETING

It was decided to meet again the following afternoon at 1:30 in order to complete the agenda.

The meeting adjourned at 6:15 P. M.

A. L.



AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING OF ~~EXECUTIVE~~ COMMITTEE HELD APRIL 3, 1945

A special meeting of Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Tuesday, April 3, at 1:30 P. M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Hayim Greenberg (presiding), Mrs. Judith Epstein, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Leon Gellman, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Mrs. Etta Rosensohn, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Louis Segal, Herman Shulman, David Wertheim, Dr. Stephen S. Wise.

Dr. Nahum Goldmann; Rabbi Philip Bernstein, Mrs. Tamar Pool, Captain Abraham Tulin.

Jacob M. Alkow, Gerold Frank, Arnold K. Isreeli, Arthur Lourie, Meyer W. Weisgal.

Reuven Zaslani.

ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE REPORT ON ACTION IN PUBLIC RELATIONS FIELD

Mr. Shulman reported that the Administrative Committee was dealing with the following details of the program for public action: 1) a petition to be signed by the Governors of all the States was being prepared; 2) another petition, to be signed by members of Congress, was also about ready; 3) the proposal to have resolutions passed by non-Jewish organizations throughout the country was to be discussed with Dr. Voss and Dr. LeSourd (who had just returned from a long speaking tour) that night; 4) the plan to hold mass meetings throughout the country was being carried out and the local emergency committees had been contacted in this connection; 5) letter-writing throughout the country was to be stimulated; 6) members of the staff have been interviewing newspaper columnists and radio commentators.

In addition to the above action, which had been approved at a previous meeting, the Administrative Committee wished to suggest the use of advertisements and recommended that \$25,000. be set aside for this purpose. This would make it possible to place four or five advertisements in each of a few key cities. The emergency committees would then be asked to insert these advertisements in their local newspapers, using funds raised locally.

A motion was made and adopted approving the recommendation of the Administrative Committee with regard to the use of advertisements in the public campaign.

STAFF

Mr. Jacob M. Alkow, who recently joined the staff of the Emergency Council, was introduced. Mr. Alkow, who has a fine Jewish background, had been active in Zionist work in New York City for some years and during his stay in California was engaged in general Jewish activities.

SAN FRANCISCO CONFERENCE

A motion was made and adopted that a minimum of seven members of the Council be prepared to go to San Francisco, including one representative to be named by each of the four organizations, together with the three chairmen.

The question of official recognition for a representation of the Council was raised, apart from the representation being sought for the Jewish Agency. The American Jewish Conference had already entered a claim to have an advisor to the American delegation, and it was suggested that the Emergency Council might indicate to the State Department that it wished to designate a representative to advise on questions regarding Palestine.

After discussion it was decided that if it is possible without interfering with the claim of the American Jewish Conference, the Emergency Council should seek an official status with the American delegation to the San Francisco conference.

Memorandum for San Francisco

It was reported that the memorandum for submission to the San Francisco Conference was being prepared by the Council for submission by the Jewish Agency.

It was indicated that if a meeting of the Big Five is held prior to the San Francisco conference to discuss the question of Mandates, the possibility of which has been reported, the memorandum would be submitted to the smaller meeting.

American Delegation to San Francisco

The question was raised of contacting the various members of the American delegation to San Francisco.

With regard to Dean Gildersleeve, Mrs. Pool reported that Dr. Pool had spoken to her and she had said she knew nothing about the Zionist question and had asked for material, which had been transmitted to her. It was agreed that a brief memorandum be also sent her.

Such a memorandum has already been sent to Commander Stassen. With regard to Senator Vandenberg, it was reported that Mr. Philip Slomovitz^x of Detroit is trying to arrange an appointment with him for some of our people.

It was agreed that every effort should be made to contact all the delegates personally.

It was further suggested that the members of Congress on the delegation should receive letters from some of their leading constituents.

REPLY FROM DR. SILVER

The reply received by Dr. Wise from Dr. Silver to his letter inviting him to attend a meeting of the Executive Committee was read. (Attached).

A motion made by Mr. Gellman that a committee be appointed by the Council to explore the possibilities of making peace with Dr. Silver was seconded by Mr. Segal subject to the condition that it was not intended thereby to accept

the conditions contained in Dr. Silver's letter. This motion gave way to a further motion which was adopted unanimously (Mr. Gellman refraining from voting) that a reply be sent to Dr. Silver pointing out that the letter sent to him was an invitation to attend a meeting of the Executive Committee and was not intended to reopen the question of the reorganization of the Council.

The meeting adjourned at 4:10 P. M.

A. L.



C
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P
Y

THE TEMPLE
East 105th St. at Ansel Road
Telephones: Garfield 0150-0151
Cleveland

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Abba Hillel Silver, D. D.
Rabbi

March 26, 1945

Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Chairman
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

My dear Dr. Wise:

Permit me to thank you for your letter of March 21. I appreciate the invitation which you convey to me to attend a meeting in the near future of the Executive Committee of the Emergency Council. I shall try to attend such a meeting although at the present moment I do not know when I will be in New York again. I only returned this morning from a week's stay in New York.

I would be lacking in frankness if I were to leave you with the impression that my remaining a member of the Council in any way implies that I accept the present set-up of the Council as either a satisfactory or permanent arrangement. Since my enforced resignation, the Council, to my best knowledge, has heard from numerous Zionist groups and leaders throughout the country calling for its re-organization. This has also been echoed with remarkable unanimity by the Jewish press.

On February 21, Dr. Weizmann cabled both to you and to me "an urgent message to do everything humanly possible to resolve the differences and to remove the difficulties thus enabling all Zionists to combine for the urgent task which lies before us." Mr. Lipsky wrote to me on February 26 that he, as a member of the Jewish Agency, had been urged by Dr. Weizmann to make an earnest effort to reconcile the differences that had arisen. On March 2, I wrote to Mr. Lipsky that "if Dr. Wise is now of the opinion that the re-organization of the Emergency Council which he precipitated by his resignation was ill-advised, and that the situation now calls for my return under conditions which will enable me to carry on the active political leadership of the Council, I shall be very pleased to meet with him at a time and place mutually agreeable."

I have not heard from you as to your intention. This, as I see it, and I believe you will agree with me, is the real crux of the matter and not whether I attend one or another meeting of the Executive Council.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK

Abba Hillel Silver

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

April 16, 1945

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Monday, April 16th, at 3:30 P.M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Hayim Greenberg (presiding), Pinchas Cruso, Mrs. Judith Epstein, Daniel Frisch, Leon Gellman, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Louis Lipsky, Mrs. Etta Rosensohn, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Louis Segal, Herman Shulman, Dr. Stephen S. Wise.

Prof. Milton Handler, Mrs. Tamar Pool, Louis P. Rocker, Abraham Tulin.

Dr. Nahum Goldmann, Eliezer Kaplan.

Dr. Benjamin Akzin, Jacob M. Alkow, Dr. I. B. Berkson, Arnold K. Isreeli, Arthur Lourie, Meyer W. Weisgal.

Isaiah L. Kenen, Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt.

ARAB LEAGUE

It was reported that a cable had been received from the London office of the Jewish Agency indicating that they had taken up with representatives of the British Foreign and Colonial Offices the report which had appeared in the press that the constitution of the Arab League was expected to contain a provision making Palestine a member of the League and that the constitution would be signed by Palestine Arabs. The Foreign Office made inquiries in Cairo and then informed the Jewish Agency that Palestine was not included as a full member of the League although a representative of the Arab community of Palestine would, as heretofore, continue to take part in the work of the League.

It was pointed out in the discussion that followed that even the semi-official status granted the Palestine Arabs was very disturbing, and it was suggested that a protest be registered with our State Department.

Since the cable from the London Office had indicated that we would be informed later of their reply to the Foreign Office, it was decided to wait a few days for a further cable from London before sending a letter of protest to the State Department.

AMERICAN CHRISTIAN CONFERENCE IN BOSTON

It was reported that the conference arranged by the American Palestine Committee and the Christian Council on Palestine on April 9th was very successful. Three sessions were held, all of which were extremely well attended, with 700-800 being present in all, among them the most notable citizens of the Boston Christian community. The afternoon Forum was addressed by Dr. Lowdermilk, Prof. Friedrich,

Dr. Wendell Phillips, Dr. LeSourd and Dr. Voss. Questions were asked and a very intelligent interest shown. There was a Women's Forum and Tea, which was attended by many distinguished Boston ladies. The concluding dinner session was addressed by Governor Tobin, Congressman Coffee of Seattle, Dr. Emanuel Neumann and Dr. LeSourd. This session adopted a Resolution calling for the immediate opening of the gates of Palestine and its reconstitution as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth, and demanding that the Jewish case be heard at San Francisco.

A luncheon given for the press was attended by the managing editors of all the Boston papers, who were addressed by Dr. Lowdermilk, Dr. LeSourd and Dr. Voss. They evinced genuine interest, and good publicity was given to the conference in the Boston press.

Prior to the Conference, Archbishop Cushing of Boston had been approached and he agreed to act as one of the sponsors of the Conference. He also authorized the Catholic clergy to participate.

At the close of the Conference, the entire attendance constituted themselves into the American Christian Palestine Committee and a slate of officers was elected to carry out the program adopted by the Conference. Governor Tobin of Massachusetts accepted the chairmanship of this Committee.

ACTIVITIES OF A.C.P.C.

It was further reported that the present policy with regard to the activities of the American Palestine Committee and the Christian Council on Palestine is to intensify the work of both groups with a view to their becoming more closely knit and to establish a closer relationship between them and the Council. All decisions made by the Council with regard to action to be taken locally by the emergency committees are automatically to be transmitted to the A.C.P.C. committees with a view to having them take similar action. It is also intended to make the offices of the two Christian organizations functioning offices to a greater extent than they have been so far, and to have Dr. LeSourd and Dr. Voss spend more time in their offices henceforth, cutting down on their speaking tours.

Dr. LeSourd was at present in Washington in connection with the declarations to be addressed to the President by Senators and Representatives, and Governors of States.

A meeting had been held recently, which was attended by Prof. Handler, Dr. LeSourd, Dr. Voss and members of the staff, at which Dr. LeSourd reported on his visit to 50 communities throughout the country and the program for the coming months was discussed.

It was expected that within a few weeks the machinery for an intensive program of the two Christian organizations would be well organized.

MASS MEETINGS

It was reported that as of a few days ago, the Council had been informed of 59 meetings which had been arranged by local emergency committees throughout the country (many in cooperation with the American Jewish Conference) to be held within the next week or ten days.

There would be a meeting in New York on April 29th, at the Lewisohn Stadium.

SAN FRANCISCO CONFERENCE

It was reported that information had been received from the London office that the Jewish Agency had requested elucidation from the Foreign Office as to whether in the discussion on Mandates at the San Francisco Conference Palestine would be directly or indirectly affected, whether there was any other item on the agenda of the conference under which the question of Palestine might be raised and whether under the procedure of the Conference it would be possible for any state attending to bring up the question of the future of Palestine even though not specifically provided for on the agenda. The reply received to this inquiry stated that the sole purpose of the conference was to reach an agreement on the charter of the new world organization and was not intended to discuss specific questions regarding any particular problem or territory. While the future of the Mandatory system would no doubt be discussed in principle it would not be the conference's business to consider its application or working in respect of any other particular country.

Although it was clear that Palestine would not come up any way directly at San Francisco since discussion of any specific territory was not on the agenda of the Conference, it was felt that it was necessary to have a number of our people there to watch developments in connection with the trusteeship plan which was being proposed and guard against any changes which might be made in the mandates system which might prejudice our rights under the Mandate.

In this connection the chairman reported on a conversation which Mr. Shulman, Mr. Philip Slomovitz of Detroit and he had had with Senator Vandenberg, one of the American delegates to the UNCIO. Senator Vandenberg had indicated that he was convinced that no official hearings would be held in San Francisco at all, not only with regard to Palestine. But he agreed that while there was no hope of getting any affirmative decision on Palestine in San Francisco we might lose something by implication. In that respect he understood that we must be on our guard and he promised his help. He suggested that the American Jewish Conference consultant should be in touch with him.

Mr. Shulman reported on a conversation he had had with one of the advisors to the United States delegation now studying the questions of the Mandates system and international trusteeship.

In addition to the necessity of watching developments in San Francisco in connection with mandates, it was pointed out that there is a wide field for Zionist propaganda there of which we should take advantage. Our representatives may be able to meet unofficially with many of the delegates who are known to be friends of ours and who may influence other delegates. These men may be the same persons who at a later date will be considering the terms of peace and the disposition of our question.

The question was raised by the Council's representation in San Francisco and its relationship to the American Jewish Conference and Jewish Agency delegations.

It was reported that the American Jewish Conference had taken the initiative in arranging for a Joint Committee to function in San Francisco which will comprise the World Jewish Congress, the American Jewish Conference and the Board of Deputies of British Jews. The intention is to establish a central office in San Francisco, when Mr. Kenen arrives there, to serve as coordinating body for all these groups. There will be submitted to the delegates at the Conference, on behalf of these groups, a joint memorandum which will be signed by all of them.

The American Jewish Conference will have a panel of nine representatives at San Francisco, three to be there all the time. When a member of the panel leaves another will take his place. (The Conference is entitled to one consultant and two assistants). The three co-chairmen of the Conference (two of whom are members of the Emergency Council Executive), would be leaving for San Francisco within the next few days.

The Jewish Agency will have a separate representation at San Francisco, headed by Dr. Goldmann. The Agency intends to request the Emergency Council to permit Mr. Lourie to serve as secretary of its delegation. In addition, several co-workers of the Jewish Agency who have certain contacts will accompany the delegation.

The Jewish Agency will submit its own memorandum to the Conference delegates. This memorandum is being prepared here. The Agency will have to be a distinct entity in San Francisco. It will have to have its own separate office.

A discussion followed on how the Emergency Council would fit into the set-up outlined above. After a lengthy discussion it was decided that the Council would not appear in San Francisco as a separate entity but that its representatives would work with the Jewish Agency on the one hand and with the American Jewish Conference on the other. The Council would have no official headquarters of its own.

As to the Council representatives, it was recalled that at the last meeting it had been decided that there should be a delegation of seven to San Francisco. Dr. Goldstein, who would be there as one of the panel of the American Jewish Conference, and Rabbi Gold had already left for the coast. It was believed that it was essential for Dr. Wise to be in San Francisco but it was unwise for him to leave at this moment in view of the changed situation in Washington. Mr. Shulman, too, should remain here for the time being, although he planned to go to San Francisco at some time during the Conference.

It was further decided that the Emergency Council recommend to Dr. Weizmann and Mr. Ben-Gurion that Dr. Wise be specifically named as a representative of the Jewish Agency in San Francisco.

A motion was adopted unanimously (Mr. Segal not voting) to the effect that if any of the four constituent bodies of the Council is represented at one time in San Francisco by an officer of the Council or by a member of the panel of the American Jewish Conference, that particular party will designate no other representative.

The meeting adjourned at 6:30 P.M.

A. L.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING HELD APRIL 16, 1945

A meeting of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Monday evening, April 16, at 8:15 P.M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Stephen S. Wise (presiding), Miss Juliet N. Benjamin, Rabbi Philip S. Bernstein, Maurice Boukstein, Mrs. Judith Epstein, Daniel Frisch, Paul L. Goldman, Mrs. B. J. Goldstein, Mrs. Marion Greenberg, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Prof. Milton Handler, Benjamin Itzkowitz, Leib Jaffe, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Miss Jeannette Leibel, Irving D. Lipkowitz, Louis Lipsky, Israel Mereminski, Isaac Naiditch, Louis P. Rucker, Mrs. Etta Rosensohn, Samuel Rothstein, Mrs. Bertha Schoolman, Herman Shulman, Captain Abraham Tulin.

Dr. Nahum Goldmann; Dr. Benjamin Akzin, Jacob M. Alkow, Gerold Frank, Arnold K. Isreeli, Arthur Lourie, Hans Lamm, Meyer W. Weisgal.

Mrs. Kurt Blumenfeld, Dr. Joseph Cohn, M. Maldwin Fertig, Mendel Fisher, Gottlieb Hammer, Albert D. Shanzer, William Z. Spiegelman, Dr. Michael Traub, Miss Sophie Udin, Zorach Warhaftig, Mrs. Stephen S. Wise.

An apology was received from Dr. Heller.

The Chairman opened the meeting with a tribute to the late President Roosevelt. The following telegram had been sent by Dr. Wise to Mrs. Roosevelt:

"My associates join me in offering you tenderest sympathy. As Americans we share the sense of common sorrow; and as members of the Jewish community we are conscious of the loss we sustain in the passing of the friend of man who, as you know, deeply sympathized with my people and their aspirations. May God give healing to you, his wise and brave comrade."

A message had also been sent to President Harry S. Truman signed by the chairman of the Council, the Executive Committee and the Administrative Committee, as follows:

"We offer you our deepfelt sympathy in our common loss. We are heartened in this tragic hour by your pledge and your capacity to carry out the ideals and policies of President Roosevelt. May God give you vision and strength."

CABLE FROM LONDON OFFICE OF JEWISH AGENCY

The cable received from the London office of the Jewish Agency, concerning inquiries it had made of the Foreign and Colonial offices with regard to the constitution of the Arab League and the agenda of the San Francisco conference, was reported. (See minutes of Executive Committee of April 16).

SAN FRANCISCO CONFERENCE

The Chairman of the Executive Committee reported on the discussion in the

Executive Committee that afternoon on the San Francisco conference and the question of the Emergency Council's representation at San Francisco, and on the decisions taken by the Executive Committee. (See minutes of Executive Committee meeting of April 16th).

A motion was adopted unanimously approving the decisions taken by the Executive Committee in relation to San Francisco.

AMENDMENT TO CONSTITUTION

It was reported that at the last meeting of the Administrative Committee it was decided to recommend to the Council the adoption of the following amendment to Article IV of the Constitution of the Emergency Council:

"Article IV shall read as at present with the addition of the following sentence:

'Elections of officers shall take place annually at a meeting of the Council of which at least two weeks notice shall be given and which shall be held not later than December 1st of each year.'"

Notices had been sent out on April 6th to the members of the Council. (The Constitution requires that a week's notice be given of any amendment to be proposed).

In the discussion that followed it was pointed out that the Emergency Council was the only organization that did not have in its constitution a provision for the election of officers, and the failure of the Council to make such provision should now be rectified. It was the desire to regularize the constitutional set-up of the Council in this respect that prompted the presentation of this amendment.

It was moved that the proposed amendment be made clearer by including in it the list of offices to be filled. Article IV would then read as follows:

"The officers of the Council shall consist of a Chairman, a Secretary and a Treasurer, and such other officers as the Council shall, from time to time, elect. Elections of officers shall take place annually at a meeting of the Council of which at least two weeks notice shall be given and which shall be held not later than December 1st of each year. There shall also be an annual election of a Chairman of the Executive Committee, and a Chairman of the Administrative Committee if any, which shall take place not later than December 1st of each year."

After a motion made to lay on the table the motion to accept the amendment was lost it was moved and seconded that the amendment as circulated, with the changes suggested in Article IV itself, be adopted. This motion was passed by a vote of 11 to 6. Since the vote in favor was not unanimous, it would be necessary, according to the terms of the Constitution, to have the amendment ratified in writing by two-thirds of the total membership of the Council.

It was further moved and seconded that a committee be named by the chairman to bring in recommendations to the Council with regard to further changes in the Constitution.

MASS MEETING IN NEW YORK

Mr. M. Maldwin Fertig, who was serving as chairman of the Committee for the mass meeting to be held in New York, reported that a start had been made to arrange for a great demonstration at the Lewisohn Stadium on April 29th, which will be under the auspices of the American Zionist Emergency Council and the American Jewish Conference. It is hoped to have about 50,000 - 75,000 people attend.

A meeting in connection with the demonstration had been held the previous day which was attended by 300 - 400 representatives of local organizations. A meeting had also been held with the Jewish press, who have given their assurance of solid support.

A vote of thanks was moved to Mr. Fertig's Committee.

MR. KAPLAN'S ADDRESS

Mr. Eliezer Kaplan, who had just arrived from Palestine addressed the meeting as follows:

Political Situation

After the arrival of the Viscount Gort, there was a change in the political climate. The attitude of Lord Gort is a radically different one from that of his predecessor. But we are still under the regime of the White Paper. It is not the political climate, but actual deeds that we must take into account.

Lord Gort is very popular with the Jews and with the Arabs. He is endeavoring to overcome many difficulties by an attitude of sympathy and understanding. It is doubtful, however, whether we shall be able to continue in this way for any length of time. There must be a decision one way or the other. But perhaps this sympathetic attitude on the part of Lord Gort is an indication that the White Paper cannot survive. Both among the Jews and the Arabs it is felt that a change must come. Up to last month the Arabs opposed the White Paper as not meeting their demands. Now, because they are afraid that the White Paper may be abandoned, they call for its implementation of the third part of it (which calls for the establishment of an Arab State).

With regard to the proposal said to have been made by representatives of some of the Arab States that they are ready to acquiesce in the admission of 300,000 Jews into Palestine (which implies parity between the Moslems and the Jews), over a period of 5-10 years, on condition that the third part of the White Paper (the creation of an Arab State and constitutional government) is implemented, the Jewish Agency has no information on this matter. It is known that there were various proposals made but there were no official or even semi-official proposals.

All that the Jewish Agency does know is that there was an unofficial promise given to Dr. Weizmann by Mr. Churchill that after the war in Europe Britain will be ready to discuss the Palestine problem officially. For the moment that is all.

Arab Relations

With regard to the Arab League, the constitution does not proclaim the establishment of an Arab Federation, because the Arab countries were unable to overcome the opposition within their own ranks to this project. It is more or less a defense League which has been established. The Palestine Arabs are not part of the Arab League. Musa el Alemi was nominated ad personam. The Arab

countries decided that they might invite an Arab from Palestine to take part in their deliberations. Musa el Alemi did not sign the protocol. In the constitution there is not nothing said about Palestine, but there is an additional protocol, in which it is stated Palestine is an independent country de jure but not yet de facto.

A change in the policy of the Arabs in Palestine and in the neighboring countries is indicated by their interest, for the first time, in economic problems. As a member of the Palestine War Advisory Economic Council I had many opportunities to meet with the Arabs. Various economic problems came up in discussions with representative Arabs. They have come to the conclusion that they made a great mistake in concentrating their fight against the Zionists on the political end, by trying to use force. They have now decided that they should fight the Jews also on the economic level. There is great deal of money among the Arabs. They are now trying to use this weapon in Palestine and in the neighboring countries against us. Because of the war, the Arabs have many serious economic problems, particularly in Egypt. E.g. they face a very critical transition period there, including the problem of how to induce the thousands of laborers in the towns, who have become accustomed to a higher standard of living, to return to the villages. One Arab leader in Egypt proposed that all the laborers should register in labor exchanges, and if they do not find work by a certain time they should be sent back to the villages, where they will starve. They face social disturbances and they are afraid of that.

The Egyptians are fighting for the industrial hegemony of the Near East.

This new interest of the Arabs has an effect on us. E.g. the Jewish National Fund faces greater difficulty in acquiring land, not only because of the limitations of the land regulations of the White Paper, but because of the abundance of money among the Arabs. And in addition the Arabs have established a Fund similar to the J.N.F. They are trying to introduce the idea of the boxes, stamps, etc. On Arab transport lines even a Jew must pay an additional sum for the Arab land fund. Now they are conducting a campaign and stressing the point that this fund should be not only a Palestine Arab National Fund, but a National Fund of all the Arabs, in the neighboring countries as well. They point to the fact that the Jews in America and other countries are helping the Palestine Jews, and therefore the Arabs in other countries should help the Palestine Arabs.

The Yishuv has had to face many difficulties because of Government regulations with regard to licenses, appropriations, etc. If there is a limited number of tractors available, for example, there is a bitter struggle over their distribution. This is true also of industrial machinery.

There is also an improvement in the standard of living among the Arabs.

The Arabs in Palestine have not succeeded again in organizing themselves on the lines along which they were organized in 1936-39. They have not re-established the Higher Arab Committee, because of the differences among themselves. If one believes that the Christian Arabs may take a different attitude than that of the Moslems, one has only to note the situation with regard to the selection of a new Mayor for Jerusalem. The Christian Arabs were compelled to protest against the employment of a Christian Mayor. They are afraid of the Moslems. They try to win the sympathies of the Moslems by emphasizing their loyalty to the Arab cause.

Another manifestation of the difficulties we are encountering is the fight put up by the Arab representative to the Labor Conference in London.

The Arabs endeavor to capitalize on any disagreement among the three big powers. They try to create the impression that if England will not give in to them they will join the Russians.

The Jewish Scene

Five years ago I brought you a report on Palestine in the first months of the war. I need not tell you about the development and achievements of the Yishuv during the five years of the war.

We are now entering the so-called transition period. The national income of Palestine (including non-Jewish) in the year 1943 was about LP 90,000,000. Before the war it was LP 30,000,000. The increase is due in large measure to the war economy, military orders, etc. In 1943 military orders amounted to LP 27,000,000 - 30% of the total income. My estimate of the national income of 1944 is about LP 100,000,000. Government orders amounted to about LP 15,000,000, a decrease of about 50%. Despite the decrease, however, there is still a lack of manpower.

Every immigrant who is able and willing to work finds employment. From the point of view of economic absorptive capacity we could now absorb tens of thousands of immigrants. There is still prosperity in Palestine and along with it a high cost of production and a high cost of living. These are the dangers of Palestine. The index of the cost of living is about 250. The same food basket as in England would cost about $2\frac{1}{2}$ times as much as in England. Despite this high cost of living the population succeeded in improving its standard of living. This is not true, however, of the entire population. From that point of view the social differentiation in Palestine is now sharper, with all the accompanying dangers.

From the psychological point of view there is a mixture of light and shade. Whenever there has been a danger facing the Yishuv, the Jews have appeared united. But there is now again an increase in internal strife.

Activities of the Jewish Agency

I shall stress three activities:

1) Rescue and Relief: During the past two years the Yishuv spent, through the Jewish Agency, for rescue, relief and transportation of refugees to Palestine, about five and a half million dollars. Of this we received less than 40% from the J.D.C. More than 60% was contributed mainly by Palestinian Jewry. We have a war emergency fund and in the various campaigns for this fund conducted during the war we raised about \$4,000,000. This is apart from the contributions made to the Keren Hayesod and the Keren Kayemeth and the collections of the Histadruth. With a population of less than 600,000 Jews, this means a contribution of about \$6-7 per capita. If American Jewry could contribute on the same basis, we could raise vast sums indeed.

When a Palestine Jew collects his salary, all voluntary taxes have been deducted from it. There is not a Jew in Palestine, who wishes to take part in any way in public life in the country, who does not contribute to the Keren Hayesod and the Keren Kayemeth, and often a very substantial part of his income.

The time is not yet ripe to make public everything that we have done with regard to rescue. We are closest to the people in Europe and we are therefore much more sensitive to their suffering. In addition to our desire to rescue our brethren in Europe we also feel that our Zionist battle will be fought not only in Palestine and in the United States, but also and not in a lesser degree in Roumania, Poland, etc. If we insist that the gates of Palestine should be opened, we do so for three reasons: 1) in answer to the cry of our brethren in these countries; 2) because of

the demand for labor hands in Palestine; and 3) because we see on this front one of the major battles in the fight for the future of Palestine. That is one of the reasons why we asked you to raise the question of immigration as an acute problem.

We have not only the opposition of the British to overcome in our rescue activities. We are facing tremendous difficulties, not only with regard to transportation, but also with regard to exit permits and transit visas, from Bulgaria, Roumania, France and Morocco. We are having great difficulties in obtaining transit visas from all the Arab countries.

Another most difficult problem which we face is that of housing. There is a scarcity of building materials with the resultant high cost of building. These two factors are sufficient to make our building program most difficult. If we overcome the financial difficulties we hope to build thousands of houses. Of course, these will be very small houses. The area of a house will be 27 square metres.

To a great degree the complaints of our people are justified. They are suffering. We are trying to face all these problems, and I should add, in connection with the mobilization of soldiers, that when we secured recognition of the Jewish Brigade, many people in Palestine received the news with mixed feelings. It was too late, they felt, and further we were not able to assure to the families of the men the minimum of existence. We spent about LP 30,000 per month for the families of soldiers, apart from the sums we laid aside for their resettlement, etc.

2) Reconversion: There is a second complex of problems that we are considering, - those connected with reconversion (the so-called transition period). If we fail during this transition period and have thousands of unemployed it will be not only a social problem but a political misfortune. We cannot rely on the Government.

We are devoting a great deal of time to these problems. One of the purposes of my coming to this country is connected with the problem of readjusting our economic life. During the war it was a problem of production, but now we have to face the problem of marketing. That means competition. We have expended substantial sums and much time in planning large schemes.

3) Investigations of Economic Possibilities: The investigation of and research in economic possibilities of Palestine as a whole have been occupying our attention. You have published the Lowdermilk scheme here. Before Lowdermilk a group of engineers in Palestine started investigations. We are basing our schemes on the findings of American engineers and we are accused in Palestine of taking the more conservative estimates of the Americans. We have more than 120 reports of investigating committees of the Jewish Agency. Most of them are engineering reports, on a specific project, namely, whether given the possibility politically to bring into Palestine a million Jews, are we able to do so and how shall we do it.

Are we able to do it? There are many Zionists who are not sure that we are. We took upon ourselves the task of making the investigations and trying to approach the problem purely from the economic point of view, and to check up on ourselves and put ourselves to severe tests.

We are now actually summing up all these activities. We intend as soon as possible to put the results of these investigations before the Zionists, then before the Jews, and then before the non-Jews. We were glad to have in Palestine two American investigating groups: an American commission sent by a non-Zionist body - an independent group; and two American engineers (Mr. Savage and Mr. Hays), studying irrigation. You will probably see their reports soon. The Palestine Government, and the Arabs as well, evinced great interest in these two groups. They were

interrogated by them and also by Sir Edward Grigg, the British Minister to the Middle East. Part of my work here will be to check up on the schemes and then see about establishing here, and perhaps in London as well, cooperation in economic activities between Palestine, the United States and England.

For the moment we wish to limit ourselves to one statement: that we have come to the conclusion that from the point of view of the natural resources of Palestine, a million Jews can be absorbed in Palestine, provided the political situation is right, and provided the Government will organize Jewish life and the active participation of the Jewish people.

The meeting adjourned at 11:05 P.M.

A. L.



AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

April 23, 1945

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Monday, April 23rd, at 3:30 P. M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Hayim Greenberg (presiding), Maurice Boukstein, Pinchas Cruso, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Louis Lipsky, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Louis Segal, Herman Shulman, Dr. Stephen S. Wise.

Dr. Nahum Goldmann; Prof. Milton Handler, Mrs. Tamar Pool, Captain Abraham Tulin.

Jacob M. Alkow, Dr. I. B. Berkson, Gerold Frank, Arthur Lourie, Meyer W. Weisgal.

Eliezer Kaplan, Saul Spiro.

MASS MEETING IN NEW YORK

The Chairman presented the recommendation of the three officers of the Council that Dr. Silver be invited to address the meeting to be held at the Lewisohn Stadium on April 29th.

A motion was adopted approving the recommendation made by the officers.

CONFERENCE WITH PRESIDENT TRUMAN

Mr. Shulman reported on the conversation which Dr. Wise, Mr. Greenberg and he had had with President Truman on Friday, April 20th. They had expected to spend a half or three-quarters of an hour with him, but in view of the fact that Mr. Stettinus, Mr. Grew and Mr. Harriman, the United States Ambassador to Russia, were waiting to see him on the Polish question, Dr. Wise himself terminated the interview after fifteen minutes.

Mr. Truman had on his desk the letter sent by Senator Wagner to Mr. Roosevelt immediately prior to his departure for Yalta, and the two statements made by Mr. Roosevelt. He said he welcomed the opportunity to discuss the matter with the delegation, because he was sympathetic to the Zionist cause.

The delegation recalled to Mr. Truman his participation in the drafting of the Palestine plank at the Democratic Party Convention. He had also been one of the Senators who had signed the Declaration of Policy in 1942, all of which he remembered. The delegation discussed with him briefly the position of European Jewry. He said he was interested in the Zionist problem and wished to hear more, but his prime interest in receiving a delegation at this time was to give us assurances that he would follow the policies laid down by the late President Roosevelt on the Palestine issue. The delegation was authorized to say that

he was carrying out Mr. Roosevelt's policies; that we knew what President Roosevelt's policy regarding Palestine had been; and that the late President's recent statements on Zionism were before him and he indicated to them in clear and unmistakable terms that he is supporting that program. Dr. Wise, in the presence of the President, wrote down what the delegation was authorized to say.

Dr. Wise reported that he had taken the occasion of meeting Mr. Stettinius, while they were both waiting to see the President, to refer to his letter of March 29th to which Mr. Stettinius had not yet replied. In that letter Dr. Wise informed the Secretary of State of President Roosevelt's agreement with his suggestion that the Jewish people should have an opportunity to present their case at San Francisco through Dr. Weizmann and Mr. Ben-Gurion and of the President's suggestion that he discuss the matter with Mr. Stettinius. It appeared that Dr. Wise's letter had not yet been brought to Mr. Stettinius' attention and he asked Dr. Wise to send him a further copy when he undertook to let him have an answer without fail.

SAN FRANCISCO CONFERENCE

Mr. Shulman reported on other conversations in Washington including one with a Government official who is dealing with mandates and the international trusteeship plan. (Report on file).

There was a discussion on possible procedures in connection with the presentation of our position in San Francisco including the question of obtaining status for the Jewish Agency as an observer in the appropriate committee.

It was the consensus that this matter would have to be taken up in San Francisco itself.

After a discussion of the nature of our representation at San Francisco, it was agreed that a sub-committee be appointed to arrange systematically for a number of our representatives to be there all the time. In working out a system of rotation it should be borne in mind that there is important work to be done in New York as well.

MASS MEETING IN NEW YORK APRIL 29

It was reported that all detailed arrangements for the mass meeting have been concluded. About 300,000 tickets and 125,000 leaflets have been distributed throughout New York. The Stadium can hold about 15,000 to 16,000 and arrangements have been made for an overflow meeting in the Jasper Oval. A number of commercial houses have offered us free time on the radio. Several of the organizations have set up offices in connection with this meeting. Teachers' organizations, youth groups, the Labor Zionist movement and the various labor groups, unions, etc., all are working on getting a crowd out at the meeting. The I.W.O. groups are also participating and have organized a committee. The American Jewish Conference is cooperating to the fullest extent. The Christian Council on Palestine has sent out letters to ministers. Placards, streamers, etc. have been put up in the garment district, and a sound truck also will advertise the meeting in that district. 2,000 youth have been organized to march into the meeting.

With regard to the program, it was felt that in order to be effective the program should be limited to an hour and forty minutes. The meeting will begin at 2:30. Dr. Wise will preside. There will be a memorial service for the Jews who have been killed in Europe, led by a group of rabbis. The Mayor, Senator Wagner, Dr. Silver and Mr. Lipsky will speak.

Mr. Segal believed that it was important that there be an address in Yiddish at the meeting. It was recommended that Mr. Greenberg be the Yiddish speaker.

It was also suggested that there be a woman speaker, and that Orthodox Jewry be represented among the speakers.

After further discussion it was decided that the question of further speakers be taken up with the American Jewish Conference, which was sponsoring the meeting together with the Emergency Council.

MASS MEETINGS IN OTHER COMMUNITIES

In addition to the meetings reported previously, further meetings have been planned throughout the country. A report of seven additional meetings was received that day.

ACTIVITIES OF CHRISTIAN ORGANIZATIONS.

Professor Handler reported that the two Christian organizations were getting themselves reorganized. A good deal of the energy of the directors of these organizations had gone into speaking tours, but for the next three to six months they will work with their organizations here in New York and will try to get functioning committees organized throughout the United States. The two Christian organizations were embarking on an ambitious program in cooperation with the Emergency Council. We could look forward to effective cooperation from them in immediate future.

It had been planned to proclaim a Sunday in the near future as "Palestine Sunday". It was then decided to call it "Memorial Sunday". All the Christian Churches in the United States will be asked to devote their sermons to the position of the Jews in Europe and to the subject of Palestine.

The meeting adjourned at 5:30 P. M.

A. L.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

April 30, 1945

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

PRESENT

Hayim Greenberg (presiding), Mrs. Judith Epstein, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Louis Lipsky, Mrs. Etta Rosensohn, Herman Shulman, Louis Segal, Dr. Stephen S. Wise.

Dr. Nahum Goldmann; Dr. Benjamin Akzin, Jacob M. Alkow, Dr. I. B. Berkson, Arnold K. Isreeli, Meyer W. Weisgal.

Gershon Agrensky, Eliyahu Epstein, Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt.

MASS MEETING IN NEW YORK

It was reported that the meeting at the Lewisohn Stadium held April 29th had exceeded all expectations as far as attendance was concerned. According to the police estimates, 60,000 persons filled the Stadium itself, the Jasper Oval outside the Stadium, where loud speakers brought the program to those standing there, and the adjoining streets. All that day reports had been coming in from various sections of the Jewish community of New York, commenting enthusiastically on the meeting.

Mr. Segal wished to have recorded his dissatisfaction that a Yiddish speaker had not been included in the program of the meeting.

SAN FRANCISCO CONFERENCE

Dr. Wise read a letter which Mr. Stettinius had written on his return to the State Department after his encounter with Dr. Wise, without waiting for the receipt of Dr. Wise's further communication. (See Minutes of Executive Committee of April 23rd.) In this communication Mr. Stettinius stated that since the San Francisco Conference was not designed to be a peace conference in any sense of the word and questions concerning the future disposition of any specific territories are not within the province of the Conference, it would not be appropriate for the Palestine question to be raised at San Francisco.

It was agreed that no reply should be made to Mr. Stettinius' letter but that an effort should be made to see him in San Francisco and if it should be decided there that it is advisable to press for a hearing, to do so.

An inquiry came from San Francisco with regard to expenditures for specific action to be taken on the Zionist issue in San Francisco. It was the consensus that it was not possible from this distance to decide on the various steps to be taken in San Francisco. When our representatives arrive there it should be left to them to decide as to whether it is advisable to hold a mass meeting, place advertisements in the papers, or take other action.

It was reported that Dr. Wise, Mr. Lipsky, Mr. Shulman, Mrs. Halprin and Dr. Goldmann would be leaving the following day for San Francisco.

MESSAGE FROM DR. WEIZMANN

Dr. Wise also read the message sent to him by Dr. Weizmann re. the latter's communications with Gen. Smuts.

SENATOR WAGNER'S ADDRESS AT LEWISOHN STADIUM

Prof. Handler made a number of proposals with regard to follow-up of Senator Wagner's address. Prof. Handler was requested to follow through on these suggestions, which were heartily approved by the Committee.

The meeting adjourned at 6:00 P.M.

A.L.



AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

May 14, 1945

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Monday, May 14th, at 3:00 P.M. at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Hayim Greenberg (presiding), Pinchas Cruso, Mrs. Judith Epstein, Leon Gellman, Rabbi Wolf Gold, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Judge Louis E. Levintahl, Mrs. Etta Rosensohn.

Samuel Cherr, Mrs. Tamar Pool, Louis P. Rocker, Captain Abraham Tulin.

Dr. Benjamin Akzin, Jacob M. Alkow, Dr. I. B. Berkson, Gerold Frank, Arnold K. Isreeli.

Saul Spiro.

CONFERENCE IN LONDON

It was reported that cables had been received by Mr. Kaplan from the Jewish Agency in London informing him that they had recommended to Jerusalem that, in view of the end of the war in Europe, a conference be held in London at the end of June (or, if general elections are held in England at that time immediately after the elections), to be attended by fifty to sixty people, one-third to be members of the Actions Committee and the ^{others} Zionist leaders in the various countries. Mr. Kaplan was asked to consult the American Zionists and then send them his reaction to this proposal.

After some discussion, it was decided that the Executive should approve holding such a conference and after consultation with the members of the Executive in San Francisco, a cable should be sent to London informing the Jewish Agency that we are prepared to send a delegation.

The Hadassah representatives submitted the recommendation of their Board that a commission be sent to London as soon as possible to confer with Dr. Weizmann and Mr. Ben-Gurion. Even if there should be a conference in July, the Hadassah representatives felt it necessary to dispatch such a commission to ascertain what is transpiring there.

It was pointed out that Rabbi Fishman is expected in New York within a week and a suggestion was made and approved that we await Rabbi Fishman's arrival, when information on what is happening in London could be obtained, before taking any decision with regard to sending a commission to London.

SAN FRANCISCO CONFERENCE

Dr. Goldstein, who had left San Francisco the first week in May, reported on what had transpired during his stay there.

One significant thing was the role played by the consultants. It was Dr. Goldstein's impression that the purpose in having the consultants there was that they should act as liaison between the Conference and the American public. It was apparently anticipated that there might be a let down feeling on the part of the American public with regard to the achievements of the Conference and it was expected that these consultants would explain matters to the American people. But when the consultants found themselves together they realized that they represented a considerable cross section of American life which could be used as an important lever. In their frequent meetings with the members of the American delegation they pressed for the inclusion of something more than a mere declaration of human rights. The net result was the decision of Mr. Stettinius and other members of the American delegation to adopt the proposal that the suggested amendment on human rights be amplified and written into the charter and beyond that that there be established a commission on human rights.

Our job was to impact our point of view with regard to international trusteeships upon the individual members of the American delegation. That was done with a good deal of insistence. Dr. Goldstein felt that the Emergency Council had not adequately envisaged the opportunities that San Francisco offered. It took about a week to get our bearings. We were a bit slow in getting started. Almost as important as the agenda itself, which at best limits our business at San Francisco, were the public relations possibilities, in view of the many important statesmen, journalists, etc. gathered together in one place. It ought to be said on the other hand that by the time Dr. Goldstein left things look brighter. Most of the officers of the Emergency Council^{arrived} and also Gershon Agronsky and additional people from the American Jewish Conference, and two offices, under Mr. Kenen for the Conference and Mr. Lourie for the Zionist bodies were operating in close conjunction. Our set-up began to look like a machine.

It was with chagrin that we watched the success of the Arab delegation socially, especially when we bear in mind that they were sponsored by the oil people. Standard Oil gave them their public relations men.

On the question of international trusteeship we realized there was a danger confronting us because the nations concerned were all thinking of their own interests and not about us. The American delegation was thinking of the Japanese Mandates and of a formula which might fit everything but our problem. It was necessary to remind the American delegation as well as leading members of the other delegations, of the special category of the Palestine Mandate. Commander Stassen was on the whole understanding and sympathetic.

Dr. Goldstein reported on conversations which had taken place between Jewish representatives and John Foster Dulles, who acted as advisor to the American delegation and who speaks for a considerable segment of the delegation, and also with Senator Vandenberg, giving details on the American attitude to the trusteeship question.

Among others seen were Mr. Fraser, Prime Minister of New Zealand, who was later appointed chairman of the Trusteeship Committee and whom they found extremely helpful. He remembered the visit of Dr. Traub to New Zealand and also that of Mrs. Silverman. He had been impressed by reports brought back by New Zealand soldiers who had been in Palestine.

Of the Chinese members of this commission who were seen, one Minister Loo had delivered an address at a meeting of the American Palestine Committee in Washington some years ago, which he recalled. He understands the problem and was ready to be helpful.

Dr. Goldstein talked also to Jan Masaryk, who as always was interested and ready to help. He took up with him the question of exit permits and transit visas from the Balkans and Mr. Masaryk said he would take up the matter with Mr. Molotoff.

With regard to General Smuts, Dr. Goldstein reported that our representatives in San Francisco had not yet succeeded in seeing him. General Smuts had said to a correspondent that everybody knows his views on Palestine and it was not necessary therefore for him to state them again.

Rabbi Gold said he had nothing to add to the statement made by Dr. Goldstein. But there was one additional observation which he wished to make which he felt was very important. He believed that we have to learn something from the arrangements made for San Francisco. The first week he was there he was under terrible tension. He felt that ^{we} were committing criminal negligence. A correspondent said to him: "Sometimes your people travel thousands of miles to see one Prime Minister and here are all the important statesmen of the world in one place. It is necessary to have the cooperation of all these statesmen in the future. Where are your people?" And then came wires from New York (from the Jewish Agency) that in connection with all matters connected with Palestine those already in San Francisco were to keep hands off. We saw that there was an opportunity to do something in San Francisco and the opportunity was being neglected. Rabbi Gold felt that it was a terrible mistake. He kept after Mr. Kenen and Mr. Silverman to wire Dr. Wise and Dr. Goldmann to come immediately. Our people should have been there before the opening of the Conference.

In the discussion which followed the opinion was expressed that it was a debatable question whether we should have had more people in San Francisco, and it was stated that reports from San Francisco indicated that the matter of the trusteeship proposal was being well taken care of.

It was agreed that we ascertain from our representatives at present in San Francisco when they are returning and arrange for others to replace them if they cannot remain there until the end of the Conference.

Captain Tulin pointed out that in the amendments submitted by our people in San Francisco to the American delegation's proposals re international trusteeship, a number of important things were omitted.

Captain Tulin was urged to wire his suggestions to San Francisco.

Telegram sent by William Green to American Delegates at San Francisco

A telegram which had been sent by Mr. William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, to Mr. Stettinius, as chairman of the American delegation at San Francisco, and Commander Stassen, was read. In this message Mr. Green, speaking as a member of the Executive Council of the American Palestine Committee and as one concerned with the future of the surviving Jewish people and convinced of their need to reconstitute Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth, urged that any plan adopted for a mandates system or an international trusteeship should permit within its framework a solution of the Palestine problem in accordance with the intent and purpose of the Balfour Declaration and the needs of the Jewish people; that no action should be taken inconsistent with or prejudicial to the special rights of the Jewish people under the mandate; and further that the Jewish Agency, as the recognized spokesman for the Jewish people, should be accorded the right of consultation and representation in international conferences or commissions dealing with the future status of Palestine and the rights of the Jewish people.

DR. GOLDSTEIN'S VISIT TO KANSAS CITY

Dr. Goldstein further reported that on his way back to New York from San Francisco, he had spent a day in Kansas City where he had seen a number of close associates of the President.

The meeting adjourned at 4:40 P.M.

A. L.



AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING HELD MAY 30, 1945

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

PRESENT

Dr. Stephen S. Wise (presiding), Maurice Boukstein, Samuel Cherr, Pinchas Cruso, Daniel Frisch, Moshe Furmansky, Paul L. Goldman, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mrs. B. J. Goldstein, Hayim Greenberg, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Benjamin Itzkowitz, Leib Jaffe, Miss Jeannette Leibel, Dr. Judith Lieberman, Louis Lipsky, Marvin Lowenthal, Isaac Naiditch, Emanuel Neumann, Mrs. Tamar Pool, Mrs. Etta Rosensohn, Mrs. D. Rabinowitz, Miss Dvora Rothbard, Louis Segal, Mrs. Rebecca Shulman, Herman Shulman, Captain Abraham Tulin, Herman Weisman, David Wertheim.

Dr. Nahum Goldmann, Eliezer Kaplan, Reuvan Zaslani; Dr. Benjamin Akzin, Jacob M. Alkow, Dr. I. B. Berkson, Arnold K. Isreeli, Hans Lamm, Arthur Lourie, Meyer W. Weisgal.

Dr. S. Bernstein, Mendel Fisher, Gottlieb Hammer, Dr. A. Leon Kubowitzki, Rabbi Jesse Schwartz, Dr. A. Tartakower, Joseph Tjornitzky, Zorach Warhaftig, Baruch Zuckerman.

REPORTS ON SAN FRANCISCO CONFERENCE

Reports were made by Dr. Goldmann, Mr. Shulman and Mr. Lipsky on work at the San Francisco Conference from which it appeared that important changes had been secured, as a result of the efforts of the Zionist and associated delegations in regard to the trusteeship proposals submitted by the various powers. In particular, a clause safeguarding existing "rights of any state or peoples", this being intended to provide for the case of the Jewish people in respect to Palestine, had been included in the "working paper" agreed upon by the Big Powers for submission to the trusteeship committee and later accepted by the committee. Other aspects of the trusteeship proposals dealt with by our representatives concerned the economic equality clause; the powers who should be entitled to decide on the trusteeship arrangements in respect of any individual territory; and the authority and nature of the Trusteeship Council.

The reports included a statement on action taken in connection with the efforts of the Arab States to obtain recognition for the Arab League as a regional security organization, and on the general information and propaganda activities undertaken by the Jewish delegations at the Conference. (Reports on file).

Dr. Goldmann raised the question of immediate action to be initiated in the light of the fact that the war in Europe was now over and that a decision on the Palestine issue must be expected before long. Following some discussion it was decided to call another meeting of the Council within ten days, when it was anticipated that Dr. Goldmann and Mr. Lipsky, who were returning to San Francisco that night, would be back in New York.

It was further decided to send a wire to Dr. Goldmann in San Francisco conveying the urgent request of the Emergency Council that he remain in San Francisco until the end of the Conference.

REQUEST FOR REPRESENTATION ON EMERGENCY COUNCIL FROM JEWISH STATE PARTY

A letter had been received from Mr. Meir Grossman, President of the Jewish State Party stating that as a Zionist Party functioning in the United States the State Party believed they were entitled to membership in the American Zionist Emergency Council and to proper representation therein so that they might make their contribution towards the solution of Zionist problems and participate in Zionist affairs on the American scene.

It was unanimously decided to invite the State Party to appoint a representative to participate in the work of the Emergency Council, with the status of observer without vote.

The meeting adjourned at 11:10 P.M.

A. L.



AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

May 30, 1945

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

PRESENT

Hayim Greenberg (presiding), Maurice Boukstein, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Louis Lipsky, Mrs. Etta Rosensohn, Judge Rothenberg, Louis Segal, Herman Shulman, Mrs. Rebecca Shulman, David Wertheim, Dr. Stephen S. Wise.

Dr. Nahum Goldmann; Dr. Benjamin Akzin, Jacob M. Alkow, Dr. I. B. Berkson, Arnold K. Isreeli, Arthur Lourie, Meyer W. Weisgal.

Samuel Cherr, Prof. Milton Handler, Captain Abraham Tulin.

Rabbi Jacob Fishman, Eliezer Kaplan, Emanuel Neumann, Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt.

RABBI FISHMAN'S ADDRESS

Rabbi Jehuda Leib Fishman, who had arrived from London a few days ago, addressed the meeting on the political scene in Jerusalem and London. (Report on file).

SAN FRANCISCO CONFERENCE

The Chairman referred to the disturbing news from San Francisco that had appeared in the New York Times that morning that the Russian delegation was suggesting the elimination of Paragraph 5 from the trusteeship plan which had been tentatively adopted by the trusteeship committee.

Dr. Goldmann, who had returned from San Francisco that week, reported on the situation with regard to the trusteeship proposals during the last few days he was in San Francisco and after he had left, and on the steps taken that day in connection with the new Russian proposal.

Our representatives had had assurances from Mr. Fraser, chairman of the trusteeship committee, and others dealing with the trusteeship plan, that our interest in Paragraph 5 was fully recognized and that there was every reason to hope that the Paragraph would remain substantially unchanged.

Then came two developments:

1) The Iraqi delegation, under a technical ruling, still had a right to make an amendment. They now sought to have inserted in the trusteeship proposals a reference to Paragraph 22 of Article IV of the League of Nations Covenant, which dealt with territories conceded by Turkey after the last war. When our representatives in San Francisco learned about this, which was before the matter had been submitted to the trusteeship committee, telegrams were sent to representatives of the Big Four and to Mr. Fraser indicating that the inclusion of

such a reference was impossible because of, among other reasons, the ruling laid down by the Conference that no specific territories could be mentioned, whereas Article IV refers to specific territories.

We have been informed by our people still in San Francisco that there is no possibility of this motion being adopted, and that morning, in a telephone conversation which Dr. Goldmann had with Mr. Fraser, the latter stated that as chairman of the trusteeship committee he would rule such a motion out of order. Dr. Goldmann felt certain that there was nothing to fear in connection with this Iraqi attempt.

2) More serious was the Russian proposal reported that morning, which came as a surprise, because it represented a reversal of their previous position, since in the meeting of the Big Five, when our safeguarding clause was proposed, the Russians supported it and they also supported it in the trusteeship committee. They had asked what this clause would mean, and when they were informed that it would safeguard Jewish rights in Palestine they indicated their approval.

Dr. Goldmann and Mr. Lipsky were returning to San Francisco that night, and other action had already been taken in San Francisco.

The Russian stand apparently had come on instructions from Moscow, but they had stated that it in no way reflected any hostility to the Zionist position. They were opposed to Paragraph Five as it now stands because they feared that this Paragraph might imply freezing of the position of territories at present under mandate and would not further independence for mandated territories. Since this fear was based on a misunderstanding it was hoped in San Francisco that the Russians would not press for the elimination of Paragraph Five. But if they should it was believed that their proposal would be opposed in the trusteeship committee, particularly by the American representatives on that committee.

Telegrams had been sent that morning to the heads of delegations of the big powers and other delegations with whom the Jewish Agency representatives had been in contact in San Francisco; and in addition Mr. Shulman and other American Jewish Conference consultants had wired to members of the American delegation.

The meeting adjourned at 6:00 P.M.

A. L.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

July 12, 1945 at 12 noon

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

PRESENT

Dr. Stephen S. Wise (presiding), Pinchas Cruso, Mrs. Judith Epstein, Daniel Frisch, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Louis Lipsky, Mrs. Etta Rosensohn, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Herman Shulman, David Wertheim.

David Ben-Gurion, Dr. Nahum Goldmann, Eliezer Kaplan.

Samuel Cherr, Prof. Milton Handler, Mrs. Tamar Pool, Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt, Captain Abraham Tulin.

Dr. Benjamin Akzin, Jacob M. Alkow, Gerold Frank, Arnold K. Isreeli, Meyer W. Weisgal, Reuven Zaslani.

GOVERNORS' PETITION

Mr. Gerold Frank reported on the visit which Mr. Getzoff and he had made to Mackinac Island in order to release from there the story on the petition to the President signed by 37 Governors. (Two additional Governors signed after the petition was submitted).

A vote of thanks was moved to Mr. Frank and Mr. Getzoff for their excellent work in publicizing this activity.

CABLE FROM DR. GOLDSTEIN

A cable received from Dr. Goldstein from London was read. Dr. Goldstein indicated that there were more Palestinians coming to London than originally planned and he suggested that the parties and the members of the Jewish Agency in the United States join in demanding that a larger number of Americans attend the Conference, or, if that were not possible, that assurances be obtained that there would be no decisions taken without adequate representation of American Zionists. Dr. Goldstein cautioned, however, that there was a serious problem of securing accommodation in London, as well as a possibility of considerable delay in returning to this country from England.

Mr. Ben-Gurion indicated that there would be no action taken in London unless ratified by the Actions Committee.

TRUSTEESHIP SECTION OF UNITED NATIONS CHARTER

It was reported that after the adoption of the Charter, in order to emphasize that the safeguarding clause included in the chapter on Trusteeship was intended to safeguard specifically the rights of the Jewish people, a request for

a statement to that effect was addressed by Dr. Goldmann to the Chairman of the Committee on Trusteeships. In reply a letter not for publication, but containing certain assurances, had been received.

MISHMAR BULLETIN RE SAN FRANCISCO

Reference was made to the statement on San Francisco which had appeared in the Mishmar Bulletin and strong criticism was expressed of what was described as a falsification of the facts.

It was agreed that the matter should be brought up at the meeting of the Council that evening.

GERMAN SETTLEMENTS IN PALESTINE

Reference was made to the cable in regard to German settlements in Palestine sent by Mr. Shertok to the Jewish Agency Office in London on June 9th.

It was reported that there had arrived that day from Jerusalem copy of a memorandum on the subject submitted by Mr. Shertok to the Chief Secretary of the Palestine Administration. (Previously circulated to Committee).

It was agreed that wide publicity should be given to this matter, and it was further suggested that representation be made to the State Department.

REORGANIZATION

The Chairman read a letter which he had received from Mr. Greenberg. (Attached).

A telephone message received from Dr. Silver was also reported. Dr. Silver suggested that since he had been invited to attend this meeting of the Executive Committee only that morning and since he learned that the Mizrahi representatives would not be present, a meeting of representatives of the parties together with Dr. Wise and himself be held after the conclusion of the Executive Committee meeting.

After discussion it was agreed to adjourn the Executive Committee meeting in order to hold a meeting of the Peace Committee with the representatives of the groups and Dr. Wise and Dr. Silver.

The meeting adjourned at 2:00 P.M.

A. L.

C
O
P
Y

July 12, 1945

Dr. Stephen S. Wise
Chairman, American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Wise:

I had to leave town for a few days to take care of an important private affair, but I must confess that this is not the only or the main reason for my absence from today's meetings.

After I submitted my resignation on June 19th, I agreed to remain in office for another two weeks. My resignation, therefore, came into effect last Wednesday. The other day I announced to the Greater Central Committee of Poale Zion my withdrawal from the Council as a whole. As one who does not belong any longer to the body of the Emergency Council, and being determined as I am not to accept any office in the future, regardless of the nature of the contemplated or planned reorganization and also in the highly improbable case that no reorganization takes place, I have no right to offer advice on organizational matters.

I wish you success in your deliberations and efforts to create conditions for harmonious Zionist work in this country. I assure you that I shall never fail to respond and cooperate whenever the Council, regardless of its set-up, will choose to give me concrete ad hoc assignments.

Yours sincerely,

HG/LB

Hayim Greenberg

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

July 15, 1945 at 12:15 A.M.

At the conclusion of the meeting of the Emergency Council held on the evening of July 12th, Dr. Silver called a special meeting of the Executive Committee, in order to take up a number of matters on which action was required before the American delegation left for London.

PRESENT

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Pinchas Cruso, Mrs. Judith Epstein, Daniel Frisch, Leon Gellman, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Louis Lipsky, Emanuel Neumann, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Louis Segal, Herman Shulman, Mrs. Rebecca Shulman, David Wertheim, Dr. Stephen S. Wise.

APPOINTMENT OF EXECUTIVE STAFF

Dr. Silver stated that the appointment of an Executive Director and other staff members must be made at once. He suggested that the Committee approve the appointment of the following four men, who had been in the organization before: Harry L. Shapiro, as Executive Director, Harold P. Manson, Abe Tuvim and Harry Steinberg. With regard to the people who had been added to the staff during the last six months it was desired to retain them. A method of coordinating the work of all the staff would be worked out and submitted to the Executive Committee at its next meeting.

In the discussion which followed, Mrs. Halprin explained the reasons why she would find it necessary to vote against the appointment of Mr. Shapiro. She further pointed out that the post which he had held previously in the Council was not that of Executive Director, that he had never received such an appointment. Mr. Wertheim agreed that there had never been a vote in favor of such an appointment but said that Mr. Shapiro had in fact acted as director.

Dr. Silver stated that Mr. Shapiro and the other three men would be brought back to the posts they held previously in the Council.

After further discussion, a motion was made and seconded that Mr. Shapiro, Mr. Manson, Mr. Tuvim and Mr. Steinberg be re-employed by the Council. This motion was adopted. It was understood that the members of the staff engaged during the past six months would be retained, and that the Chairman of the Executive Committee would study the functions of all the members of the staff.

DELEGATION TO LONDON

Dr. Silver said he had been requested to attend the London Conference as a representative of the Z.O.A. He felt, however, that he should go as a delegate of the Emergency Council, in which case there would be room for another designee of the Z.O.A.

It was pointed out that the arrangement made was that the officers of the Council would go to London together with three representatives of the Z.O.A., three of Hadassah, two of Poale Zion and two of Mizrachi. Since Dr. Silver is now chairman of the Executive Committee, he should go as a designee of the Council. The fourth designee on the Z.O.A. slate, Mr. Frisch, would take the place of Dr. Silver as representative of the Z.O.A.

INTERIM COMMITTEE

The question was raised of provision being made for authority in the absence of the officers. It was agreed that a small Interim Committee should be designated before the delegation leaves for London.

The meeting adjourned at 12:45 A.M.

A. L.



AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

July 20, 1945

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Friday, July 20th, at 2:00 P.M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Pinchas Cruso, Mrs. Judith Epstein, Daniel Frisch, Leon Gellman, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Emanuel Neumann, Herman Shulman, Mrs. Herman Shulman, David Wertheim, Dr. Stephen S. Wise.

David Ben-Gurion; Samuel Cherr, Captain Abraham Tulin.

Dr. Benjamin Akzin, Dr. I. B. Berkson, Gerold Frank, Arnold K. Isreeli, Arthur Lourie, Harold P. Manson, Leo Sack, Harry L. Shapiro.

Isaiah L. Kenen, Reuven Zaslani.

Apology received from Louis Segal.

HADASSAH'S PLACE ON BOARD OF OFFICERS

A letter was read from Hadassah in which they indicated that they had decided to accept the place of one of the vice-chairmen of the Executive Committee rather than retain the treasurership of the Council, and Mrs. Halprin was named to serve in that post. Mrs. Halprin will, therefore, be added to the list of vice-chairmen.

It was made clear that action on the appointment of a Treasurer would be deferred until the return of the delegation from London.

INTERIM COMMITTEE

Judge Rothenberg was named chairman of the Interim Committee, to serve in the absence of the delegation to London, a representative of Hadassah, Poale Zion and Mizrachi to be appointed by the parties to serve with him on this Committee.

The Mizrachi representatives indicated that Rabbi Kowalsky would serve as their appointee on the Interim Committee. Hadassah and Poale Zion indicated that they would notify the office of their designees.

DELEGATION TO LONDON

In view of the fact that Mr. Shulman was not certain whether he would be able to go to London, and if so whether he could arrive in time, Dr. Silver proposed that the position of Mr. Shulman be left open in case he could go, but that a substitute be selected for him in the event that he could not. He strongly urged that Mr. Neumann join in the delegation to London, with the right to vote in Mr. Shulman's place pending the latter's arrival. After discussion a motion was adopted to this effect.

MEETING WITH STAFF

Dr. Silver reported that he had had a two hour meeting with the staff that morning. It was a very gratifying meeting in many ways. The staff was able to offer some very valuable suggestions for the intensification of our work and for the correction of some of the things done hitherto. From the reports rendered at this meeting, he gained the impression that some very good things had been done, and in other directions the staff felt the work should be done along other lines. Some departments need reorganizing; some need expansion, some contraction. All the suggestions made by the staff will be incorporated in a comprehensive report when the delegation returns from London.

Dr. Silver said he had asked Dr. Akzin to look after our work in Washington during the absence of the delegation to London, and until we define our work in Washington, which will depend, too, on the negotiations to be conducted in London with the Jewish Agency with regard to our work in Washington.

Dr. Wise suggested that it would be well to have a summary of the plans to bring to London so that they might be discussed there with the Jewish Agency Executive. In London there will be a collating of plans for London, Washington and Jerusalem.

It was agreed that this should be done and Mr. Shapiro was instructed to prepare a summary of the plans before the delegation leaves.

JEWISH AGENCY AND COUNCIL

Mr. Frisch suggested that the Agency should not proceed to expand the Washington office until conferences have been held in London between the American delegation and the Agency.

Mr. Ben-Gurion said he saw no reason for Mr. Frisch's suggestion. The delegation is leaving for London in a day or two. If there was a need in those two days to do anything about the work in Washington, it would be done; but he did not think that need would arise.

Dr. Silver said we want to approach this as a joint problem rather than in a competitive spirit.

FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION REPORT ON PALESTINE

Reference was made to the Report by Mr. Grant S. McLellan published by the Foreign Policy Association, on "Palestine and America's Role in the Middle East."

It was reported that when it was learned that Mr. McLellan was preparing this report, Mrs. Pool and Captain Tulin arranged a meeting with him and had a long talk with him. Subsequently Dr. Berkson also met with Mr. McLellan and gave him a memorandum and an outline of the Zionist position in Palestine. When the Report was finally ready, Mr. McLellan submitted it to Dr. Berkson for comment.

Dr. Berkson indicated that Mr. McLellan had reacted favorably to many of his suggestions and that the Report as published was much improved as compared with the original, and contains a far better and more balanced statement of the Zionist position than in the original draft. It had eliminated many negative statements; the American Council for Judaism had been reduced to one sentence. On the Arab side, Mr. McLellan did not need much informing. There is a good statement at the back of the Report on organizations in America interested in Palestine. On the

question of American policy in the Middle East, however, Dr. Berkson had not been able to dissuade Mr. McLellan from following the line he did, despite a very long discussion. Mr. McLellan had adopted what was regarded by a certain section in the State Department as a "realistic" line with regard to foreign policy. He stresses oil, Russia's interest in the Middle East, etc. Whatever positive suggestions he makes in his report are very vague.

A discussion followed on a reply to be made to Mr. McLellan's Report. It was pointed out that the Report gives us an excellent starting point to show the fallacy of the point of view indicated by the F.P.A. with regard to America's role in the Middle East, and that our reply should point out that Mr. McLellan's analysis is not complete, and that he has not taken into consideration those interests of the United States which run parallel with Zionists' interests.

Since Mr. Lourie had been invited by Mr. McLellan to comment on the Report it was agreed that advantage should be taken of this invitation and that the Committee on Contacts with Postwar Planning Groups, together with Mr. Lourie and Dr. Berkson and Dr. Akzin prepare a comment on the Report.

In addition, it was felt that since there was little hope that any comment made by the Council on the Report would be published by the New York Times, or elsewhere, it would be desirable to have a group of people such as Prof. Friedrich, Prof. Hanna, etc., issue a statement on American policy in the Middle East, in reply to F.P.A., which might be published.

It was further suggested that rather than have a statement issued by a group of people, it would be preferable to have an outstanding individual, identified with international law, such as Sumner Welles, for example, write an article on the subject for publication in a magazine with a wide circulation.

It was agreed that both these suggestions be referred to the Committee headed by Mrs. Pool and Captain Tul to be further explored.

SIGNATORIES FOR CHECKS

In view of the fact that some of those now signing checks on behalf of the Council are going to London, it was decided to designate the following to be authorized to sign checks in their absence: Mr. Cruso, Mr. Rocker and Rabbi Kowalsky.

The meeting adjourned at 4:15 P.M

A. L.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

August 27, 1945.

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Monday, August 27th, at 3:30 o'clock, at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Pinchas Cruso, Mrs. Judith Epstein, Daniel Frisch, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Rabbi I. M. Kowalsky, Louis Lipsky, Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Emanuel Neumann, Louis Segal.

Samuel Cherr, Mrs. Tamar Pool.

Dr. Benjamin Akzin, Dr. I.B. Berkson, Gerold Frank, Arnold K. Isreeli, Arthur Lourie, Harold P. Manson, Harry L. Shapiro, Abe Tuvim.

Eliahu Epstein, Rabbi Leon Feuer, Isaiah L. Kenen, Mrs. Denise Tourover.

MINUTES

The Minutes of the Executive Committee meetings held July 12th, 13th and 20th were approved.

ESCO FOUNDATION

A letter from Mrs. Frank Cohen of the Esco Foundation for Palestine was read, in which the request was made that the Emergency Council transfer to the Zionist Library and Archives the Esco Foundation Palestine Collection which had been turned over to the Council as a loan. Mrs. Cohen further requested that the Council send a copy of the manuscript prepared by Dr. Berkson to the Foundation by registered mail. They had already received the master copy of the Study, but in order to establish their ownership of the document it was necessary that they receive a copy in this manner. As soon as they arrange for copyright they would return the copy to the Council to be continued as a loan.

Dr. Berkson indicated that the matter of the Esco material was a complicated one, from the point of view of the Emergency Council and the author of the Study. Dr. Berkson had been engaged for three years in preparing this manuscript, which is a comprehensive report on Palestine, largely from the political point of view, and which, when published, will comprise three volumes. In addition to Dr. Berkson, fifteen people have worked on it. There had been an original grant of \$30,000 from the Esco Foundation, and the Emergency Council has put a further large sum into the preparation of this report.

It was decided that in view of the ramifications involved and in the desire to expedite the matter to the satisfaction of all, a committee of three be appointed to study the question of the disposition of the Esco Foundation material.

POLITICAL REPORT

Pres. Truman's statement on Palestine

Reports were given on efforts made by Dr. Akzin, Mr. Epstein and Mr. Lourie to obtain further information in Washington concerning the statement on Palestine made by President Truman at his press conference on August 16th. Among those seen had been Mr. Ben Cohen, Rep. Sabath, who had had a conversation with the President (see Minutes of meeting of Council Aug. 28, 1945) and the Oriental Advisor to the American Embassy in London.

Dr. Akzin and Eliahu Epstein had also met with Mr. Loy Henderson, head of the Near East Division of the State Department. (Report on file).

Judge Levinthal reported on Earl Harrison's investigation of the situation of the Jews in Europe and his report to President Truman; there was reason to believe that the report was entirely sympathetic.

Statement of Arab League Secretary re Pres. Roosevelt's meeting with Ibn Saud

A report was given on action taken to contradict this statement in the press. Attention was drawn to the fact that in the earlier of the two reports which appeared in the New York Times it was specifically stated that there was no confirmation from members of the party who had accompanied the President home from Yalta.

In the discussion which followed, Pres. Truman's statement was analyzed by various members of the Executive. It was the consensus that the efforts of the Council should be concentrated on disabusing the President's mind of the idea that large numbers of troops will be required to keep peace in Palestine if a decision is made favorable to the Jews.

A motion was adopted that the Council's reaction to President Truman's statement should be to deflate that part of the statement which talks about the need for 500,000 troops, and that efforts be made immediately to arrange for meetings with the Secretary of State and the President.

There was some discussion also on the attitude of the State Department to Zionism and the need to expose its anti-Zionist line. (See analysis by Dr. Berkson in Minutes of Council meeting of August 28th).

Mr. Epstein referred to the visit of Dr. Bayard Dodge to this country; he was one of the greatest assets to the State Department in pushing the Pan-Arab policy. Dodge came here to collect money to open a second American University in the Near East (in Damascus, Syria). The Syrians want such a University for two reasons: They want a substitute for the French. They prefer the Americans to the British as such a substitute.

It was decided that a committee of the staff be appointed to give careful thought to the steps to be taken to expose the anti-Zionist line of the State Department and to draw up a plan of action.

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY ORDER SONS OF ITALY

Judge Levinthal referred to an excellent Resolution on Palestine which had been adopted by the Order Sons of Italy, an organization comprising some 450,000 members. Mr. Alessandro, who was helpful in having this Resolution adopted, is a member of the American Palestine Committee.

DELEGATION TO PALESTINE

The suggestion was made that a delegation of Representatives and Senators be invited to visit Palestine.

A number of reasons were put forth why it was not desirable to carry out this proposal. We are now pressed for time. We want a decision quickly. As to the idea that an official body be sent out, we ourselves ought not to suggest a new procedure which will involve delay. There will be an excuse for doing nothing until the commission returns. Furthermore, whether the report brought back by such a commission will be what we want is questionable, for the usual procedure of investigating commissions is to suggest a compromise.

It was decided that the question of a delegation to Palestine should be brought up at a subsequent meeting.

PROF. HOCKING'S LETTER TO HERALD TRIBUNE

Reference was made to the letter sent to the Editor of the New York Herald Tribune by Prof. Hocking, which had appeared on August 26th.

It was agreed that an answer must be made to this letter, and the office was requested to prepare a reply.

VISIT TO PALESTINE BY PROF. FRIEDRICH

It was recalled that Prof. Friedrich had indicated a desire to visit Palestine, since he felt that he would be in a much better position to talk and write on the Zionist case if he had a first hand acquaintance with Palestine. It was suggested that now that the war is over, it would be a good thing to arrange for him to go there.

A motion was adopted that Prof. Friedrich be invited to visit Palestine and that a sum of money be appropriated by the Council for that purpose.

The meeting adjourned at 5:40 p.m.

A.L.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

September 10, 1945

A meeting of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Monday, September 10, 1945, at 4:15 P.M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Pinchas Cruso, Mrs. Judith Epstein, Daniel Frisch, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Rabbi I. M. Kowalsky, Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Louis Lipsky, Emanuel Neumann, Louis Segal, Dr. Stepehn S. Wise.

Prof. Milton Handler, Meyer W. Weisgal; Dr. Benjamin Akzin, Jacob M. Alkow, Dr. I. B. Berkson, Gerold Frank, Hyman Getzoff, Arnold K. Isreeli, Arthur Lourie, Harold P. Manson, Leo Sack, Harry L. Shapiro, Abe Tuvim.

CHRISTIAN CONFERENCES

Mr. Tuvim presented the following report on plans and activities in connection with American Christian Palestine Committee conferences to be held during 1945-46.

A rather elaborate program of ACPC conferences has been prepared for the coming months. The communities are to be asked to pay the local expenses involved in these conferences, while the Council will cover such costs as those incurred in connection with speakers, printing of literature, etc. With such participation by the communities it will be possible to hold more conferences throughout the country.

New York

The first big project is a three day conference to be held in New York October 14-16. The first day will be devoted to activities which will draw attention to the conference, e.g. sermons in churches, club activities, radio broadcasts, newspaper editorials, etc. During the following two days seven or eight sessions will be held at the Commodore Hotel: 1) for newspaper people, 2) for radio commentators, 3) a women's tea, 4) for educators, 5) an economic session, to which business men, members of Chambers of Commerce, etc. will be invited, 6) for ministers, 7) closing dinner.

It is also planned to arrange, with the cooperation of the Board of Education, a series of assemblies for teachers of public and high schools. It is hoped to have at least three such assemblies, in each of various regions.

The New York project is a very ambitious one. It may require the services of 20 speakers. Preliminary work has already been done in connection with this conference; in ten days the preparations will be well under way.

Mr. Tuvim said he was receiving excellent cooperation from the entire Z.O.A. staff, including the Z.O.A. field men. He had met with the Presidents of the various Z.O.A. Regions which will be involved in the conference and the field men. The Regions are contributing \$10,000. toward the cost of the New York conference.

The most important work to be done is to secure local Christian activity. A Christian committee is being set up, of which the Vice-Chairmen will represent the Regions. It is hoped to set up Christian groups in each of the Regions.

World Christian Conference

This is being supported by the Agency. Until the relations between the Council and the Agency with regard to the Washington offices are clarified by the Committee of eight, technical details such as preparing the lists of invitees, etc. are being dealt with by the Council staff. A temporary office has been set up at the Roosevelt Hotel in Washington. November 1st and 2nd have been reserved at the Hotel Statler for the Conference.

Other Conferences

It is planned to hold a second conference in St. Louis. There are now over 1500 members in the A.C.P.C. in St. Louis. It is hoped to reach new groups of Christians in that city.

Detroit will hold a Conference March 16-17. The President of the Chicago Z.O.A. Region is making arrangements to hold a Christian Conference in Chicago. It is further planned to organize an ACPC group in Houston, Texas, and to hold a conference there in the early spring, to which would be brought outstanding Christian speakers. It is hoped to arrange for conferences, or meetings, to be held in a half dozen of the Southern cities, as well as in a number of the smaller communities in New York State; and Milwaukee, Minneapolis, Des Moines, Kansas City, Omaha and Lincoln are also on the schedule.

It was urged that in drawing up plans for ACPA conferences, special attention be paid to the cities where the Council for Judaism is strong.

LETTER FROM U.P.A.

A letter from the United Palestine Appeal, dated July 24th, was read, in which it was stated that the UPA had decided to launch, in the next three or four months, a campaign to be known as "Open the Gates of Palestine." Since this decision involves a political matter within the purview of the American Zionist Emergency Council, the UPA requested that the Council advise them of their reaction to the plan.

Since it was not clear just what was involved in this campaign, it was decided to obtain further information from the UPA before taking any action.

NATIONAL PETITION

Mr. Frisch, reporting on behalf of the sub-committee appointed after the last meeting of the Council to make a thorough study of the question of a national petition, submitted the committee's recommendation that the Emergency Council adopt a resolution calling for a mass petition to be undertaken immediately, and urging that this resolution be submitted to the constituent groups of the Council for their ratification within two weeks; a time limit of ten weeks to be set for the implementation of the project.

Mr. Segal, who had also served on the sub-committee, stated that this recommendation of the committee was unanimous. In deciding in favor of a petition, the committee had been encouraged by the fact that the American Trades Union Committee for Palestine has already enlisted the support of the Trades and Labor Council, who have undertaken to sponsor the petition in the trade union movement.

A memorandum outlining the project, which had been approved in general by the sub-committee, was submitted to the meeting. The cost of the undertaking, as estimated by Mr. Shapiro in this memorandum, which is only a first draft of the plan, would be approximately \$59,500.

In the discussion which followed, it was recalled that the idea of a petition was before the Council for consideration several times. Last year it was shelved in favor of the Congressional Resolution, which gave us the focal point around which we could build a variety of activities. A mass petition, it was felt, would do for 1945 what the Resolution did for 1944. If properly launched, on a large scale, it would activize our cause and dramatize it, bringing it to the attention of every citizen of the United States. It would serve, too, to bring pressure on our Government and on the British Government.

This project would, furthermore, bring the organized Zionist bodies into the picture. Its success would depend on them. Other groups would also be called upon to help in obtaining signatures.

It was urged that the term "petition" be not used, but rather some other term, such as "mass declaration" or "manifesto".

In discussing the cost of carrying out this project, it was felt by some members of the Committee that \$59,500 was a considerable underestimation. Mr. Shapiro indicated that when the plan is worked out in greater detail, it may be found that the cost will be as much as \$100,000, of which \$25,000 would be covered by items already in the budget and about \$75,000 additional would have to be provided.

It was pointed out that the local communities would agree to cover the local expenses. The communities are eager to undertake such a project, and the members of the Hadassah chapters and Zionist youth groups throughout the country will do a great deal of the work in obtaining the signatures.

There was some discussion, also, as to whether the aim should be to have the manifesto signed by Jews alone, or by Jews and non-Jews. There would be no difficulty in obtaining the signatures of a large number of the Jews of the United States, but doubts were expressed as to whether we could get a cross section of the non-Jewish American people to sign. In this connection, the example of Long Island was cited, where 20,000 signatures, 90% of them non-Jews, were obtained last year, at very little cost.

It was the consensus that limiting the petition to Jews would be unwise. There would be political significance in getting large numbers of Christians to sign such a declaration. We should set ourselves an objective of perhaps ten to fifteen million signatures, which should not, of course, be announced.

After further discussion, it was decided by a unanimous vote of all present that the sub-committee's recommendation be adopted, that we accept the principle

of a mass declaration of the American people on the Jewish National Home within the nearest possible time, and that this recommendation be submitted to the constituent organizations. It was understood that the communities would be asked to participate in the costs locally.

A suggestion made that Balfour Day would be an appropriate time to launch the declaration was approved.

It was understood that the wording of the declaration would be submitted to the Executive Committee for its approval.

LETTER FROM ERNST FRANKENSTEIN RE MR. HART

It was reported that a letter had been received from Dr. Frankenstein inquiring whether the Council would be interested in inviting to this country a Mr. Hart, who had addressed a small gathering in London on Great Britain's military interest in Palestine at the time of the London Zionist Conference. The Canadian delegates to the Conference who had heard this address were so impressed that they discussed the possibility of inviting Mr. Hart to Canada. Dr. Frankenstein indicated that Mr. Hart had been military correspondent for the "Manchester Guardian" for three years and is considered a military authority. He would be prepared to lecture in the United States if he were invited, possibly by a non-Jewish military or political group, and could leave England at short notice.

It was felt that it would be very valuable to have Mr. Hart lecture in this country, but before taking any decision it was decided to seek the advice of the Jewish Agency office in London.

ARTICLE IN "FORTUNE" BY DEAN LANDIS

Attention was drawn to the article by Dean Landis appearing in the current issue of "Fortune" which carries the implication that nothing must be done to antagonize the 100,000,000 Moslems in the Middle East.

It was suggested that a reply should be made to this article, and that Oscar Gass be consulted.

MARCH OF TIME FILM ON PALESTINE

Reference was made to the excellent MARCH OF TIME film on Palestine which will be released shortly.

DR. BERKSON'S MEMORANDUM RE WORK OF COUNCIL

At the last meeting of the Executive Committee a committee of the staff had been appointed to draw up a plan of action to expose the anti-Zionist line of the State Department. Dr. Berkson had prepared a report, which it was decided to circulate among the members of the Board of Officers, who would meet within the next few days.

POLITICAL REPORT

It was reported that in connection with the London Conference of the Foreign Secretaries of the Big Five, there was reason to believe that members of the American delegation would meet with the leaders of the World Zionist Organization in London. Dr. Goldstein suggested the need for an American Zionist to be present in London during this conference, to keep in close contact with the American delegation.

It was also urged that a number of people in Washington be seen, who will play a part in the British-American economic talks now getting under way.

With regard to the appointment which it had been decided to seek with the President, it was reported that efforts were still being made to arrange a meeting. Dr. Silver suggested that not only must a delegation of the Council see the President, but in addition, the American Jewish Conference should designate six to seven prominent Jews, speaking for all American Jews, to meet with him.

It was further suggested that representatives of the Council should meet with five or six Senators, and get their views on the best way to obtain Congressional support at this point.

Letter from Judge Rosenman: It was reported that an official communication from the Secretary of the Council, had been sent to Judge Rosenman asking for an opportunity for a delegation of the Council to meet with him. A reply had been received from Judge Rosenman stating that he was on the point of leaving for a short vacation and that if the matter was one of urgency we should see Mr. Benjamin Cohen.

Mrs. Roosevelt's statement to Dr. Wise re the late President and Ibn-Saud

Dr. Wise reported that Mrs. Roosevelt was prepared to deny the statement alleged to have been made by President Roosevelt to Ibn Saud. The late President had told her on his return from Yalta exactly what he told Dr. Wise.

It was agreed that Dr. Wise should ask Mrs. Roosevelt to make public the information she had on this subject.

The meeting adjourned at 6:15 P.M.

A. L.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

September 24, 1945

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Monday, September 24, at 3:30 P.M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Pinchas Cruso, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Rabbi I. M. Kowalsky, Louis Lipsky, Emanuel Neumann, Mrs. Tamar Pool, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Louis Segal, David Wertheim, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Rabbi Seymour M. Zambrowsky.

Dr. Nahum Goldmann; Rabbi Philip S. Bernstein, Meyer W. Weisgal.

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

Joel Gross, Rabbi Irving Miller, Ben Silverman, Rabbi Samuel Wohl.

POLITICAL REPORT

Dr. Goldmann reported that he had had several talks with Mr. Shertok on the trans-Atlantic telephone, and Dr. Silver had also spoken with Dr. Weizmann, from which the following information had been obtained:

The British Cabinet had appointed a sub-committee (the members of which are not known to us) to deal with the Palestine question. The sub-committee had completed its work and made its recommendation (as reported by Reuter September 18). It was reported that they proposed that the White Paper be continued, with 1500 Jewish immigrants permitted to enter Palestine each month, and with some slight modifications with regard to land sales.

The sub-committee's proposal had been discussed by the full Cabinet and on Friday (September 21) the information was that a majority in the Cabinet was inclined to accept it. Mr. Shertok said it was not final, since some of our friends were opposing it.

Mr. Shertok indicated that the main thing to do here is to organize Jewish and non-Jewish public opinion.

Mr. Byrnes, who at first could not see Dr. Weizmann, finally fixed an appointment for Saturday, September 22. (Mr. Bevin is to see Dr. Weizmann later). Byrnes was friendly. He pointed out to Dr. Weizmann that the main responsibility is Great Britain's, that America can only help. Dr. Weizmann said the main thing necessary was for America to indicate a desire to help, e.g. to give economic assistance. It seems that the talk with Byrnes was not conclusive. Ben-Gurion expected shortly to leave for Palestine.

In connection with the press reports indicating that the British had requested the American Government to share responsibility, Dr. Weizmann said he heard nothing to that effect from Mr. Byrnes.

On September 23, the following cable arrived from the Executive in London:

"LEARN RELIABLY PRESIDENTS REQUEST 100,000 CERTIFICATES REJECTED STOP BEEN DECIDED TIME BEING MAINTAIN WHITEPAPER ALLOWING JEWISH IMMIGRATION MONTHLY MAXIMUM 1500 ONLY STOP ANNOUNCEMENT THESE LINES EXPECTABLE SHORTLY STOP DECISION MEANS WHITEPAPER SANCTIONED BY NEW GOVERNMENT DOOMING MASSES JEWS IN INTERNMENT CAMPS AND ELSEWHERE TO DETERIORATION AND DEATH MAINTAINING NUREMBERG LAND LAW IN PALESTINE STOP TAKING GRAVEST VIEW POSITION AND DISASTROUS CONSEQUENCES ANNOUNCEMENT ENFORCEMENT SUCH POLICY STOP PROPER IMMEDIATE REACTION JEWISH GENERAL AMERICAN OPINION MAY PERHAPS STILL AVERT THIS CATASTROPHE STOP CABLE ACTION"

Dr. Silver had informed Dr. Weizmann over the telephone of the action being taken here.

ACTION TAKEN

Madison Square Garden Meeting

Dr. Silver reported on the action taken over the week-end, immediately after learning of the Reuter dispatch.

Dr. Wise and he decided that a great demonstration ought to be arranged in New York. Because of the holiday a meeting of the Executive Committee could not be called to consider this matter, but since the time was so short they decided to book Madison Square Garden for the following Sunday (September 30). A meeting of representatives of the ZOA districts was hurriedly called, and held Sunday, and plans were drawn up for the mass demonstration. Arrangements were made for advertisements to appear in the Yiddish press daily until the meeting, for spot announcements of the meeting on the radio and for radio commentators to include mention of the meeting in their broadcasts. It has not yet been possible to arrange for the meeting to be broadcast; since Sunday is a very busy night on the air it may not be possible to get the time. 250,000 notices of the meeting are being sent out. All the organizations are cooperating; the women's organizations are using telephone squads to contact as many people as possible in connection with the meeting; the youth groups are working; letters are being sent to 700 Rabbis asking them to make an announcement in their synagogues.

Dr. Silver said he envisaged the Madison Square Garden meeting as a great demonstration, with the Garden as the center of the demonstration and tens of thousands of people milling about outside.

Advertisements

In addition to the advertisements which will appear in the press announcing the Madison Square Garden meeting, a number of ads dealing with our case are being prepared which will appear in about 40 newspapers throughout the country. The New York Times will carry the advertisement September 27 or 28.

Other Action

Immediately following the appearance of the Reuter dispatch, a strong statement had been released to the press, in which announcement was also made of the mass meeting to be held at the Garden to give expression to the sense of apprehension

and indignation aroused by the news of the decision reportedly being taken by the British Government to continue the White Paper.

In addition, wires were sent to the local emergency committee chairmen asking them to have as many letters and telegrams as possible sent to the President from their communities.

In the discussion that followed, a number of suggestions were made for additional activities to be undertaken in order to arouse public opinion throughout the country.

The meeting approved the recommendation that the Mayors of the various communities be asked to communicate with the State Department and the President.

Other proposals included the following: arranging a street demonstration, with the shops closing and the labor unions participating; that returned soldiers be asked to take part in a street parade; that prominent individuals, whose names carry weight, be asked to help in this effort, perhaps by writing an open letter to President Truman; that we call together our friends in Congress in Washington within the next few days and discuss the matter with them.

The suggestion that the Trade Union Committee for Palestine be asked to send a cable to Sidney Hillman, now at the World Trades Union Conference in Paris, requesting him to arrange, and participate in a delegation to call on the Foreign Office in London, was approved. The meeting further approved the proposal that the leaders of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations be requested to sign one of the advertisements which is to appear in the English press, which might be entitled "American Labor Speaks to British Labor."

Dr. Silver reported that he was going to Washington that day to see a number of Senators and to seek their cooperation. He also indicated that Dr. Wise and he had been in touch with prominent individuals in Washington, who are deeply concerned, and have undertaken to do what they can to assist us.

TELEGRAM FROM RABBI ZEMACH GREEN

A telegram addressed to Dr. Wise by Rabbi Zemach Green of Washington was read, in which Rabbi Green suggested that the N.Z.O., the American League for a Free Palestine, the Agudas Israel and the American Jewish Committee be invited to join with the Council in the Madison Square Garden demonstration. He further stated that he had discussed the matter with Peter Bergson, who indicated his readiness to cooperate.

After some discussion, in which it was the consensus that only those organizations whose program calls for Palestine as a Jewish State should be invited to the meeting, it was agreed that the N.Z.O. should receive an invitation similar to that issued to all other cooperating organizations.

WASHINGTON CONFERENCE

A suggestion made that about fifty delegates of the American Jewish Conference be invited to the conference of local emergency committee chairmen to be held in Washington, October 4, was approved.

The meeting adjourned at 5:45 P.M.

A. L.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

September 19, 1945

A special meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Wednesday evening, September 19, at 8:30 o'clock, at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Stephen S. Wise (presiding), Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mrs. Esther Gottesman, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Rabbi I. M. Kowalsky, Emanuel Neumann, David Wertheim, Rabbi Seymour M. Zambrowsky.

Dr. Philip S. Bernstein, Prof. Milton Handler, Mrs. Tamar Pool, Captain Abraham Tulin, Meyer W. Weisgal.

Dr. Benjamin Akzin, Arnold K. Isreeli, Arthur Lourie, Harold P. Manson, Harry L. Shapiro.

S. Dingol, Jacob Fishman, Isaiah L. Kenen, Marvin Lowenthal, D. L. Meckler, Morris Weinberg.

FEDERAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA

It was reported that word had been received on September 14 from one of the local emergency committee chairmen that members of the Executive Committee of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America had received a memorandum on Palestine which, according to the letter accompanying the document, presented the Christian view of the question, and which was to be discussed at a meeting of the Executive Committee to be held September 18. The document was a subtle but vicious attack on Zionism. (It followed the line of argument of the American Council for Judaism). The covering letter urged that the Executive Committee approve the contents of the memorandum, publish it and give it wide circulation.

Dr. Atkinson, Dr. Poling and Dr. Voss had taken action in the matter, and the committee had by a large majority refused to act on the memorandum. It may still be presented to the Administrative Committee of the Federal Council, but it would have to be referred back to the Executive Committee for its approval before it could be published.

NATIONAL PETITION

It was reported that the Z.O.A., the Poale Zion and Mizrachi had notified the Council office that their Boards had met and had approved the plan for launching a mass declaration. The Hadassah Executive Committee had also approved of it, but it had still to come up before the Hadassah National Board.

In the meantime, the staff is preparing radio material, arranging for special meetings, advertisements, etc. and if Hadassah, too, approves of the project, it is hoped to launch the campaign on Balfour Day. That will be possible if the constituent organizations will dedicate a special issue of their publications to the plans for the petition. In ten days material for the campaign will

be ready. The wording of the declaration will be submitted to the next meeting of the Executive Committee.

It was further reported that it was planned to hold a meeting of the local emergency committee chairmen about October 10, in Washington.

POLITICAL REPORT

Dr. Akzin reported that not much progress has been made with regard to obtaining an appointment with the President. Senator Wagner had volunteered to arrange a meeting and to accompany Dr. Silver and Dr. Wise. He tried to get the appointment, but without success. In the last few days, Senator Taft also took an interest in this matter and he conferred with Senator Wagner. Senator Taft called the White House during the last few days, and in one of his conversations he was told that President Truman would prefer not to see any Jewish delegation for the moment, that he was doing everything he could.

Dr. Silver will be in Washington next week, when he will see various people in the Capitol and will urge them to start energetic action on our behalf. An appointment with the Acting Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, has been fixed for September 20.

An interesting development has been that the Inter-Governmental Committee for Refugees, which up to recently has appeared to take little interest in our problem, is now planning energetic action. This is due to two reasons: 1) Lord Winterton, its chairman, who was the dead hand on the committee, has resigned; and 2) Earl Harrison, who replaced Myron Taylor as the American Representative on the Inter-Governmental Committee, has been very active. As a result of Harrison's efforts it has been decided to register all those who do not wish to be repatriated. Instead of the Inter-Governmental Committee deciding who was repatriable and who was not, as had been the case heretofore, a new policy has been adopted. All those who say they do not wish to be returned to their places of origin will be regarded as non-repatriable. Furthermore, the people in the Displaced Persons camps will not be classified only as former Poles, etc., but the Jews and non-Jews will be classified separately.

Dr. Akzin referred to an off the record talk which he had with Mr. Loy Henderson, head of the Near East Division of the State Department.

Cable from Jewish Agency Executive

A cable from the Jewish Agency Executive, dated September 12th, referring to the proposal of the Colonial Office for a grant of 1,500 certificates monthly, was read (attached); also the JTA Jerusalem despatch of September 18th (attached).

The members of the Committee of Eight who were available in New York met on Sunday, following which Dr. Goldmann embodied a statement of his position in a letter which he asked to have read as he was unable to be present at the meeting today. (Letter on file).

A conversation which Dr. Silver had had with Dr. Weizmann on the transatlantic telephone on September 15th was also reported. (On file).

A long discussion followed in which various suggestions were made as to action to be taken in view of the Reuter dispatch and in view of the action proposed by the Agency Executive.

The danger of pressing the demand for 100,000 certificates instead of fighting for the full program was stressed. It was agreed that we cannot have one line here and another in London, and it was therefore moved, and passed that we communicate with the Jewish Agency Executive in London by telephone and indicate to them the danger of placing all the emphasis on the demand for an immediate allocation of certificates to the exclusion of a fundamental solution at this time.

ADVERTISEMENTS

A motion was adopted that we initiate immediately a newspaper campaign, the details to be worked out by a sub-committee to be appointed by the joint chairmen.

Mr. Shapiro pointed out that if we undertake this project, we will have to ask the Funds for an allocation. It will cost \$60,000. to \$70,000.

CABLES TO MR. DALTON AND MR. GREENWOOD

Dr. Wise read two cables which were being sent to Mr. Dalton and Mr. Greenwood under Dr. Silver's and his signatures.

The meeting adjourned at 11:20 P.M.

A. L.



AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

October 2, 1945

A special meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Tuesday, October 2, at 4:00 P.M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Pinchas Cruso, Mrs. Judith G. Epstein, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Rabbi I. M. Kowalsky, Louis Lipsky, Emanuel Neumann, Judge Morris Rothenberg, David Wertheim, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Rabbi Seymour M. Zambrowsky.

Capt. Abraham Tulin, Meyer W. Weisgal.

Jacob M. Alkow, Arnold K. Isreeli, Arthur Lourie, Harry L. Shapiro, Abe Tuvim; Rabbi Leon I. Feuer, Isaiah L. Kennen.

AMERICAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE OFFICE IN WASHINGTON

It was reported that the A.P.C. had found suitable quarters for their office in Washington, but it will be necessary for them to sign a lease for five years, at an annual rental of \$4,200.

Although the office is ideally located and there should be no difficulty whatever in subletting it at any time, it was pointed out that investigations ought to be made to ensure that O.P.A. regulations, etc. will not prevent the A.P.C. from sub-letting. With these precautions, it was agreed that the A.P.C. should be authorized to proceed with renting the office.

MADISON SQUARE GARDEN MEETING

Gratification was expressed at the outstanding success of the Madison Square Garden demonstration. According to police estimates, about 45,000 people participated in the meeting outside the Garden, in addition to the 22,000 within. It was encouraging to note the really deep concern which has been indicated in our problem. The reaction of the press, too, has been most gratifying.

Dr. Silver paid tribute to the Council staff, who had built up this tremendous meeting within a week. They not only manifested ability, but also great devotion. Credit is also due to the constituent organizations, he said, who cooperated admirably.

CONFERENCE IN WASHINGTON

It was reported that over 400 delegates would be attending the conference to be held in Washington October 4 of local emergency committee chairmen. Delegates were coming from as far away as the coast.

The program of the conference will be as follows: There will be a meeting of the delegates early in the morning, when they will hear the full story of recent events; they will then go to see their Congressmen, with whom they have already made appointments from their home towns; there will be a further meeting in the afternoon, when the delegates will report on their interviews with their Congressmen and an outline will be given them of action to be taken in their local communities. That evening there will be a mass meeting, to be addressed by national leaders. It is expected that this will be an overflow meeting.

OTHER ACTION TAKEN

In addition, it was reported, the local emergency committee chairmen have been asked to flood Washington, especially the White House, with telegrams. From reports today it appears that the White House has already received some 200,000 such communications.

Word has been received from other parts of the country that great mass meetings have been arranged. Chicago will hold its meeting on October 15 in the Stadium in that city; Baltimore has arranged a demonstration for October 4; large meetings are scheduled in Philadelphia, Detroit, Los Angeles, Hartford, Jersey City, etc. To date twelve large mass meetings have been arranged in the neighborhood of New York.

PARTICIPATION OF RABBIS

It was further reported that the Synagogue Council of America has arranged for prayers to be offered throughout the country Thursday evening, October 4. In New York there will be a convocation of Rabbis at the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue. From that meeting will come wires to Washington and London.

ACTIVITIES IN CANADA

Mr. Weisgal reported that the Canadian Zionists have arranged for a large meeting to be held in Toronto, with outstanding non-Jews participating. The Canadian Zionist leaders had asked Mackenzie King, the Premier of Canada, who had left yesterday for England, to intervene with the British Government, and he had written Sir Ellsworth Flavelle, chairman of the Canadian Palestine Committee, that he would do so.

Mr. Coldwell, leader of the C.C.F. party in Canada, sent two very strong cables to Mr. Attlee and the British Labor Party Executive, in which he made the point that it was very distressing to the Socialist movement that the British Labor Party is acting as it is on the Palestine question, and its action is likely to cause difficulty to the Socialist movement all over the world.

Mr. Weisgal indicated that he had asked Mr. Zacks to attend the Washington conference. It was agreed that he should be asked to report there.

CABLE TO MR. ATTLEE FROM LABOR LEADERS

It was reported that Philip Murray, President of the C.I.O., and William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, had both sent strong cables to Mr. Attlee.

ADVERTISEMENTS

The advertisements in the general press are continuing. "An Open Letter to Mr. Attlee" had appeared in several papers, including the "New York Times", and

was appearing that day in the "Sun". Altogether it was scheduled to appear in 39 papers.

SUBVENTION TO CHICAGO

Dr. Silver reported that in connection with the mass meeting which Chicago was arranging, to be held in the Stadium there, Judge Fisher had telephoned urgently requesting a subvention from the Emergency Council to help them cover the large cost involved. In view of the fact that the New York meeting at Madison Square Garden was financed entirely by the Emergency Council, the Chicago ^{people} feel that they should receive at least a subvention for their meeting. They asked for \$10,000, Dr. Silver said, but he would recommend \$5,000.

Although it was realized that it would not be a good thing to start a precedent by subsidizing the Chicago meeting, it was felt that some assistance should be given the Chicago committee in view of the large affair they are undertaking. It was pointed out that since the Council subsidized the New York meeting it would be proper to help one city in the West.

After further discussion a motion was adopted that the Council subsidize the Chicago mass meeting to the extent of \$5,000.

OTHER ACTIVITIES TO BE UNDERTAKEN

There was some discussion on the advisability of arranging for a street demonstration, as proposed at the last meeting.

Mr. Tuvim pointed out that a street demonstration could be arranged in two ways. If it were to comprise only the Zionists of New York, there would probably be a turn-out of sixty to seventy thousand. If, however, the lead is taken by the Labor Unions, the participants would number very much more. The most effective method would of course be the latter, with the shops closing at 3:30 and the parade starting at 4:00.

Mr. Tuvim indicated that he had been endeavoring to contact Mr. David Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, but he has been out of town. If he indicates a readiness to cooperate, a successful street demonstration could be arranged. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union is ready to go ahead. Mr. Tuvim was dubious as to the advisability of proceeding with the larger demonstration if Mr. Dubinsky does not agree to work with us. He pointed out further that the projects on which the Council is now engaged (the Washington Conference and A.C.P.C. Conference in New York, in particular) are taking all the time and energy of the staff. A street demonstration will require a great deal of work which could not be begun until the middle of October without hurting the other activities.

Mr. Segal was strongly in favor of a mass street demonstration, with the participation of all the Labor Unions. He pointed out that it was not necessary to obtain the consent of Mr. Dubinsky; that closing the shops and having the workers take part in the parade could be arranged through the managers of the locals and their business agents.

Mrs. Epstein reported that a suggestion was made to Hadassah that they organize a women's demonstration, the women to march in front of the British Consulate when the debate opens in the House of Commons. The advantage of having it limited to women would be that not more than two to three thousand participants would be required to be effective.

It was suggested that a women's demonstration, which is something unique, should certainly be carried out if practicable.

The point was stressed that in the short period up to the opening of Parliament and Mr. Attlee's statement on Palestine to be announced at that time, which are the crucial days, everything possible must be done to exert the full pressure of American public opinion.

After further discussion, it was agreed to leave it to Hadassah to decide whether a women's demonstration should be held. It was further decided to postpone a decision for a few days on a mass street demonstration.

A suggestion was made, and approved that the Trade Union Committee for Palestine endeavor to have several hundred union locals send cables to the British Labor Party.

The meeting also approved the proposal that collective cables by people whose names are well known be addressed to Mr. Attlee or the British Labor Party and be publicized here. Mr. Kenen undertook to carry out this proposal.

NEW YORK TIMES

It was reported that a reply had been prepared by Rabbi Milton Steinberg to the letter of Prof. Lazaron which appeared in the New York Times on Sunday, September 30, and would be published by the Times on Sunday, October 7.

REPORT ON MEETING WITH PRESIDENT TRUMAN SEPTEMBER 29

Dr. Silver reported that Dr. Wise and he had met with President Truman on Saturday morning, September 29. The invitation was extended to them for Friday morning, but Dr. Wise could not attend on that day and it was therefore arranged for Saturday. It was not deliberate, therefore, that the President received a Zionist delegation at 10:00 o'clock Saturday morning and a delegation of the American Jewish Committee immediately thereafter, at 11:00 o'clock.

The invitation to meet with Mr. Truman came rather unexpectedly, because the impression had been gained that the President did not want to meet with a Zionist delegation until after Secretary Byrnes returned. (Report of interview on file).

In the discussion which followed, it was pointed out that the big issue now is the line being taken by the British newspapers and reported in the press here, that the British would like to do something about Palestine but wish to have the United States share in the responsibility. In one form or another this issue is now arising. We must decide what should be our position vis-a-vis our own government, if the British say they are ready to go ahead but wish to have American backing.

After some discussion, it was agreed that this matter should be given careful consideration at a further meeting.

The meeting adjourned at 6:15 P.M.

A. L.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

October 11, 1945

A special meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Thursday, October 11th, at 2:00 P.M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Stephen S. Wise (presiding), Pinchas Cruso, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Rabbi I. M. Kowalsky, Louis Lipsky, Emanuel Neumann, Louis Segal, Mrs. Zip Szold, David Wertheim, Rabbi Seymour M. Zambrowsky.

Captain Abraham Tulin, Meyer W. Weisgal.

Jacob M. Alkow, Dr. I. B. Berkson, Arnold K. Isreeli, Arthur Lourie, Harold P. Manson, Harry L. Shapiro, Abe Tuvim; Eliahu Epstein.

AMERICAN CHRISTIAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE MEETING IN NEW YORK

Mr. Tuvim reported on the arrangements for the New York Conference of the A.C.P.C. to be held at the Hotel Commodore, October 14, 15 and 16.

Sermons will be delivered in 54 Churches in the metropolitan area; assemblies will be held at New York University, Hunter and Adelphi Colleges. Sunday night there will be a Christian Youth Conference at Christ Church. On Monday a Luncheon for Ministers is scheduled, which a minimum of 250 will attend; during the afternoon there will be an educators' session, at which 200-250 are expected to be present. The program for Tuesday includes a Luncheon for the press and radio, to which approximately 100 have been invited; and a Dinner, for which 750 acceptances have already been received, and probably several additional hundred will attend.

Mr. Tuvim indicated that after the Conference the acceptances and refusals will have to be studied carefully. Among those who have accepted an invitation to these sessions are important people who had shown no interest heretofore in our cause.

WORLD CHRISTIAN CONFERENCE

Mr. Tuvim reported that he was meeting with some difficulties in the preparations for the World Christian Conference which is scheduled to take place in Washington early in November. The Jewish Agency Executive had undertaken to arrange for delegations from European countries to come to Washington for the Conference. Several cables were sent to London asking what was being done in this connection, but an answer has not been received. To date, Switzerland is the only European country which has responded.

As for the delegation from England, Lorna Wingate was to be one of the delegates and she had been endeavoring to come to this country, but her request for transportation priority has been refused by the British Home Office.

New Zealand, South Africa and Australia will each send one or two people. The Prime Minister of New Zealand has promised air transportation facilities.

There will be delegations from 8 or 9, perhaps 10 South American countries. The various provinces of Canada will send delegations.

Mr. Tuvim raised the question of having funds made available to enable him to proceed with the preparations for the Conference. Although the Jewish Agency Executive had agreed to appropriate a sum of \$30,000 for this purpose, this money has not been made available.

After some discussion a motion was adopted to the effect that the Executive Committee instruct the representatives of the Jewish Agency in this country to request the Keren Hayesod to advance the amount appropriated by the Agency for the World Christian Conference.

ATTENDANCE AT MEETINGS OF CHAIRMAN OF PALESTINE COMMISSION OF AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE

A letter from the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the American Jewish Conference was read, in which it was requested that Rabbi Lookstein, Chairman of the Palestine Commission of the Conference, be invited to meetings of the Executive Committee and plenum of the Council. A motion to this effect was adopted.

DR. ISAIAH BOWMAN

Captain Tulin reported that Mr. William Fondiller had informed him of a long talk he had had with Dr. Isaiah Bowman of Johns Hopkins University. Mr. Fondiller called on him to ask him to address a meeting of the Haifa Technion group, and Dr. Bowman initiated a discussion on Palestine. He said he was an advisor to the State Department on the Palestine question, that he had acted in this capacity since 1919. He expressed great indignation at articles appearing in the New Palestine on the subject and said the statements made in these articles were wrong, inflammatory and were causing a great deal of annoyance to the State Department. Furthermore, he indicated that he had advised President Roosevelt on the Palestine question in 1943, that President Roosevelt told him that he would follow his advice, but afterwards political pressure was brought to bear on him and he issued the statement of October 15, 1944, to Senator Wagner.

One of the questions which Dr. Bowman asked Mr. Fondiller was whether the Zionists had ever made any overtures to the Arabs, and Mr. Fondiller undertook to send him material on this subject.

Captain Tulin further reported that Mr. Fondiller had asked him whether he would be willing to meet with Dr. Bowman. It was suggested that, although Dr. Bowman's anti-Zionist views were well known, it might be useful for Captain Tulin to see him.

POLITICAL REPORT

A report on Dr. Weizmann's conversation with Mr. Bevin was presented. (on file).

Dr. Wise reported that an appointment with Secretary Byrnes had been requested, but no reply had been received as yet.

Reference was made to rumors heard in Washington that the British were raising the question of American military participation, even if only of a token character; and also that the military are considering what this might involve.

In this connection, Mr. Epstein referred to a conversation he had had with a military man who had been stationed in the Middle East up to a short time ago, and who had been very friendly to our cause. His present views on the military needs with regard to Palestine had undergone a considerable change.

A discussion followed on the attitude to be urged upon our Government to a request from the British for American military participation.

It was the consensus of the meeting that the following should be our position vis-a-vis our Government: It is Britain's responsibility to abolish the White Paper. The Near East is one of the British security zones, and they have huge forces there. There is no need for American intervention. Further, we should try to present to our Government the idea of the United States offering economic support, and ask them to be prepared to take moral responsibility by joining with Great Britain in a joint declaration of policy.

BULLETIN

The suggestion was made that in order to be in a position to give information and elucidation on our matter, it would be advisable to issue two or three times a week a printed or mimeographed bulletin, edited by the Staff, which will give the facts, analyze what is happening in Palestine now, etc.

It was the consensus that it was desirable to publish such a Bulletin.

STREET DEMONSTRATION

The question of a street demonstration was again discussed. It was felt that there must be further public action and it was suggested that a mass demonstration be arranged, the slogan to be: Solidarity with the Yishuv.

After discussion, a motion was adopted to the effect that the Council should sponsor a demonstration for the masses of Jews of New York to express solidarity with the Yishuv in all its demands; that we make no commitments as to limitations on speeches, slogans, etc.; and that it be left to a committee to organize the demonstration in the hope that the maximum number of Jews will participate. The theme of the demonstration is to be Solidarity with the Yishuv.

It was agreed that it be left to the Staff to set the exact date for the demonstration (to be one day in the week of October 22nd), also that efforts be made to arrange an organized parade in connection with the demonstration.

It was suggested that there be a Christian contingent in the parade.

A further suggestion with regard to additional action to be taken was that 100,000 people visit the British Embassy and deposit cards of protest there.

NATIONAL PETITION

Mr. Shapiro reported that at the Washington Conference, 58 local emergency committee chairmen attended a meeting where the question of the petition was discussed. There were not more than four or five who spoke in favor of a petition. They thought it would be anti-climactic now.

The meeting adjourned at 5:30 P.M.

A. L.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

October 29, 1945

A special meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Monday, October 29th, at 4:00 P.M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, (presiding), Gedaliah Bublick, Pinchas Gruso, Mrs. Judith G. Epstein, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mrs. Samuel Goldstein, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Louis Lipsky, Emanuel Neumann, Mrs. Herman Shulman, David Wertheim, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Rabbi Seymour M. Zambrowsky.

Rabbi Philip S. Bernstein, Dr. Nahum Goldmann, Professor Milton Handler, Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt, Captain Abraham Tulin, Meyer W. Weisgal.

Dr. Benjamin Akzin, Jacob M. Alkow, Dr. I. B. Berkson, Gerold Frank, Arnold K. Isreeli, Arthur Lourie, Harold P. Manson, Harry L. Shapiro.

ACCEPTANCE OF MINUTES

The Minutes of the meetings of the Executive Committee held September 19th, September 24th, October 2nd and October 11th, were approved as circulated.

REPORT

Mr. Shapiro presented a report on action taken since the last meeting of the Council held on October 20, 1945.

1. Ibn Saud - Roosevelt Correspondence: A memorandum was presented to Secretary of State Byrnes on Tuesday, October 23rd, in reply to his press statement of October 19th which accompanied the publication of the exchange of correspondence between the late Mr. Roosevelt and King Ibn Saud. We have received very favorable comment on the presentation which was reprinted in full in the NEW YORK TIMES on October 24th.

2. In the past week our staff members aided in the preparation of radio presentations by friends of our cause - Wendell Phillips speaking against Ahmed Shukeiri over Station WOR on Friday, October 26th; Dr. Carl Voss against Professor Hocking on the Chicago Round Table of the Air on Sunday, October 28th.

3. The open air demonstration at Madison Square Park which took place on Wednesday, October 24th, was a tremendous success. The estimated attendance was over 250,000, based on figures supplied to Mr. Lipsky - chairman of the meeting - by the Police Department (the press reported attendance of 150,000).

4. Preparations are afoot for the International Christian Conference for Palestine, to take place in Washington, Thursday and Friday, November 1st and 2nd which, although sponsored by the Jewish Agency because of its international nature, is being handled by our staff. Representatives from 25 nations are expected to

attend and a fine program has been formulated. The conference, if successful, should have far-reaching effects.

5. Concentrated activity continues throughout the country, Los Angeles planning a large outdoor demonstration on its City Hall steps on November 1st. In general, there are heartening reports as a result of our attempts to give expression throughout the country to the Zionist standpoint.

Dr. Silver expressed his deep appreciation for the fine work which the staff has done in connection with all the functions thus far.

LETTER TO THE FUNDS

Mr. Shapiro reported that although the fiscal year of the AZEC had expired more than a month ago, no budget for the ensuing year had been prepared because of lack of time. He had, on the authorization of Dr. Wise and Dr. Silver, written to Judge Rothenberg, chairman of the Jewish National Fund, and to Judge Rosenblatt, chairman of the Keren Hayesod, asking them for an advance of \$50,000.00 from each fund.

CONFIRMATION OF APPOINTMENTS

Dr. Akzin: With regard to the question of permanent status for Dr. Akzin, it was the recommendation of the meeting that Dr. Akzin's status as director of the Washington office of the AZEC be formally confirmed.

Mr. Ben-Horin: It was decided to postpone action on the status of Mr. Ben-Horin until the next regular meeting of the Executive Committee.

AMERICAN LEAGUE FOR A FREE PALESTINE -- GUY M. GILLETTE

Dr. Silver reported the announcement in the NEW YORK TIMES of October 25th of the statements made by former Senator Guy M. Gillette at a press conference during which, among other things, he stated (a) that an "unofficial delegation" including at least three members of Congress will go to London soon to discuss with the heads of the British Government plans for opening the doors of Palestine to further Jewish immigration and the founding in Palestine of an "independent democratic State"; (b) the difference between the aims of the American League for a Free Palestine and the Zionist Organization was that while the Zionists wanted Palestine to be an independent Jewish State, his organization wanted it to be an independent democratic State in which there would be no racial or religious discrimination and in which the majority would rule.

Dr. Silver stated that we must take some definitive action to cause the discontinuance of the propaganda issued from the American League for a Free Palestine which is so harmful to our cause - be it in the form of a telegram or a press release.

In an ensuing discussion on Mrs. Halprin's suggestion that we seek an interview with Mr. Gillette in order to discuss the situation with him, Dr. Silver described his experience during his recent visit to Washington, when he tried to contact Mr. Gillette on Rabbi Zernach Green's urgent request that he meet with the former Senator. Although an appointment had been definitely scheduled, the meeting did not materialize presumably because of a last-minute call from Mr. Gillette indicating that he was unexpectedly preoccupied. From a subsequent call from Mr. Bergson, it seemed obvious that the latter had injected himself into the situation again, thus preventing the consummation of a talk with Mr. Gillette.

Mr. Lourie reported on his exchange of correspondence with Mr. Gillette based on the press report of a few weeks ago. Up to the present there has been no further definite word as to a date for the suggested meeting between them.

Judge Levinthal related his experience based on his contact with Senator Myers and Joseph Sharfman, two of the members of the proposed mission to London. Senator Myers had informed him that Mr. Gillette is a sincere friend of our cause and Mr. Sharfman, who conveyed his feeling that the mission would not materialize, had written to Mr. Gillette requesting an interview for Judge Levinthal. No objection was voiced on the matter of Judge Levinthal's meeting with Mr. Gillette.

Dr. Wise expressed his feeling that Mr. Gillette is completely "Bergsonized," that he voted against our resolution as a Senator, and that he is not as naive as appears on the surface.

Dr. Silver then proceeded to read two drafts of a proposed wire to Mr. Gillette and asked for suggestions or corrections.

It was the consensus of opinion that a wire be sent to Mr. Gillette, based on the second draft read. (Letter sent to Mr. Gillette under date October 30th, and press release dated October 31st, attached.)

TELEGRAM TO PRESIDENT TRUMAN

Dr. Silver stated that reports had appeared in the general press to the effect that a joint commission is to be established under an Anglo-American agreement on Palestine which will investigate the position of Jews in Europe as well as the situation in Palestine. Present plans, the report said, call for the commission to determine the number of displaced stateless or refugee Jews in Europe who wish to settle in Palestine. Political aspects will also come under the commission's scrutiny. The commission is to look into the possibilities of Jewish immigration into Palestine, the question of how many Jews could remain in the European countries where they are now living, the extent to which other countries could absorb Jewish immigrants, the position regarding previous promises made to both Jews and Arabs and the means by which the United Nations Organization could help solve the problem.

Dr. Silver further reported that the Committee of Eight had met the morning (October 29th) and had discussed at length the implications of the establishment of such joint commission. It was the consensus of that meeting that a telegram be sent to President Truman and Secretary of State Byrnes.

Two drafts of a proposed wire had been prepared and the chairman submitted them to the meeting for consideration, point by point.

During the discussion which followed, the point was made that it would be a breach of protocol to issue a statement to the press simultaneously with the dispatch of the wire to the President.

Following discussion, it was decided to send a wire to President Truman, with a copy to Secretary of State Byrnes, incorporating the material brought up in the discussion and, in addition, to issue to the press a statement on the same subject, but differently worded. (Wire to President Truman, attached).

It was suggested that copy of the telegram to President Truman be cabled to Dr. Weizmann and the London office so that London may be apprised of the action taken by us here.

A further suggestion was made that our friends in Washington be apprised of the contents of the wire to the President.

RESOLUTION IN CONGRESS

Dr. Silver recalled the action taken at the meeting of the Council on October 20, 1945, favoring the introduction of a joint resolution, on condition that our friends in Washington deemed the time propitious. Final approval was to depend on the Committee of Eight. The matter had, however, been taken entirely out of our hands by Senator Wagner following conversations he had had with the President and Mr. Byrnes. With the best intentions he and Senator Taft introduced the resolution in the Senate on Friday, October 26th. The resolution is a modification of the one introduced last year. Senators Taft and Wagner showed the resolution to both President Truman and Secretary Byrnes who informed them that they have no objection to its introduction.

After he read the resolutions, Dr. Silver reported that every attempt would be made to improve the wording of the Resolution, if and where possible.

A discussion ensued on suggested changes in the wording.

Dr. Silver stated further that the Committee of Eight had agreed that an effort be made to sound out Senator Connally who could give us confirmation as to the official attitude on the resolution. Senators Wagner and Taft would be asked to speak with him.

It was moved and carried that the officers of the American Zionist Emergency Council be authorized now, following the report of the Committee of Eight, to proceed in the matter of securing passage of the Resolution which was presented on Friday, October 26th, by Senators Taft and Wagner.

The meeting adjourned at 6:00 P.M.

A. L.

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P
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October 30, 1945

The Hon. Guy M. Gillette
2737 Devonshire Place, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Gillette:

I am directed to address to you the following communication on behalf of the American Zionist Emergency Council which represents the organized Zionist movement in this country.

On two occasions, recently, the press reports you as declaring - directly or by implication - that the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine in accordance with Zionist aims would involve racial or religious discrimination, and that the Arabs would be excluded from citizenship in such a State. These statements are untrue and constitute a libel on the Zionist cause and the Zionist ideal.

The Zionist movement here and abroad has made it abundantly clear that its objective is the establishment of Palestine as a democratic Jewish Commonwealth, whose Arab inhabitants shall be entitled, not only to full rights of citizenship and to complete equality in every other respect with their Jewish fellow citizens, but, in addition, to group rights in respect of their own language, religion and culture. To this Zionism stands publicly and unequivocally committed, and all its literature, all its political statements and the resolutions of its governing bodies, dealing with the problem of Arab-Jewish relations, refute your suggestion. In alleging otherwise, you are being misled by a handful of self-appointed Jewish spokesmen whose pretensions to speak for the Jews of Palestine have been unanimously rejected by the authorized representatives of Palestine Jewry and by the entire Jewish press in Palestine, and who represent neither the Jews of this country nor of any other.

We have no reason to doubt that you are genuinely anxious to help suffering Jewry to find a haven in Palestine and to recreate their National Homeland. It is in that belief that we call upon you to correct the damaging statements above referred to.

Yours sincerely,

Arthur Lourie
Political Secretary

AL:Nf

PRESS RELEASE from

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

Associated Organizations:

Zionist Organization of America • Hadassah • Mizrachi • Poale-Zion

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

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ZIONISTS ATTACK ALLEGATION THAT ESTABLISHMENT OF JEWISH STATE
INVOLVES RACIAL OR RELIGIOUS DISCRIMINATION: POINT OUT THAT
ARABS WILL BE ENTITLED TO EQUAL RIGHTS OF CITIZENSHIP WITH
JEWS AND ALL OTHER INHABITANTS OF PALESTINE

- - - - -

DISCLOSE TEXT OF LETTER TO EX-SENATOR GILLETTE CALLING UPON HIM
TO CORRECT "DAMAGING STATEMENTS" REGARDING ZIONIST AIMS

- - - - -

New York -- A Jewish State in Palestine will mean free and democratic
rights for all citizens, Arabs and Jews alike, the American Zionist Emergency
Council, spokesman for the organized Zionist movement in this country, pointed
out today.

In a letter addressed to former Senator Guy M. Gillette, the Council de-
clared that Mr. Gillette was "misled" when he repeatedly asserted, either directly
or by implication, that if a Jewish State were to be established in Palestine,
Arabs would be excluded from citizenship or otherwise suffer loss of civil, re-
ligious or group rights.

Text of the letter, signed by Arthur Lourie, Political Secretary of the
Council, reads:

"Dear Mr. Gillette:

"I am directed to address to you the following communication on behalf of
the American Zionist Emergency Council which represents the organized Zionist
movement in this country.

"On two occasions, recently, the press reports you as declaring -- directly
or by implication -- that the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine in

(more)

accordance with Zionist aims would involve racial or religious discrimination, and that the Arabs would be excluded from citizenship in such a State. These statements are untrue and constitute a libel on the Zionist cause and the Zionist ideal.

"The Zionist movement here and abroad has made it abundantly clear that its objective is the establishment of Palestine as a democratic Jewish Commonwealth, whose Arab inhabitants shall be entitled, not only to full rights of citizenship and to complete equality in every other respect with their Jewish fellow citizens, but, in addition, to group rights in respect of their own language, religion and culture. To this Zionism stands publicly and unequivocally committed, and all its literature, all its political statements and the resolutions of its governing bodies, dealing with the problem of Arab-Jewish relations, refute your suggestion. In alleging otherwise, you are being misled by a handful of self-appointed Jewish spokesmen whose pretensions to speak for the Jews of Palestine have been unanimously rejected by the authorized representatives of Palestine Jewry and by the entire Jewish press in Palestine, and who represent neither the Jews of this country nor of any other.

"We have no reason to doubt that you are genuinely anxious to help suffering Jewry to find a haven in Palestine and to recreate their National Homeland. It is in that belief that we call upon you to correct the damaging statements above referred to.

"Yours sincerely,

Arthur Lourie
Political Secretary"

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

November 5, 1945

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

PRESENT

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Gedaliah Bublick, Mrs. Chava Cohen, Pinchas Cruso, Mrs. Judith G. Epstein, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mrs. Samuel Goldstein, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Benjamin Itzkowitz, Louis Lipsky, Emanuel Neumann, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Mrs. Herman Shulman, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Rabbi Semour M. Zambrowsky.

Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt, Captain Abraham Tulin, Meyer W. Weisgal.

Dr. Benjamin Akzin, Jacob M. Alkow, Dr. I. B. Berkson, Gerold Frank, Arnold K. Isreeli, Arthur Lourie, Harold P. Manson, Harry L. Shapiro.

REPORT

Mr. Shapiro reported that the request in our letters to the Jewish National Fund and the Keren Hayesod for an advance of \$50,000 each had already been complied with by the Jewish National Fund and that the Keren Hayesod was expecting to take action on this at its next meeting.

INTERNATIONAL CHRISTIAN CONFERENCE FOR PALESTINE

Mr. Shapiro stated that the conference which took place in Washington on November 1st and 2nd under the sponsorship of the Jewish Agency was very successful. The details of preparation and execution were handled by the staff of the American Zionist Emergency Council. The account in the NEW YORK TIMES of November 3rd, which set forth the resolutions adopted, served to indicate the fine effect of the conference at this time. He then asked Mr. Tuvim, who was in charge of arrangements, to present a more detailed report.

Mr. Tuvim stated that thirty nations were represented by men and women of high calibre, outstanding in their respective communities and professions, who can be of invaluable assistance to us in our future work. The conference consisted of a number of sessions, most of them of a business character, a Ministers' luncheon, and a dinner. The Tea on October 31st, with Mrs. Taft presiding, was well attended and effective. There was good attendance also at the Panels. The closing event, the Balfour Day Dinner, on Friday, marked the high spot of the conference and was run on a very high plane.

A new name was adopted by the Conference, "World Committee for Palestine," and Sir Ellswood Flavelle, of Canada, was elected Chairman.

An interesting point, Mr. Tuvim felt, was the presentation by the Latin American group of a resolution which it insisted upon putting through, to the effect that since Great Britain had failed in its exercise of the Mandate, it

should be taken away from her and given to a trusteeship group to be set up under the United Nations Organization. The British, Australian and Canadian delegates, out of loyalty to their Empire, fought this. At the three luncheons arranged for the Latin-American, British and American groups respectively, the matter was re-discussed thoroughly and the Latin-American group yielded. They withdrew the resolution only after their spokesman indicated for the record that his group was doing this for the sake of amity in an international group working for Palestine and that the rescinded resolution remains the expression of their views.

While the general picture of accomplishment was gratifying, Mr. Tuvim felt that many deficiencies had been revealed which should be remedied in future planning. For instance, there was: (1) inadequate staff to handle sundry and specialized functions; (2) lack of educational work - no panels for discussion groups where speakers could impart the necessary, desired information.

Mr. Tuvim was of the opinion that in order to insure the success of this significant undertaking, the Jewish Agency should set up a special department under the proper direction and with adequate funds. The possibilities are great for it should be borne in mind, he pointed out, that even with the inadequate facilities we had we were able to secure representation from 12 additional nations where we had no functioning American Christian Palestine Committee.

Mr. Tuvim took occasion to express his appreciation to the members of the staff who helped make the conference the success it was.

Dr. Silver explained that the functions of the World Committee for Palestine definitely falls within the realm of the Jewish Agency. The new organization will be an autonomous body which will work in close cooperation with the American Christian Palestine Committee under the guidance of the Jewish Agency since it is an international group. He pointed out this work will require a competent staff to carry it through successfully and it is important, too, that we have someone who knows Latin America well since the growing interest and activity there may prove of immeasurable value to us in our work.

In general, Dr. Silver felt that our propaganda should now be directed to the non-Jewish public which hitherto has not been reached to the maximum degree. He emphasized how important it was for the heads of the Council's constituent organizations to convey to their respective lecture bureaus the message that whenever a speaker is sent to one of their groups in any part of the country, arrangements should be made to have the speaker address a Christian group in that city on the same day. It is far more important, he felt, to reach the non-Jewish groups these days, especially in view of the systematic approach which the Arab representatives in this country are making to the Christian world. It is urgent that we now direct our efforts toward reaching non-Jewish bodies.

Mrs. Halprin questioned the soundness of the request to have as few Jewish people as possible be present at the conference. In her opinion the stimulation gained from such a meeting would redound to the benefit of the cause and she felt, therefore, that national Hadassah, for example, should have been asked to send representatives as should have the other constituent organizations.

DEMONSTRATION IN LOS ANGELES

Dr. Silver announced that Los Angeles had a most successful open air demonstration on the steps of the City Hall, at which there was an estimated attendance of from 10,000 to 15,000. This gathering, addressed in the main by non-Jews, received fine press comments.

RESOLUTIONS

Dr. Silver reported that the Resolutions are now in the hands of the Foreign Relations Committee. We are in the process of sounding out the members of this Committee and in a few days we should be able to make a report.

PLAN OF ACTION IN CONNECTION WITH PRIME MINISTER ATTLEE'S VISIT TO AMERICA

The chairman threw the meeting open to a discussion of ways and means for utilizing to the greatest degree possible the visit of Prime Minister Attlee in America.

Following discussion, it was decided to try to arrange:

1. A visit to the Prime Minister by a committee of friendly Senators and Congressmen.
2. A visit, also, by a committee composed of labor leaders and Christian leaders of the World Committee for Palestine.
3. The American Zionist Emergency Council, through the proper channels should ask for a formal talk with the Prime Minister.
4. The Prime Minister should be flooded with letters from all parts of the country. People throughout the United States -- non-Jews as well as Jews -- should be asked to write to him while he is in this country.
5. A dignified "ad" in the form of a Second Open Letter to Prime Minister Attlee, should be placed in the newspapers -- especially in Washington -- over the signature of our non-Jewish friends.

Regarding the announcement of the Revisionist-sponsored demonstration planned in Washington during Mr. Attlee's visit, it was the sense of the meeting that we should do nothing to interfere with these plans.

STATEMENT ON RIOTS IN EGYPT

Two drafts of a statement to be released to the press on the subject of the riots in Egypt were presented to the meeting for consideration.

Following discussion, it was decided to formulate a statement based on draft #1, incorporating in it also some of the points presented in the second draft. (See press release of November 6th, attached).

POLL ON ZIONISM

The Committee was informed that on the initiative of two private individuals, the Elmo Roper organization had conducted a poll on Jewish opinion in regard to the establishment of Palestine as a Jewish State. The results indicated that 80% of those approached approved the Zionist position, 10% were opposed, and 10% were unfamiliar or uninformed. A meeting was to take place on Wednesday for the purpose of presenting the findings formally to the Committee for Unity and it was agreed that representatives of the Council should attend this meeting.

CONGRESSMAN SOMERS

Mr. Alkow reported that he had had a lengthy discussion with Congressman Somers who had indicated his willingness to work with us, and that a further

meeting with him was being arranged. Mr. Ben Horin was also present at this meeting and supplied the necessary factual material.

DR. WEIZMANN

In connection with Dr. Weizmann's impending arrival (Dr. Weizmann had left the previous day on the Queen Mary), it was felt that in view of the rapidly changing political scene it might be advisable for Dr. Weizmann to postpone any press interviews until after he had met with his colleagues here and that efforts should be made to communicate with him accordingly.

STATUS OF MR. BEN HORIN

It was decided to postpone action on the permanent status of Mr. Ben Horin until the next regular meeting of the Executive Committee.

The meeting adjourned at 6:20 P.M.

A. L.



PRESS RELEASE from

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

Associated Organizations:

Zionist Organization of America • Hadassah • Mizrahi • Poale-Zion

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

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

RIOTS IN EGYPT ENGINEERED BY ARAB LEAGUE, AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL CHARGES

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"BRITAIN'S IMPERIAL POLICY CANNOT ESCAPE ITS SHARE OF BLAME,"
SAYS OFFICIAL STATEMENT

- - - -

New York -- The Arab League was held directly responsible for the rioting which occurred in Cairo, Alexandria and other cities of Egypt in a statement issued today by the American Zionist Emergency Council, which speaks for the entire Zionist movement in the United States.

"It is now abundantly clear that the outbreaks were not a spontaneous rising of the masses, but a deliberate program engineered, in the words of the Prime Minister of Egypt, Nokrashy Pasha, by 'evil hands'. . . . The 'evil hands' which unloosed this disgraceful outbreak were those of the Arab League, which has been threatening and inviting just such violence for some time now. But the ultimate responsibility goes further. The Arab League itself has come into being with the blessing and support of Britain's Colonial officials in the Middle East. Without that support, not only the League, but even the individual Arab states in that area could not hope to survive. Britain's imperial policy in the Middle East cannot escape its share of blame for what has occurred and for what will continue to occur if it pursues its present line," the statement said.

The full text of the statement follows:

"The rioting which occurred in Cairo, in Alexandria and in other cities of Egypt toward the close of last week was the natural and inevitable consequence

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of the inflammatory campaign conducted against the Jewish National Home by the Arab League in the few months of the League's existence. It is now abundantly clear that the outbreaks were not a spontaneous rising of the masses but a deliberate pogrom engineered, in the words of the Prime Minister of Egypt, Nokrashy Pasha, by 'evil hands.' To stir the urban masses to lawless action was not difficult. Hungry, discontented and illiterate, the latter were readily inflamed; but as the results show, they were motivated more by the desire for loot than by any real hostility to Zionism, and eventually they attacked indiscriminately the property of Jews and non-Jews alike, including churches.

"The 'evil hands' which unloosed this disgraceful outbreak were those of the Arab League, which has been threatening and inviting just such violence for some time now. But the ultimate responsibility goes further. The Arab League itself has come into being with the blessing and support of Britain's Colonial officials in the Middle East. Without that support not only the League but even the individual Arab states in that area could not hope to survive. Britain's imperial policy in the Middle East cannot escape its share of blame for what has occurred and for what will continue to occur if it pursues its present line. That policy seeks on the one hand for its own purposes to establish and maintain the hollow facade of a grandiose confederation of the reactionary regimes in the Middle East. On the other hand, Britain shows itself ready, as a sop to the delusions of grandeur thus aroused, to betray its pledged word to the Jewish people in regard to Palestine.

"There is an inescapable parallel between the appeasement of Munich in 1939 and the new appeasement to which in recent weeks the British Labor Government has committed itself by continuing the iniquitous policy of the Palestine White Paper. The former was followed two months later by the burning of the synagogues in Germany. The latter has already brought in its train the destruction of synagogues in Cairo, the burning of Jewish books and murderous attacks on peaceful citizens.

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The British Government has given the Arabs an example in lawlessness; it has repudiated its oft-repeated pledge to honor the Balfour Declaration, violated with impunity obligations undertaken under the Mandate, and closed the doors of Palestine in the face of the desperate victims of the Nazis.

"The England responsible for this policy is not the England which is worthy of her own best traditions. We choose to believe that that nobler England will yet reassert itself. But for the Jewish people there is no other way than to go forward. If proof were needed that acceptance by the Jews of Palestine of the permanent minority status contemplated by the White Paper would be intolerable and impossible, that proof has now been given.

"Nor will the Jewish people be terrorized by the unwarranted intrusion of Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, or any of the other Arab states into an issue which was settled by the unanimous action of the nations of the world a quarter of a century ago. The Arab states are in this matter without legal standing of any kind and their attitude in recent years is certainly far from giving them a moral voice in this issue. Palestine was recognized twenty-eight years ago and remains today the one answer to the problem of Jewish national homelessness. Confident that the cause of justice and international good faith, upon which the security of all nations is founded, must in the end prevail, the Jewish people, supported by men and women of good will everywhere, stands steadfast and will not falter in the days ahead."

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

November 14, 1945

A special meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Wednesday, November 14th, at 8:30 P.M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, (presiding), Mrs. Judith G. Epstein, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Irving D. Lipkowitz, Louis Lipsky, Rabbi Irving Miller, Emanuel Neumann, Mrs. David de Sola Pool, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Louis Segal, Mrs. Herman Shulman, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Rabbi Seymour M. Zambrowsky.

Dr. Chaim Weizmann, Rabbi Philip S. Bernstein, Moshe Furmansky, Dr. Nahum Goldmann, Professor Milton Handler, Rabbi Joseph H. Lookstein, Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt, Captain Abraham Tulin, Meyer W. Weisgal, Reuven Zaslani.

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

STATEMENTS OF MR. BEVIN AND THE PRESIDENT

Dr. Silver, in introducing the discussion on the statements by Mr. Bevin and the President, said that the World Executive would be meeting in Jerusalem about November 25 and that on major issues it would have the decisive voice. Dr. Silver read a statement which had been issued to the press (November 14th) by the Emergency Council in response to the statements of Mr. Bevin and the President. No official information had come to us prior to the public announcement of the proposal for a joint Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, but on the basis of newspaper reports a telegram had been sent by us to President Truman on October 30th. It was suggested that the telegram to Mr. Truman should be published. Also that a mimeographed or printed sheet dealing briefly with latest developments should be prepared and distributed weekly or fortnightly.

Dr. Silver pointed out that in terms of the Bevin statement the scope of America was limited exclusively to that of participating in the hearings and recommendations, but that subsequent action and ultimate authority appertained to Britain alone.

Captain Tulin discussed certain aspects of the Terms of Reference and suggested that an effort be made to clarify or to change the terms so as to make clear that the inquiry must be founded on the implementation of the established rights of the Jewish people. He pointed out, too, that in the reference to consulting with Jews and Arabs the Jewish Agency, as the officially recognized body, had been by-passed and that clarification was called for also in this connection.

Dr. Weizmann stated that there was real danger that Mr. Bevin would seek "representative Jews" more to his liking than were the members of the Agency. In this connection Dr. Weizmann referred to the recent accession to the Labor

Party of Lord Rothschild and the latter's appointment as chief Labor whip in the House of Lords. Mr. Bevin had undoubtedly obtained the support of certain Jews for his policy and was planning on using that support. Dr. Weizmann went on to say that the notion had developed amongst non-Jews that the Jewish State was something new. That was not the case. The Jewish State was the logical fulfillment of the National Home policy. The idea had been implanted in Mr. Bevin that what the Zionists were aiming at was a theocratic state.

Dr. Weizmann inquired about the possibility of obtaining the cooperation of some of the non-Zionist groups in the struggle which lay ahead.

Mr. Segal stated that by the action of the President America had associated itself with the betrayal of the British Government. The question, therefore, was how would the American people react to this action on the part of their Government:

1. We should mobilize our forces -- there should be thousands of protests condemning and protesting the President's action. ✓
2. Conferences should be held with leading Democrats in as many communities as possible. Republicans should also be seen. Action on the loan should be considered.
3. The situation should be dramatized by protest meetings and closing of shops. Whether we want it or not there is going to be a Commission. We may be able by what we do to affect its composition or its action. ✓
4. We should try to get Senators to visit the President and indicate to him the position in which he has placed himself.
5. We must reintroduce the Resolution in Congress.

Judge Rothenberg analyzed briefly certain aspects of the Bevin statement. The omission of any reference to Britain's international commitments was intentional and he had no doubt that Great Britain was out to destroy the Mandate. He felt that for us to cooperate with the Committee in any way would be most dangerous. ✓

Mr. Neumann agreed with Judge Rothenberg. The Joint Committee was a deadly trap whose purpose was to enmesh America in the coils of British policy. What the British wanted was for America to share the responsibility with Britain not vis-a-vis the Arabs, but vis-a-vis the Jews. We once made a mistake in participating in the London Round Table Conference with representatives of the Arab States. It was our duty to declare that we had no confidence in this Committee and seek to discredit it in advance. Had the American Government shown that it was genuinely willing to meet us, we might have had a chance, but there had been not the slightest indication of such willingness or any desire on the part of our Government to take us into its confidence. ✓

Mrs. Pool opposed any request for clarification of the Terms of Reference. She urged, further, that the World Executive be advised against acceptance of the proposed 1500 certificates per month. With regard to the Joint Committee, we should protest as vigorously as we know how, but once it was set up it was vital that we see that it obtain the right information and should, therefore, cooperate with it. She also suggested that Dr. Weizmann meet with representatives of the Jewish Labor Committee and American Jewish Committee. ✓

Professor Handler expressed himself in accord with Judge Rothenberg and Mr. Neumann. Mr. Bevin's challenge must be met on the emotional rather than on the rational plane. We can only hope to move the Government by the mass pressures which can be generated in a democracy. Indicative of the need to educate our friends quickly was the fact that when Senators Taft and Wagner had been informed by Mr. Byrnes of the Joint Committee proposal, they had at first been completely taken in by it. He suggested:

1. A forthright attack on Bevin's statement and on the Joint Committee plan. Bevin could not have indicated more clearly that he rejects our every position. British maneuvers during the last two decades and particularly during the last three years should be unmasked.
2. We must bring our message to the American people. A large-scale advertising program should be undertaken. We should spend \$1,000,000, if necessary. The Jewish people are aroused and would be ready to support such a program financially.
3. Newspapers should be flooded with letters of protest. Columnists, etc. should be supplied with material.
4. Constituents should descend on their Congressmen.
5. Congressmen should be invited to express themselves on the floor.
6. A great meeting, exceeding that at Madison Square Park, should be held in Central Park.

At that meeting postcards intended for the White House should be distributed which:

- (a) Would protest the establishment of the Committee of Inquiry.
- (b) Would demand entry of the 100,000 immediately and not after the deliberations of the Committee of Inquiry.
- (c) Would insist on the fulfillment of the Party platform declarations.

Mrs. Halprin stated that non-cooperation with the Committee was a second step and would depend upon various factors, including the personnel of the Committee and possible clarification of the Terms of Reference. We should engage distinguished counsel in this regard. Mrs. Halprin proposed further:

1. That action in regard to a demonstration or a filibuster on the loan be followed through without delay.
2. In addition to an Emergency Conference by the American Jewish Conference regional Conferences should also be arranged.
3. An effective press conference should be arranged.

Judge Levinthal, following up the suggestion regarding the retention of prominent counsel, suggested names like John W. Davis, Owen Roberts and Professor Friedrich to advise us. The threat of the dissolution of the Agency must be taken seriously. In this connection, he mentioned that Mr. Gillette and Mr. J. David Stern were leaving for London tomorrow.

Mrs. Epstein felt that any effort to obtain legal clarification of the Terms of Reference was pointless. It would be different if we could get the terms changed. An effort should be made to publish in book form articles on Palestine in the immediate future. Our advertising must be planned so that it will be read. At the same time, Mrs. Epstein commented on the excellent advertisement published by the Emergency Council (the second "Letter to Mr. Attlee").

Mr. Lipsky urged that the line of cleavage be drawn between Mr. Truman and Mr. Bevin. It would do us no good to show that Mr. Truman and Mr. Bevin had entered into partnership. The fact was that Mr. Truman had allowed himself to be fooled into accepting a Committee which had nothing to do with his request for 100,000 certificates.

Judge Rosenblatt suggested that we must be ready to set up the Jewish Agency as a Government in Exile if the need arose. He reported on a conversation in which he had advised Senator Mead of the significance of the O'Dwyer figures. O'Dwyer's net majority had been only 285,000. A swing of 200,000 votes would make all the difference. He urged that if Dr. Weizmann saw the President, it was essential that a representative, speaking for the 5,000,000 Jews of America, should accompany him.

Mr. Furmanky agreed with the various suggestions directed towards activating the Jewish masses. Emotion calls for an outlet in action; but the leadership must also reason. The most effective way of attacking the Bevin statements was on the ground of their unfairness. It must be remembered, too, that Mr. Bevin is in a decidedly vulnerable position in the British Government. Mr. Furmanky urged that we conduct our campaign against the way in which the Committee has been presented, but that we must not develop a psychology of avoiding traps, otherwise we might prepare a trap for ourselves and find ourselves isolated. On the question of cooperation or non-cooperation, the decision should be made later; otherwise, in two months we may find that we have to revise our attitude. Our most potent, political argument today is illegal immigration and that Jews are ready to risk being killed in going to Palestine.

Dr. Bernstein agreed that we should reject the Committee. He suggested that our reasons be presented to the American people in a manner similar to that contained in the letter on the Roosevelt-Ibn Saud correspondence. He urged an emergency session of the American Jewish Conference.

Dr. Goldstein urged that cooperation with the Joint Committee should not be approved unless after acceptance of the President's request for the admission of 100,000. The Resolution in Congress should be pressed within the coming few weeks. He believed that chances of its passage within the next few days were poor. In reply to Mr. Bevin's distinction between Jews and Zionists we should bring out the character of American Jewish opinion as reflected in the Roper poll.

Dr. Silver agreed that a distinction should be made between the part played by Mr. Truman and that by Mr. Bevin. Mr. Truman had been greatly moved by the Harrison Report and his letter to Mr. Attlee had been a fine, human document. Our attack on Mr. Truman should be for his retreat on his request. We must warn him not to accept a Committee in the place of action. Mr. Bevin, on the other hand, was trying to liquidate the Jewish National Home and we should undertake an all-out fight against that policy. This should be signaled by the resignation forthwith of Dr. Weizmann. Discussion of the Terms of Reference is useless, for if the factor preventing the grant of the 100,000 certificates is Arab irritation, how can that factor be overcome if our demands in regard to

the Jewish National Home are to be granted? We must make it clear that we will reject the Committee and will not be bound by any decision. If we are ready to take that line we can proceed effectively with our protests. If not, our protests are invalid.

Dr. Silver reported on developments in connection with the Palestine Resolution. A long meeting had taken place that day of the Foreign Relations Committee. Senator Connally, who had previously stated that no objections would be raised, now came forward with the objection that the President did not wish his hands to be tied. Senator Barkley had taken exception to this statement, though he had agreed that it might be better to hold up the Resolution until Mr. Attlee had left. The question of the joint Anglo-American Committee had come up for long discussion. Some of the Senators wanted a new "whereas" clause introduced which would make reference to the appointment of the Joint Committee. Senator Green also object to the wording of the concluding phrase and wished to eliminate the word "they" (the Jews) in connection with the establishment of Palestine as a free and independent Commonwealth. An acrimonious interchange had apparently taken place between Wagner and Connally. Barkley had been very helpful. The members of the Foreign Relations Committee finally decided to appoint a Sub-Committee of five.

1. To see Mr. Byrnes.
2. To redraft the Resolution to include the new clause referring to the Joint Committee.

The Resolution would be taken up again the following Monday.

Judge Rothenberg pointed out with regard to the proposal for Dr. Weizmann's resignation, that that resignation might offer Mr. Bevin the pretext he was looking for to dissolve the Agency.

Professor Handler said that the Secretary of State would probably try to get the Sub-Committee to defer action in view of the setting up of the Joint Committee of Inquiry. We should therefore seek to brief the members of the Sub-Committee without delay.

Dr. Wise agreed with Dr. Silver's analysis. The President had made an important proposal and it is still possible to insist on his carrying it out. He took courage from the spirit of the meeting and the fact that we were one in the determination to resist the criminal betrayal of the British Government.

The meeting adjourned at 11:00 P.M.

A. L.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

November 26, 1945

A special meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Monday, November 26th, at 9:15 P.M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Stephen S. Wise (presiding), Pinchas Cruso, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mrs. Rose W. Halprin, Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Dr. Emanuel Neumann, Louis Segal, David Wertheim, Rabbi Seymour M. Zambrowsky.

Mrs. David de Sola Pool, Captain Abraham Tulin, Reuven Zaslani.

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

CONGRESSIONAL RESOLUTION

Dr. Neumann reported on the status of the resolution now before the Foreign Relations Committee. Our committee - consisting of Mr. Gellman, Mrs. Halprin, Mr. Wertheim and himself - had been in Washington that day (November 26th) in order to be on hand in the event that any question might arise at the scheduled meeting of the Foreign Relations sub-committee on the wording of an alternative phrasing of the Resolution, and especially if it became necessary to indicate where to draw the line at which we would prefer that no resolution be adopted. The sub-committee had met briefly on November 24th and had decided to take no action until Monday (November 26th). Today the sub-committee again failed to report. Senator Guffey, whom our committee later saw, stated that he had moved to report out of Committee the resolution as submitted in the Wagner-Taft phrasing, whereupon Senator Connally said his motion was out of order on the ground that there was a sub-committee which had first to report and was not yet through. A discussion then ensued in Committee, during which it appeared, as our representatives learned from another source, that the sub-committee members claimed to have spoken with President Truman that same morning and that he had conveyed to them his feeling that since negotiations were still in process with the British Government on certain phases of the Joint Committee of Inquiry now being constituted, including the matter of a time limit, no action on the resolution should be taken at the moment.

After Senator Connally had insisted that the sub-committee be given a few more days in which to bring in their report, it was decided to postpone action until Monday, December 3rd, at which time the sub-committee is to report on what action is to be taken.

Our committee learned, too, that Secretary Byrnes had offered substantially the same opinion as President Truman when he appeared before the sub-committee.

When our representatives spoke subsequently with Senator Taft, he agreed that this postponement and the reason advanced therefor was simply a matter of stalling.

He could not understand what the matter of a time limit (a suggestion of 120 days by the American Government) had to do with the phrasing of the Resolution.

Dr. Neumann stated that our representatives felt that nothing is likely to happen next Monday, either. While it is now urged that the resolution be postponed until after the Anglo-American Committee has actually been appointed, once such committee has been constituted, the President and Secretary of State will undoubtedly advance the further argument that the Congressional Resolution should first await the results of the Committee of Inquiry.

The Administration's tactics were clear. Having accepted this Joint Committee of Inquiry, which is in itself a stalling device, the Administration, especially at the instigation of Britain, would not want Congress to adopt any resolution at all.

The situation with which our representatives had had to deal in Washington revolved about the amended draft, now before the sub-committee, which Senators Taft and Wagner had accepted. The sub-committee has been considering various amendments to water down and weaken that draft. As far as we are concerned, one or two of these amendments may be acceptable to us provided the essential point of the resolution is kept. To consider the revisions in detail:

1. Commendation of President for his action in requesting 100,000 certificates and his cooperation in the establishment of the Joint Committee of Inquiry. This was originally included in the WHEREAS clause but is now to be inserted in the RESOLVED clause.

In view of the fact that there is insistence on the inclusion of a commendation of the President's action (which, according to Senator Connally constitutes a test of confidence in President Truman) our representatives felt that it would be very difficult to omit reference to the Joint Committee. However, if the Resolution will go on to include the other points we want, the Resolution might still be acceptable as constituting the basic policy upon which the American members of the Committee must operate and as being in the nature of a political and moral directive.

2. "Peaceful offices" was substituted for the original "good offices." Dr. Neumann had suggested to Senator Taft as a substitute "that the United States shall use its good offices with the Mandatory Power." This change clearly indicates that what is meant is diplomatic pressure only.

3. "Absorptive capacity" -- "to the end that the doors of Palestine shall be opened for free entry of Jews into that country to the fullest extent of its absorptive capacity." The term "absorptive capacity" would make the amendment unacceptable.

Senators Taft and Wagner agreed that the phrase "absorptive capacity" is unacceptable.

4. ".....so that Palestine may be reconstituted..." to replace the original "and there shall be full opportunity for colonization so that they may reconstitute Palestine....."

With regard to point (1), Mrs. Halprin stated that it would be difficult to attack this point as it was hardly possible that the Senate Committee would leave out all reference to the Committee of Inquiry. What we might do, however, is to seek to change the phraseology. The commendation might be of President Truman's interest in general terms.

Dr. Wise felt that inclusion of commendation of President Truman's action with regard to the Committee of Inquiry was very harmful. Dr. Neumann shared this opinion but pointed out that it would be difficult to get such of the Democratic senators who are our friends to omit reference to the President's action.

There was discussion also of the inclusion of the reference to "absorptive capacity." The omission of the word "they" (the Jews) in connection with the establishment of the independent state was held vital.

The general question was then posed whether, assuming that the policy of the Administration is to postpone the whole issue, we should decide at this point to write off the Resolution; otherwise we must at once bring as much pressure to bear as we can to put it through. It was agreed that we must follow the latter policy and a discussion ensued on the form our action should take.

Among various proposals advanced were: (1) That communities throughout the country approach their senators directly and by telephone and telegram. (2) That we initiate a straw vote among the Republican senators who should be asked to indicate their approval of a Resolution, thereby making clear responsibility for its failure, should it finally fail. (3) We should contact the new National Commander of the Jewish War Veterans with a view to a march of veterans on Washington.

The discussion was summarized as follows:

1. It is clear that the Administration is stalling because it does not favor passage of the Resolution.

2. There is slight chance for its success in view of the opposition of the Administration and the obstructionist tactics being employed.

3. It is nevertheless essential to wage the strongest fight possible.

4. Apart from all the methods suggested for a vigorous campaign in relation to senators and political leaders, the press must be utilized widely in this campaign. Our only hope of budging the Administration is by making them realize that the "worm will turn" at some point. They must be made to realize the resentment of the Jewish masses and the facts must be revealed to our people through the press. The full story must be given -- that the Resolution was re-introduced with the approval of the President and the Secretary; that they had reversed themselves; that its stoppage marks the first fruit of the Joint Anglo-American Committee, etc. This can be done skilfully through friendly correspondents in Washington.

CURRENT SITUATION IN PALESTINE

Mr. Zaslani pointed out that we must get accustomed to the idea that in Palestine a physical fight has begun over two main issues: (1) Immigration; (2) Jewish right to self-defense. In view of this, the morale of the Yishub requires the solidarity of the Jews in America. It is essential for us to let the Jews in Palestine know that we in America meant what we said in the mass demonstrations which we staged.

He enumerated the following concrete ways whereby we could convey to the Yishub the knowledge that we stand behind them in this struggle:

1. The post offices in Palestine should be flooded with cables from

America -- cables addressed to Shefayim, Givat Chayim, Rishpon, Hogla and to the Vaad Leumi -- expressing our solidarity with the Yishub. These cables should come from the heads of the organizations here as well as from their constituencies.

2. Statements should be released to the press reporting that these cables have been sent. In this connection he suggested that the Yiddish press could be more effective than the English papers.

3. If possible, we should have war veterans, who have been eye witnesses to the incidents in Europe, send letters to the proper sources in Washington making inquiry as to what procedure they must follow in order to enlist and go to Palestine.

4. Other bodies would no doubt consider plans for picketing the British Consuls and Embassies.

BERGEN-BELSEN INCIDENT

Mr. Zaslani explained that the story on the action taken by the British military authorities at Bergen-Belsen which came out today, ten days after the incident occurred, is very serious. It represents a warning to the Jews in European camps to be careful of what they say with regard to the Palestine question. This shameful occurrence, he felt, should be explained and tied up with what the Jews are fighting for.

DR. WEIZMANN IN WASHINGTON

Dr. Wise reported that Dr. Weizmann was contemplating a week's visit in Washington, but had not yet made definite commitments as to whom he was going to see there. Following discussion, Dr. Wise suggested that a committee of the Council confer with Dr. Weizmann and convey to him our point of view as to whom it would be most advisable to see in the light of present developments.

It was the sense of the meeting that this recommendation be accepted and that such a committee be appointed. Dr. Wise appointed Mrs. Halprin, Dr. Neumann, Mr. Wertheim and Rabbi Zambrowsky to constitute a committee which is to meet with Dr. Weizmann at his convenience and present to him for consideration our views as to which contacts in Washington would best serve our cause in the present situation. Many suggestions were made during the discussion which ensued bearing on this and related matters. Some felt that Dr. Weizmann should see President Truman and that Dr. Wise should speak with Secretary Byrnes. Others, on the other hand, felt that Dr. Wise, accompanied by one or two members of the Council, should see Mr. Truman.

Rabbi Zambrowsky reported that in a conversation with Mr. Rosenheim, of Agudas Israel, Secretary Byrnes had told him, in confidence, that he had pity for those who build up illusions about the possibility of a Jewish State.

He advanced for consideration the thought that it might be advisable to invite Chief Rabbi Herzog, who is now on his way to Europe from Palestine, to come to America for political purposes.

Mr. Segal reported that at a meeting of the Poale Zion the following proposals were recommended, in addition to those discussed by us. (1) Ask the CIO and AFL leaders to arrange a ten-minute stoppage of work as an expression of the solidarity of American labor with the Jewish people and the Yishub; (2) Call upon the Jews in America to apply for visas to Palestine so that the State Department may know that there are thousands of people in America who are willing to go to Palestine, to live or be killed there.

Following a reference to, and brief discussion of, the possible membership of the Joint Committee of Inquiry, the meeting adjourned at midnight.

A.L.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

December 7, 1945

A special meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Friday, December 7, at 9:00 A.M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Stephen S. Wise (presiding), Gedalia Bublick, Pinchas Cruso, Mrs. Judith G. Epstein, Leon Gellman, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Dr. Emanuel Neumann, Louis Segal, Mrs. Herman Shulman, David Wertheim.

Rabbi Philip S. Bernstein, Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt, Captain Abraham Tulin.

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

LETTER OF MR. VAN PAASSEN TO "NEW YORK POST"

It was agreed that the present status of the action pending between Mr. Van Paassen and the Emergency Committee to Rescue the Jews of Europe be ascertained; also that a personal letter be written to Mr. Van Paassen repudiating the statements contained in his letter to the "New York Post."

JOINT ANGLO-AMERICAN COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY

Mrs. Epstein reported that Hadassah had given a good deal of consideration to the question of Zionist participation in the work of the Committee of Inquiry since Mr. Bevin's statement had been issued. It was the opinion of the great majority of the Hadassah Board that it was not in our best interests to boycott the Committee. It would make a very bad impression on the American public since they were not aware of all the factors involved and it would seem to them as if we were afraid to present the full facts to the Committee. Mrs. Epstein referred to Dr. Silver's public statement at the Atlantic City convention that he would oppose participation in the work of the Committee of Inquiry. In the light of that statement and of Hadassah's own opinion on the subject, her Board had felt it necessary to convey to Dr. Silver and to the other members of the Executive who were going from America to the meeting in Jerusalem, Hadassah's point of view. A minority opinion on the Board was represented in the Executive Committee of the Council by Mrs. Shulman.

Mr. Wertheim stated that the Poale Zion had also come to the conclusion that a boycott would be a very dangerous procedure and they had decided to inform the Central Committee of the Poale Zion in Jerusalem of their views.

Dr. Berkson said that while it was clear that the cards were stacked against us and we should state publicly our objections to the Committee and our feeling that it was intended as a means of discrediting the Zionist cause,

the fact, nevertheless, remained that we would, in his view, not be able to avoid giving testimony. We must therefore use the occasion to present the strongest case possible as a means of appealing to public opinion.

Mrs. Shulman felt that the Committee should be boycotted and that we should carry our case straight to the public.

Mr. Cruso expressed his support of the view of Mr. Wertheim and Mrs. Epstein.

Mr. Bublick said that nothing was to be gained by testifying. He felt that the statements issued by Mr. Bevin and Mr. Truman precluded any chance of our obtaining anything from the Committee. He urged that a recommendation to this effect be sent to Palestine.

Mrs. Halprin remarked that among the Arabs, too, there was a division of opinion with regard to participation. In supporting the majority point of view of Hadassah, she urged that there should not be an attack on the membership of the Committee, but on the principles upon which the Inquiry was based.

Mr. Segal said that we hate the Committee and do not want it. But the fact was that it was there and its findings might have an affect upon our fate. Our testimony would represent a public statement of our case so that people the world over would know what that case was.

Mr. Gellman said that no official position had been taken by the American Mizrahi Organization with regard to participation, but coming as he had recently from Palestine he could say that they were sick and tired there of compromises.

Dr. Goldstein said that he saw no point in the discussion if Poale Zion and Hadassah had already come to the meeting bound by the decisions of their organizations.

Mrs. Epstein indicated that the Hadassah members of the Council were not bound and that one of them differed in her opinion from her colleagues.

Rabbi Kirshblum felt that it might be unwise for us to adopt any recommendation, for if it turned out that our view was in conflict with what the Executive in Jerusalem were to decide, the decision of the Executive would to that extent be weakened.

After further discussion, it was agreed that an opportunity be given to the Z.O.A. members on the Executive Committee to consider the question so far as their group is concerned, and to take it up again at a meeting the following Monday, December 10th.

CONGRESSIONAL RESOLUTION

Captain Tulin reported that Mrs. Epstein and he had gone down to Washington on two occasions since the last meeting to keep in touch with developments on the Resolution. On the second occasion Dr. Neumann had also taken part. They had had before them the draft which was to be presented by Senator Green on behalf of the Sub-Committee.

Captain Tulin had first spoken to Senator Taft and had indicated to him our objections to the various points. At the beginning, Senator Taft had remarked that

he felt that we were being too technical. But he saw the points immediately when they were explained to him:

- (a) As regards the inclusion of the commendation of the President, he said that what had happened was that the President had suggested to Mr. Attlee that the 100,000 be admitted on the basis of certain facts. The British said that the facts were otherwise. Under those circumstances, it appeared reasonable to appoint a Committee of Inquiry. He felt that it would be impossible to eliminate this reference.
- (b) The use of the term "peaceful" offices was regarded as imperative by Senator Vandenberg.
- (c) Senator Taft agreed with our criticism of the phrase "to the greatest feasible extent" in connection with Jewish immigration. He would urge a change along the lines suggested by us.
- (d) He also agreed with the criticism of the concluding phrase with regard to the establishment of a Jewish Home and accepted our own wording.

Senators Tunnell and Wagner have also been seen. Dr. Akzin and Mr. Sack had discussed the matter at length with Senator Wagner and had also taken the occasion to communicate with Senators Mead and Barkley. Senator Wagner subsequently informed us that the Sub-Committee would take the matter up again and that Senators Wagner and Taft would be given the opportunity of appearing at that meeting.

Dr. Wise had also been in Washington and had seen Senators Connally, Green, Austin and Wagner.

Dr. Neumann also reported on his visit to Washington. He remarked that when he was there on Wednesday, he had found the atmosphere poisoned by the statements of David Stern and Lessing Rosenwald in connection with their meetings with the President. By way of counter action, a statement was drafted for Senators Taft and Wagner dealing with the question of the Jewish State, which had been delivered to the White House on Thursday and which would be issued by the Senators to the press for publication on Saturday. The statement was read and received the warm approval of the Executive Committee.

The Senate Sub-Committee had not met owing to the desire of most of the members to be present at the testimony before the Foreign Relations Committee of General Hurley. The Sub-Committee would meet on the following Monday or Tuesday, when our representatives would again have to be in attendance.

A prolonged discussion followed on the wording of the revised draft Resolution as approved at the previous meeting of the Executive Committee. An alternative formula, should the need arise for a substitute for the concluding sentences, was accepted as follows:

"So that they may freely proceed with the upbuilding of Palestine as the Jewish National Home and establish it as a democratic Commonwealth in which all men may have equal rights."

SUGGESTED "BILL OF INDICTMENT"

Mr. Segal referred to a conversation he had had with Mr. George Blakeley. Mr. Segal suggested that we should establish a committee of distinguished lawyers who should prepare, on a dramatic scale, a Bill of Indictment against England for its Palestine policy. It was agreed that Captain Tulin, Judge Rothenberg and Judge Rosenblatt should look into this suggestion.

PHELPS ADAMS ARTICLE IN THE "NEW YORK SUN"

Mrs. Epstein referred to an article which had appeared in the "New York Sun" by Mr. Phelps Adams, which discussed "The Jewish Vote," and reported alleged statements of Zionist representatives. She felt that the line there adopted was most unwise since the general public did not understand all the nuances and would misinterpret that kind of approach which was, in fact, a gift to the Council for Judaism.

Judge Rosenblatt expressed himself in full agreement with Mrs. Epstein as did Mrs. Halprin.

A contrary point of view was offered by Mr. Wertheim and Dr. Neumann.

It was finally decided to discuss the matter further at a subsequent meeting.

ARTICLES IN "LIFE" MAGAZINE AND IN "THE NATION"

It was agreed that an appropriate reply be prepared to the article which appeared in the current issue of "Life" magazine and also that the Local Emergency Councils be invited to send protests against misleading statements of fact and misinterpretations contained in the article.

Dr. Berkson also referred to the article by I. F. Stone in "The Nation," supporting a bi-nationalist solution, which called for an analysis and a reply.

MEETING OF DR. WEIZMANN WITH PRESIDENT TRUMAN

A very brief report was given by Dr. Wise on this meeting, and it was agreed that Dr. Weizmann should be invited to attend the next meeting of the Committee.

The meeting adjourned at 12:15 P.M.

A.L.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

December 10, 1945

A special meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Monday, December 10, at 12M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Stephen S. Wise (presiding), Gedalia Bublick, Pinchas Cruso, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Dr. Emanuel Neumann, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Mrs. Herman Shulmah, David Wertheim.

Rabbi Philip S. Bernstein, Elishu Epstein, I.L. Kenen, Joseph Linton, Rabbi Joseph H. Lookstein, Miss Dvora Rothbard, Captain Abraham Tulin, Meyer Weisgal.

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

CONGRESSIONAL RESOLUTION

Dr. Neumann reported that the Sub-Committee of the Foreign Relations Committee, which is meeting tomorrow, December 11, 1945, has agreed upon the text of the Resolution which we have submitted. Senators Wagner and Taft are meeting with the Sub-Committee tomorrow, and the Sub-Committee had also invited the sponsors of the Resolution of the American League, Senators Tobey and Myers. Representatives of the Council would have to be in Washington tomorrow to be in touch with the situation.

Dr. Neumann further reported that Judge Levinthal had had a talk with Senator Myers and had succeeded in obtaining his support for our Resolution on the ground that it was better than that introduced by himself. Judge Levinthal is prepared to be in Washington tomorrow, and it is highly important that he see Senator Myers before he attends the meeting. It was important too that Senator Tobey also be won over to our side. Judge Levinthal had also met with Mr. David Stern, who seems befuddled on the entire question. He is primarily interested in the admission of 100,000 Jews into Palestine. Judge Levinthal felt that if we could afford Mr. Stern some opportunity for being active under our auspices, he would be ready to work with us.

Mr. Linton stated that Dr. Weizmann had had a long talk with Mr. Stern. While Mr. Stern is very anxious to make a contribution to Jewish efforts, he is not well acquainted with the problem. Dr. Weizmann had invited him to come to New York to visit with him.

JOINT ANGLO-AMERICAN COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY

A discussion ensued regarding the following men appointed to the Committee:

AMERICAN

Judge Joseph Hutcheson, Houston, Texas, Chairman
Frank Buxton - Boston Herald
James G. MacDonald - Foreign Policy Association
Oliver Max Gardner - Former Governor of North Carolina
William Phillips - Former Ambassador to India and Italy
Frank Aydelotte - Former President of Swarthmore and at
present head of the School of Advanced Studies

BRITISH

Sir John Singleton, High Court Judge, Chairman
Wilfred P. Crick - Economic Advisor to Midland Bank
Richard H.S. Crossman, M.P.
Lord Morrison
Sir Frederic Leggett, Under Secretary in Labor Ministry
Major Reginald E. Manningham-Buller, M.P.

Mr. Bublick advised that Mizrachi had definitely decided against co-operation, including testifying before the Committee.

Dr. Neumann stated that at a meeting of Z.O.A. representatives on the Council, the consensus of the majority was against recognizing the Committee or cooperating with it. Five members of the Z.O.A. opposed appearing before the Committee - Judge Rothenberg, Mr. Frisch, Dr. Neumann, Rabbi Miller and Rabbi Feuer (the two last named recording their votes in absentia). Dr. Goldstein had not taken a definite position. Judge Levinthal thought we should testify, but did not think it wise to send any advice on the matter to the World Executive. Mr. Tulin had also been present and spoke in favor of presenting our case to the Committee.

Mrs. Shulman stated that Hadassah felt very strongly that we should co-operate with the Committee unless such names were mentioned as would make it impossible to cooperate. Mrs. Shulman also stated that Hadassah was in favor of the Emergency Council advising the World Executive to cooperate with the Committee.

Judge Rothenberg stated that previous experience with Commissions of Inquiry showed that while they may have been favorable at the beginning, in the result they always turned out adversely. As concerns the American members of the present Committee, he assumed that they would approach the subject impartially; however, he doubted whether the British members would do so since they have been selected and influenced by Mr. Bevin who has already prejudged the result of the findings of the Committee, and who is hostile towards us and desirous of liquidating Zionism. Regardless of what position the World Executive takes on the question of appearing before the Committee, Judge Rothenberg feels that American Zionism should adopt a highly critical attitude towards the Committee, and that we should immediately give notice to the world that we will be ready to challenge any adverse decision which may be made. This would not foreclose the possibility of our presenting our facts.

Dr. Wise stated that since Mr. Eliezer Kaplan is expected here within the next few days, it would be wise to wait until we have his report before taking any vote on the matter of cooperation with the Committee.

Dr. Goldstein moved that we make no recommendation to the Executive. After discussion, in the course of which Dr. Philip Bernstein moved as an amendment that action be deferred until the next meeting, by which time we might have more information, Dr. Wise stated that it was the consensus of opinion that no action be taken at this time to make any recommendation to the Executive.

A statement was read, which had been prepared in the form of a telegram to be sent to the President, in connection with the announcement of the membership of the Joint Committee.

It was suggested that the form be changed to a considerably shorter statement with an annex listing the various Commissions and Inquiries throughout the years. We should also suggest that Palestine, for its size, is the most investigated territory in the world. It has had thirteen different inquiries since the Balfour Declaration. We should reiterate our objections to the whole procedure and our conviction that its underlying purpose was to liquidate the Jewish National Home. "It was not an inquiry but an execution."

It was agreed that a revised statement be prepared and issued.

CONGRESSIONAL RESOLUTION (DISCUSSION RESUMED)

It was urged that the strongest possible effort to obtain passage of the Resolution through Congress must now be made. In this connection reference was made to an approach by one of our friends to Governor Dewey who was apparently anxious to be helpful.

A number of other suggestions for action were offered, including a renewed campaign of telegrams and letters from all over the country to members of the Foreign Relations Committee.

Doubt was expressed, however, on the basis of information received from Mr. Edward Kaufman, if such telegrams were very effective at the moment.

Mrs. Shulman, on the basis of Hadassah's experience, and Mr. Shapiro added that this technique had for the time being reached saturation and that there was resistance from the communities to a renewed telegram campaign.

It was suggested, however, that communications from persons of importance might be very effective.

FUNDS

The matter of funds is to be taken up at the next meeting.

ARTICLE IN "LIFE" MAGAZINE

Mrs. Shulman stated that Hadassah was very much concerned about the publicity being given to the question of encouraging immigration to Palestine from America. She referred to the manner in which this had been distorted in the editorial in "Life." It was creating an issue which was providing ammunition for our enemies. The matter should be discussed with Dr. Weizmann in view of his forthcoming address to Hechalutz.

Dr. Wise stated that the matter would be discussed at the next meeting.

The meeting adjourned at 2:50 P.M.

A.L.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING HELD DECEMBER 24, 1945

A meeting of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Monday, December 24th, at 8:15 P.M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Stephen S. Wise (presiding), Rabbi Philip S. Bernstein, Pinchas Cruso, Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, Rabbi Leon I. Feuer, Jacob Fishman, Mrs. Benjamin Gottesman, Mrs. David Greenberg, Mrs. Samuel Halprin, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Rabbi I. M. Kowalsky, Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Louis Lipsky, Rabbi Irving Miller, Emanuel Neumann, Mrs. David de Sola Pool, Judge Bernard Rosenblatt, Miss Dvora Rothbard, Mrs. A. P. Schoolman, Louis Segal, Mrs. Herman Shulman, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, Robert Szold, Numa Torczyner, Abraham Tulin.

Eliezer Kaplan, Joseph Linton, Meyer W. Weisgal, Reuven Zaslani.

Dr. Benjamin Akzin, Dr. I. B. Berkson, Gerold Frank, A. K. Isreeli, William Kaufman, Arthur Lourie, Harold P. Manson, Harry L. Shapiro, Harry Steinberg, A. Tuvim.

Mrs. Chava Cohen, Moses P. Epstein, Mendel Fisher, M. Z. Frank, Yale Goldberg, Dr. Leo Herman, Isaiah L. Kenen, Samuel Kirstein, Miss Jeannette Leibel, Dr. Ludwig Lewisohn, Marvin Lowenthal, I. Naiditch, Dr. M. Rosenbluth, Dr. Louis Schweifel, Charles Sherman, Dr. Arieh Tartakower, Dr. Michael Traub, Mrs. Stephen S. Wise, Yona Yanai.

DR. SILVER'S REPORT ON HIS VISIT IN PALESTINE

There are many things that I would liked to have said and many impressions I would have liked to share, but it is impossible to convey all this at the present time. I will touch on the high spots of the visit and report on the work of the Executive of the Jewish Agency and of the Actions Committee.

I hope that Mr. Lipsky will supplement a little later some of the things I have to say.

This visit of mine follows a long period of eight years since I was in Palestine last. I was in Palestine in 1919, shortly after the first World War and in 1926, 1933 and 1938. The first thing which impressed itself upon me in the hasty tour I made is the remarkable progress that has been made and which is apparent on all sides. The country has developed amazingly, and one has the feeling that it is a very modern country, especially as one passes from North Africa and Egypt into Palestine. The progress and modernization is reflected, also, in the life and status of the Arabs in Palestine which is in sharp contrast to the situation of Arabs in a city like Cairo. In Cairo, when you step from the main avenue into the Arab quarter you go right into the Fifteenth Century from the Twentieth Century. The rudimentary life is almost shocking -- the squalor, filth and poverty. In Palestine, the Arab has reached a remarkable point of development in contrast to his fellow Arabs in other countries.

I was greatly impressed with the tempo of life in Palestine. It is an American tempo. You get a sense of eagerness and alertness. The country seems to be poised for remarkable advance, and all the plans and projects and energies which were pent up during the years of war are ready to be unleashed -- great projects -- industry, commerce, trade and development of the country. Once the political restrictions are removed, and the strait-jacket of the sterling bloc, they will be ready to "go places" in a big way.

I was pleasantly surprised in that I found the country far more normal than I had expected on the basis of what we had been reading in the press. Life moves on quite normally. You can travel through the country without any convoys. There were no curfews, apart from that in the North for a short period of time. Public meetings are held; concerts and amusements continue normally; the Palestinian press is very active and very outspoken, and I was surprised at the latitude given to the press when it seemed to step hard on the toes of the Mandatory Power.

While there are not very many points of contact between the Jews and the Arabs in Palestine, there are also not many points of conflict. Since my stay was very brief, I can only give you such conclusions as I have drawn. The division today is not primarily one between Jews and Arabs. They have reached a point of equilibrium of struggle. The Arab of Palestine no longer regards it to his advantage to struggle with the Jews of Palestine because he knows the Jews will take full care of themselves. The Arab has no pity for the weak, but he has respect for the strong. The anti-Jewish rioting of recent weeks significantly was the work of non-Palestinian Arabs outside of Palestine, in Egypt, Tripoli, etc. In Palestine the division is definitely between the Mandatory Power and the Jews of Palestine, and revolves around the continuation of the restrictive laws of the White Paper. All the clashes have been between the Jews of Palestine and the Military Police. The serious clash which resulted in the death of eight Jews and in the wounding of scores is directly traceable to Aliyah Bet, and there is likely to be more bloodshed in this connection in Palestine. The country is full of British troops. You cannot travel a highway in Palestine when you will not come upon armored truckloads of troops and tanks and men manning heavy tank guns. The roads are full of them. There are certainly far more troops in Palestine today than is required to maintain law and order in the country. The British have established any number of arsenals and miniature fortresses all over the country. It is clear that Great Britain intends to make all of Palestine an important military base -- for reasons which have nothing to do with the Jew-Arab problem in Palestine. The general feeling is that British military forces will soon have to vacate Egypt and Syria, and will need some base to reinforce their position in the Middle East. Britain's argument is nevertheless that she needs these troops to maintain law and order in the country. The presence of so many troops and the extensive sea patrols inevitably makes more difficult the work of Aliyah Bet and there are no illusions as to the extent to which Aliyah Bet can go to get Jews into the country. Moreover Great Britain is drying up the points of embarkation for these illegal immigrants in Italy and other places. However, they are coming in and plans are being made to bring in more and more. The Yishuv is determined to have more come in. The Yishuv is bitter, resentful and militant.

I found in the Yishuv a greater degree of unity than I was led to expect, and it is clear that the danger confronting the work in Palestine has tended to solidify the community to a remarkable degree. While there are still some sharp divisions, a grave hour has been able to unite the community in facing its enemies. As I attended one meeting after another, I listened to the speakers of the Yishuv speak with such joy of the fact that all the elements of the Yishuv were united.

On three things the Yishuv seems to be united, and I believe that has been transmitted to you in many ways:

1. On seeing to it that not a single Jew who reaches Palestine shall be deported. The Jews of Palestine are ready to make maximum sacrifices to see that they stay.
2. Not a single Jew or Jewish group that settles upon land, whether in the permissive zone or the prohibitive zone, is to be removed from that land.
3. The Haganah shall not be disrupted or taken away from the Yishuv.

I received a very warm welcome in Palestine, as I am sure did Mr. Lipsky and Dr. Goldmann, from all sections of the people -- the right, the left and the center. They seemed to vie in their desire to show hospitality. I met all groups in Palestine -- business, labor, representatives of the parties within the organization, world organization, revisionists and religious bodies. I met a few times with the journalists, editors and writers of Palestine. I was a guest of the Tel-Aviv municipality. I had the pleasure of addressing the 25th anniversary of the Histadruth at Haifa.

I felt that the very warm welcome which was extended to me was not entirely a personal gesture. I think it was extended to me and to us as the representatives of American Zionism, and the Yishuv felt that there was today a complete concordance between the kind of Zionism we represent ^{here} and the kind of Zionism they represent over there. The Yishuv has come to feel that American Zionism has reached the point of political maturity and that they can come to us not only for financial aid, but for counsel and advice. Not once during the three weeks I was in Palestine did anyone raise the question of getting money from America for any cause whatsoever. They were interested in other things -- not that they did not need money. They sent Mr. Kaplan here for money. They were particularly interested in one thing, and that is in American Chalutzit. The people of the right, the left and the center spoke to me about it. They were very heartened by the cable which I received from Dr. Bernstein and which I read to them, saying that there were one thousand American Chalutzim who had completed their Hachsharah work, and six hundred of the middle class who were waiting for their certificates. They want the American Chalutz youth to come to Palestine, particularly our ex-servicemen. They want American skill, American technicians, American-trained farmers and agriculturists. They want to tap this great reservoir of five million American Jews for the upbuilding of Palestine. And I think it is important that we begin to adjust our own thinking to this effect. That will be the next great task that will confront American Zionists. We should understand the problem and not come to hasty conclusions.

Zionism is a problem in nation building, through money, brains and through man power, and America must not remain content simply with providing money for this nation building. The coming of a few thousand American Chalutzim, and later more and more, would act as a powerful leavening force in the entire country. It would be another link between Palestine and the United States -- would introduce some of the American ideas into the country and the upbuilding of the country. Henrietta Szold and Judah Magnes went there and played their part, and very many people can do this in more humble but not less essential ways in Palestine. If Americans can go today to Saudi Arabia for oil companies for the United States and lay pipelines there, I do not know why Americans cannot go to Palestine and

build Jewish colonies there. We will have to get the mind of the American Jew attuned to this fact. But first of all, we Zionists must become convinced of it.

The meetings of the Executive Committee and the Actions Committee were long and protracted, lasting nine to ten days. There was a thorough canvass of the entire situation, of the status of our movement in relation to the latest political developments, in relation to the problems of the Jews of Europe, and I was very favorably impressed with the members of the Executive. It is quite conceivable that some members of the Executive should be replaced for one reason or another, and they will be. The members of the Executive understand it fully and are awaiting the World Zionist Congress to handle it thoroughly. But I did find there intelligence of a very high order, integrity and, unquestionably, loyalty to our cause.

(Dr. Silver also reported on the discussions which took place within the Executive).

I came away from Palestine greatly heartened. It is good to visit Palestine, to see the country and to see what Jews have built there at a moment of great anxiety, strain and tension. I expected to find a mood of depression and dejection in view of Bevin's statement and the Committee of Inquiry and a country full of troops. I did not find a spirit of dejection; I found a stoutness of heart, strength, and a readiness to face the challenge. I found no pessimism in the country and this is no overstatement. The Yishuv seems to have become aware that it has deep roots -- that it is firmly established and that it means to go on, and it is something worthwhile fighting for. We are building something magnificent. We must protect that Yishuv and see that no harm comes to it. With wisdom and courage, we shall protect that Yishuv and enable it to grow.

Dr. Wise asked Mr. Lipsky to revise or supplement what Dr. Silver had to say.

MR. LIPSKY'S REPORT

Mr. Lipsky reported on the impression left on him by numerous individual conversations which he had had, as well as by the meetings of the Executive in Jerusalem. Once we can break through the present impasse with the Arab states a radically new and more promising situation will emerge. He felt that the time is coming when that break-through will become a possibility. Pessimism is a death blow to Zionism, and when you get to Palestine you find no feeling of hopelessness and everyone is positive that you cannot keep Jews out of Palestine. We have to make some revision in our attitude^{here}/. They need our aid, but they are strong enough to endure for many years without losing heart. A feeling has been created among some of us as if we are a desperate people -- which is not exactly true. Even if Great Britain should seek to betray us, still there is something there in Palestine which has a dynamic power and which will sustain itself.

MR. KAPLAN'S REPORT

Mr. Kaplan then proceeded to make his report. We have decided to have a Congress. Bevin and others are trying to drive a wedge between the Jewish people and the Zionists. It is of great importance from the political point of view that this Congress should represent the maximum of Jews, ^{and} that hundreds of thousands -- millions of Jews -- in the United States and in the Western Hemisphere should take part in the elections to the Congress.

The Arabs have proclaimed a boycott against Jews coming into Palestine. It is not clear yet if the Arabs really mean business, apart from propaganda.

About 14% of our industrial output is sold to non-Jews; with regard to many industries, the percentages are higher. It is not a matter to be ignored. Thus the physicians in Egypt do not now prescribe Palestinian pharmaceuticals. A few of the factories already feel it. While this boycott may be a blow to us if it is carried out effectively, it may also have good consequences. It may compel us now to re-adjust our economic life to the international level of prices -- a very difficult and complicated question. As one example Mr. Kaplan quoted the situation in regard to bread. Transjordan wheat is free on the Palestinian market. Its price within the last few months rose from 55 to 75 Pounds per ton. This is four or five times as high as prices here in the United States because until now there has been a monopoly with regard to the importation of wheat. He was trying here, in Canada and in Argentina to get permission to export to Palestine American wheat. If we could bring into Palestine certain quantities of wheat, the price of the Transjordan wheat would recede immediately from 55 to 75 Pounds to 30 Pounds. We have now started, also, to import cotton from the United States. Our relations with the Arabs is a very complicated problem and must embrace all fields of our life. From that point of view, closer cooperation between the Yishuv and Jews in America and elsewhere is of the greatest importance.

There is a resentful calm today in Palestine. The day after the clashes at Shefayim, Rishpon, Givat Hayim and Hogla, the people went to work and the children went to school as usual. But if the people feel there is a need to fight they will do it -- whether it be a matter of days, of a year or of years. He believed that the Yishuv will, itself, sustain the main burden of this fight. They have no other choice. They feel themselves a free people and will behave only as such -- as the nucleus of an independent nation. The task is nevertheless a tremendous one.

We do not underestimate the British mobilization of power in Palestine. We know that England is a mighty empire and that there are other people ready to help her. Nevertheless, I can assure all of you that immigration will continue -- that it is going on now. We have learned from the press that Mr. Bevin is withholding the 1500 certificates, and we may face actual closure of Palestine to certificates for the next few months. However, ships will come to Palestine. In August about one thousand Jews arrived at the Syrian border. But in October the immigration was nil. We have two forces here which we should understand --

1. People who really have nothing to lose.
2. A country where they have a great deal to gain.

The people in that country have decided that they must share with them their hopes for the future. We must feel that we are fighting a struggle of the people, for the people, with the people. We ask you to be with us, not merely financially. We are taking a tremendous responsibility. There will be much hardship and much suffering. But we mean business in Palestine. We must strengthen our political and economic work. Of the greatest importance is the fact that we must not feel ourselves alone in this struggle.

JOINT ANGLO-AMERICAN COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY

Mr. Lourie summarized the action taken by the Council since the first press reports of the impending establishment of the Committee had come to hand. These matters have been recorded in previous minutes. Today, we had received the formal invitation, dated December 21, 1945, from the Joint Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry to participate in the hearings being held in Washington, beginning January 7, 1946. There have been informal and preliminary discussions in the office in regard to the work that should be done and the nature of the evidence we should produce. Dr. Berkson and Mr. Tulin had prepared outlines of the main topics to be dealt with in our memorandum.

Mr. Tulin stated that, at the request of Dr. Weizmann and Mr. Kaplan he had given thought to the matter of the Committee for a few weeks. It was very difficult to do anything effective until we found out more about the procedure -- what we could do and what we would be permitted to do. At an informal meeting it was suggested that Mr. Tulin draw up a statement of subject heads and witnesses. A tentative program was drawn up, to be presented in the United States alone. The British members of the Joint Committee are arriving here on the 2nd of January, and the entire twelve will hold hearings in Washington beginning with January 7th; the hearings will last a week or ten days. The entire Committee will then leave for England to be there for a short period of time. After that they will break up into sub-committees and visit the continent. There is nothing certain about it, however. The Committee wishes to hear in Washington the views of the American Zionists who are interested in the subject of the Inquiry and to take the testimony of the American witnesses. Separate invitations have been issued to the Jewish Agency, Hadassah, Mizrachi, Poale Zion, American Zionist Emergency Council and the Zionist Organization of America. Two Arab organizations and a number of Christian Missionary organizations have also been invited. Some thirty different groups in the United States have been invited to appear. The presentations are to be filed by January 3rd.

At a meeting at Dr. Weizmann's hotel this afternoon, Mr. Tulin had pointed out that it was almost a superhuman task to get this ready and filed by the date specified. He also pointed out the danger in asking for more time. The danger is that if we file our printed statements later, our opportunity for an early oral presentation of our views may be curtailed. It is of the utmost importance that we have the fullest possible opportunity to present our views orally. Printed matter submitted to the Court is not always read. They propose to allow organizations only one day each. That is totally inadequate -- we must have at least two full days for our case if the hearings last a week -- otherwise, three days if they last ten days. The work must immediately be sub-divided and decisions taken as to who is to present what. The general consensus this afternoon was that we should ask for two days' grace and also an allotment of at least two full days for hearings. There would be five full hours of hearings per day. It was tentatively agreed that a small committee of us should see the Secretary of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry and one of the Committee men who, we understand, will be in New York on Wednesday, and discuss with them the question of extension of our time to file, and the allocation of more time for actual hearings. The question was raised at this afternoon's meeting as to what our attitude should be in the event that some of the hearings are to be held in camera. It was the opinion of the lawyers present that unless we are given the opportunity to be represented at every hearing of the Committee, including all hearings in camera, we should decline to go before the Committee altogether. We must get a fair hearing -- we must know what our enemies are saying wherever evidence is presented.

Mr. Neumann reported on the meetings of the technical group. A preliminary session was held Friday afternoon and another on Saturday afternoon. The technical group is composed of the following members:

Dr. Benjamin Akzin, Dr. I. B. Berkson, Professor Milton Handler,
Mr. Joseph Linton, Mr. Arthur Lourie and Mr. Emanuel Neumann.

The group met again this afternoon at Dr. Weizmann's hotel. Mr. Neumann feels that the dice are heavily loaded against us. The trouble does not lie in the character of the opinions of the individual members of the Committee. They are uninformed, for the most part. The American group are decent people, as a whole, and probably intend to approach the subject with a large degree of American

fair-mindedness. They are likely, however, to be taken in by the officials of the State Department who, naturally, represent the State Department tradition in this matter. The person who has been most active in the State Department and who has been actively hostile to us here, in Palestine and in Beirut is Mr. George Wadsworth Wilson, in charge of the Palestine desk in the State Department, also probably represents the faithful State Department attitude. Two members of the Committee have been more or less constantly sitting in the State Department absorbing knowledge. Others have just come for meetings and left.

There are many pitfalls. Apart from the lack of time allotted to present our case, our enemies may be tempted to utilize this opportunity for mobilizing all anti-Zionist sentiments and have their field day in influencing public opinion. Our testimony should therefore be staggered. Among the matters discussed were the questions of:

- (a) Meetings in camera.
- (b) Procedure and jurisdiction.
- (c) The coordination of our efforts with those of other Jewish groups and the making of joint representations on our case.
- (d) The visits of the Committee abroad and maintenance of contact.
- (e) Whether we should place emphasis on the legal aspect, on the question of necessity, on American rights, and so forth.

Mr. Neumann proposed that, in order to centralize the work, a sub-committee of the Executive Committee of the Emergency Council be named, consisting of no more than five who shall be the general steering committee or planning committee; also that there be set up a technical group responsible for all the material, research work, etc. and a number of consultants drawn from other organizations. In addition it is necessary that we have an adequate administrative staff since there will be an enormous amount of detail to attend to. The definitive case and, ultimately, the authoritative case, will be presented by the Jewish Agency in Palestine. Our own presentation here will necessarily only be a partial presentation. The written statements which we will submit will be brief, and we shall seek to make a full oral presentation.

Rabbi Miller pointed out that other organizations, not necessarily Zionist organizations, have also been invited to present their cases, and asked whether the relationship of those organizations to the American Zionist Emergency Council had been discussed.

Dr. Neumann replied in the affirmative, but that action had not yet been taken. We will have to ask each one of these organizations that will cooperate with us to have one of their representatives work with us through a liaison officer.

In answer to the question as to whether it was contemplated to have Dr. Weizmann appear here, it was stated that he expected to appear in Palestine.

As regards the appearance of a number of pro-Zionists/^{organizations} it was agreed that it was essential to assign the topics and subjects in such a manner that we will have a minimum of repetition.

This was a matter which the sub-committee had to work out.

The following were designated members of the Steering Committee and as associated experts:

STEERING COMMITTEE

Mr. Neumann, Chairman
Mrs. Halprin
Mr. Cruso
Dr. Goldstein
Rabbi Kirshblum

EXPERTS

Dr. Akzin	Mr. Lourie
Dr. Berkson	Dr. Petegorsky
Dr. Greenberg	Mr. Robertson
Prof. Handler	Dr. Robinson
Judge Levinthal	Mr. Tulin

The Steering Committee is to have the right to coopt additional members. It was decided that the committee of five would meet tomorrow morning, December 26, at 11:00 o'clock, at Mr. Kaplan's room.

CONGRESSIONAL RESOLUTION

Mr. Neumann summarized the events leading up to the passage of the Congressional Resolution. These matters have been recorded in previous minutes. After a further discussion regarding the Congressional Resolution, Dr. Silver thanked all those who had been instrumental in obtaining passage of the Resolution. This was the culmination of nearly two years of tremendous effort on the part of the Zionists of America and it had included very stormy periods. What has emerged may not be the epitome of perfection, but it is an admirable Resolution. It is a great improvement upon the Resolution adopted in 1922 by the Congress of the United States. The phrase "so that they may freely proceed with the upbuilding of Palestine as the Jewish National Home" constitutes a radical revision of the corresponding phrase of the 1922 Resolution. We can regard the Resolution as a major Zionist victory, quite apart from the critical time of its passage. The Congress of the United States has again gone on record as saying that the Jews shall have the right to upbuild Palestine as the Jewish National Home. That is the tremendous achievement and with it we can go to the State Department and seek a revision of attitude there. That is our next step.

Palestine was heartened by the Resolution and we have every reason to be heartened by it.

Meeting adjourned at 12:05 A.M.

A. L.