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American Zionist Emergency Council, minutes, 1946.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

January 14, 1946

A special meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Monday afternoon, January 14, at 3:00 o'clock, at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Abba Hillof Silver (presiding), Gedalia Bublick, Pinchas Cruse, Mrs. Mesos P. Epstein, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Louis Lipsky, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Mrs. Herman Shulman, David Wertheim, Dr. Stephen S. Wise.

Rabbi Philip S. Bernstein, Rabbi Leon Feuer, Professor Milton Handler, I.L. Kenen, Dr. Sidney Marks, Rabbi Irving Millor.

Dr. I.B. Berkson, Eliahu Ben-Horin, A.K. Isreeli, Harold P. Manson, Harry L. Shapiro.

STAFF

The status of Mr. Eliahu Ben-Horin as a permanent member of the staff was formally confirmed.

ESCO FOUNDATION

The following phases of the Esco Foundation study were discussed:

1. Ownership: The draft letter prepared by Judge Levinthal for transmission to Mrs. Frank Cohen, regarding the ownership of the Esco Foundation study, was read and the chairman was authorized to send this letter.
2. Letter of Indemnification: A discussion ensued on the desirability of sending the letter of indemnification drawn up by Judge Levinthal, in accordance with the request of Mrs. Frank Cohen. It was the consensus of opinion that because of the implications which may be involved, the letter should not be sent.
3. Distribution of the Bound Copies of the study: The chairman read a letter from Mrs. Frank Cohen regarding the distribution of the bound copies of the Esco Foundation study. As a result of the discussion which followed, during which Dr. Berkson presented the facts of the case, it was the sense of the meeting that this matter be tabled for the time being.

ANGLO-AMERICAN COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY AND LABOR

Mr. Wertheim reported he had just received word from Washington that surprise was expressed that the labor people in the United States had not appeared before, or submitted a memorandum to, the Committee of Inquiry. He asked whether anything had been done to contact the C.I.O. and A.F.L. Mr. Shapiro stated that Mr. Frank had tried to arrange for these organizations to appear before the Committee but he had been unable to obtain permission for

them to do so.

It was reported that a British member of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry was planning to come to New York the following day to meet with labor leaders in order to dissuade them from their views on Palestine. The Jewish labor group, it was pointed out, was not included in this invitation. It was indicated that we were contacting our labor friends who would endeavor to arrange for the presence of pro-Zionist labor spokesmen at the meeting with the British member of the Inquiry Committee. In reply to the suggestion that this matter should be made public, the chairman stated that since we did not have it on authority that this Committee member would utilize the meeting with labor leaders as a means of spreading anti-Zionist propaganda, we could do nothing about the matter for the time being.

Mr. Manson stated, in answer to a question posed, that Mr. Alastair Stewart had filed a memorandum with the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on behalf of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation of Canada.

It was recommended that Poale Zion should follow up the labor issue in connection with the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry.

BUDGET

Explaining that the delay in the submission of the estimated budget for this year was due to the unusually large volume of emergency activities in which we had been engaged, Mr. Shapiro presented for consideration and approval the Council budget for the year October 15, 1945 - October 15, 1946. (A mimeographed copy of the budget was submitted to the members present). He pointed out that he had consulted with the Funds with regard to it. It was the recommendation of the heads of the Keren Hayesod that the Council should ask for the same budget as the preceding year but, because of the emergency, and therefore unpredictable, nature of our activities and expenditures therefor, the budget should be operated on a quarterly basis. Thus, we would approach the Funds at quarterly intervals and present to them the expenses we had incurred for the preceding quarter. This quarterly basis of computation of the expenses would in this manner lead to an equalized distribution of the annual budget over the year - from the \$514,000 asked for to the \$623,000 maximum which may be required.

Judge Rothenberg made the observation that in view of the fact that the work of the Council encompassed all the Zionist organizations, as well as the Funds, the constituent bodies of the Council should also be required to participate in the budget. Dr. Silver explained that this suggestion had come up each year but it was always voted down due to the fact that the organizations feel that their budgets are expended in full and they have no surpluses.

After a discussion in which various points were raised and elucidated, it was moved and carried that the budget of \$623,000 be adopted in principle, subject to the approval and control by a Finance Committee to be appointed.

DR. I. B. BERKSON

Mr. Shapiro read a letter submitted by Dr. Berkson in which he tendered his resignation as Director of the Research Department of the Council, to take effect as of February 1, 1946, in order to engage in the teaching profession on a full-time basis. He indicated his willingness to be of service on a voluntary basis.

The chairman stated that under the circumstances, Dr. Berkson left the Executive Committee no other choice but to accept his resignation with regret. He pointed out that Dr. Berkson has rendered a great and significant service and that the Research Department, under his leadership, has been of inestimable value to us in many ways, including submission of documentary evidence when required, etc.

Dr. Silver stated that we were deeply grateful to Dr. Berkson for the time he has spent with us and for the fine contribution he has made to our work and in accepting his resignation we do so with the most profound regret. We hope we may avail ourselves of his offer to serve in a lay capacity.

It was decided to accept the recommendation to have Dr. Shwadran serve as Acting Director of the Research Department. A committee consisting of Dr. Berkson, Mr. Lipsky and Judge Rothenberg was designated to consider the appointment of a permanent successor to Dr. Berkson and to bring their recommendations to the Executive Committee.

FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF DR. HERZL'S "JUDENSTAAT"

Dr. Silver read a cable and letter from Dr. Lauterbach informing us that February 14th had been set aside for the celebration of the 50th anniversary of Theodore Herzl's JUDENSTAAT and pointing out that this would be a significant occasion for distributing and publicizing the book.

In response to the question raised by the chairman as to whether the Council itself, or its constituent organizations should undertake this task, it was the sense of the meeting that the Council would be in a better position to execute this effectively in view of the short time at our disposal.

In the discussion which ensued regarding concrete means of celebrating this anniversary, the following suggestions, among others, were offered: (1) A pageant to describe the development of the Jewish State in Palestine; (2) Radio script to be written by someone like Norman Corwin to depict the life of Dr. Herzl - perhaps a national hook-up on the life of Dr. Herzl and the Jewish State; (3) Official Zionist publications issued on or about February 14th should be devoted to the contents of JUDENSTAAT.

It was moved and carried that we reprint JUDENSTAAT in an inexpensive edition to include a short biography of Dr. Herzl as well as an introduction by a prominent American Zionist. 100,000 copies of this reprint are to be ordered and distributed by the Parties and other organizations. In addition, celebrations are to be planned throughout the country during the entire month of February.

HERBERT HOOVER

Mr. Ben-Horin reported on an interview with Mr. Hoover which evoked a lengthy and detailed discussion.

JEWISH CHAPLAINS

Rabbi Bernstein reported that Jewish chaplains are being mobilized for our cause along various lines. A Chaplains' Committee on Unity for Palestine has been organized which will serve as the spearhead for activities along that line. A statement has been prepared to be issued to chaplains all over the world.

ARTHUR LOURIE

The chairman submitted for consideration a request from the Jewish Agency that Mr. Lourie go to London, and perhaps proceed from there to Palestine, in connection with the hearings of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, thus establishing the desired line of continuity.

The meeting unanimously approved the grant of the necessary leave to Mr. Lourie for this purpose.

UNO

In reply to Mr. Bublick's query as to whether anyone is working on the presentation of our case to the UNO, Dr. Silver replied that Dr. Nahum Goldmann is at present in London, on the authorization of the World Zionist Executive, studying the situation.

REPRINT OF HEARINGS BEFORE THE ANGLO-AMERICAN COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY IN WASHINGTON

The question of reprinting in a suitable volume, for distribution, the hearings before the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry in Washington, was raised by Mrs. Pool. The point was made that a complete account of the hearings, including the documents submitted, would involve a book of approximately 600 pages. In view of the fact that we were not ready to act on this proposal at present, it was decided to table the matter for the time being.

DR. WILLIAM J. STINESPRING

Mrs. Epstein reported on information she had received from a Hadassah member to the effect that announcement had been made in the Durham, North Carolina press of the appointment of Dr. Wm. J. Stinespring to the technical staff of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry. Her informant had stressed the fact that Dr. Stinespring was a bitter anti-Zionist.

Dr. Silver felt that we could take action in the matter only if we had definite evidence on which to base our claim. He asked Mrs. Epstein to secure any printed matter which Dr. Stinespring may have written, injurious to our cause, which may prove his preconceived antagonistic attitude to Zionism.

Meeting adjourned at 5:20 P.M.

For A.L.

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CORRECTION TO MINUTES OF EMERGENCY COUNCIL MEETING

HELD JANUARY 14, 1946 (No. 29)

Page 2, paragraph 4:

Mr. Lourie's report..... Mrs. Epstein, commenting on the Committee hearings, felt that thus far the Zionists had failed to present arguments which would convince the Committee that we need a decision now in favor of the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth. In the meantime, the Jewish Agency should be granted certain governmental powers in regard to immigration, the granting of visas, the creation of absorptive capacity, etc.



AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

January 30, 1946

A special meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Wednesday afternoon, January 30th, at 4:00 o'clock, at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mrs. Samuel Halprin, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Dr. Alexander Pekelis, Mrs. Herman Shulman, Dr. Stephen S. Wise.

Rabbi Philip S. Bernstein, Dr. Josef Cohn, Pinchas Cruso, Dr. Nahum Goldmann, Eliezer Kaplan, I. L. Kenen, Dr. Jacob Robinson, Reuven Zaslani,

Dr. Benjamin Akzin, Jacob M. Alkow, Eliahu Ben-Horin, Arnold K. Isreeli, Harold P. Manson, Dr. Benjamin Shwadran, Harry Steinberg.

POALE ZION

A letter from Poale Zion, dated January 28, 1946, was read, in which the following names of its newly elected representatives to the Executive Committee and plenum of the American Zionist Emergency Council were set forth:

Executive Committee: Dr. Alexander Pekelis, Louis Segal, David Wertheim
Council: " " " " " " and

Pinchus Cruso

Council Alternates: Miss Dvora Rothbard and Professor Hayim Fineman

FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF DR. HERZL'S "JUDENSTAAT"

Mr. Alkow reported on the progress in plans for the celebration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of Dr. Herzl's JUDENSTAAT, which will extend from February 14th to March 14th: (1) 50,000 copies of the book - in an unbound, paper-covered edition, 5½ x 8, 160 pages, to be sold at \$.25 per copy - are being printed and will be ready for distribution about February 20th. This edition will include an introduction by Louis Lipsky and a biographical essay by Alex Bein. (2) The major Zionist organizations have been requested to send directives to their constituent groups regarding appropriate meetings. (3) Zionist periodicals have been asked to devote their issues appearing at about this time to JUDENSTAAT. (4) Rabbis are being asked to make JUDENSTAAT the topic of their sermons on the Sabbath of February 16th. (5) Radio commentators are being contacted to speak on this subject. (6) A radio script on JUDENSTAAT is now being prepared for the Zionist Organization of America. (7) The Jewish Education Committee is asking the Hebrew schools to arrange suitable discussions.

"TO WHOM PALESTINE?"

A report by Mr. Steinberg, in charge of promoting TO WHOM PALESTINE?, by Frank Gervasi, indicated that the publication date of the book has been set for February 15th and that the sale price will be \$2.50 per copy. We have guaranteed to the publisher the sale of 15,000 copies during the first year following publication date. While this guarantee does not constitute an obligation on our part to dispose of the 15,000 copies ourselves, it serves as a basis on which the publishers can plan their advertising and promotion campaign, since \$.18 out of every \$2.50 book sold is allocated for this purpose. (Thus, on the strength of the 15,000 sale guaranteed by us, \$2,700.00 has already been set aside by the publisher for advertising and promotion purposes).

The Council is planning to distribute approximately 1,100 copies among members of Congress, editors, commentators, columnists, reviewers, leading rabbis and churchmen (affiliated with the Christian Council on Palestine). In addition, we plan to distribute the book through our constituent organizations and local committees.

ROBERT NATHAN REPORT

Mr. Manson read a letter from the American Palestine Institute, Inc., announcing the proposed publication of the report by Robert Nathan and his colleagues on the Economic Potentialities of Palestine (now in page proof form) and inquiring as to how many copies the Council would wish to order. The book will be approximately 630 pages with a 20-page index and will sell for about \$4.00 per copy.

It was pointed out that the members of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry had taken copies of this report with them.

After discussion, it was moved and carried that the American Zionist Emergency Council purchase 200 copies of this book and that it should so coordinate the distribution as to avoid any duplication with other Zionist bodies.

EXTRACT OF HEARINGS BEFORE THE ANGLO-AMERICAN COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY IN WASHINGTON

The matter of publishing an extract of the hearings before the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry in Washington, discussed at the preceding meeting of the Executive Committee, was again considered.

It was the sense of the meeting that in view of the fact that the hearings are still in progress - at present in London, and later in Palestine - we should not take any action in this connection at the present time.

TRANSJORDAN

The chairman asked for the approval by the Committee of a memorandum prepared by Dr. Akzin, with the cooperation of Dr. Robinson, which protested the recent announcement by Mr. Bevin that Great Britain was planning to separate Transjordan from Palestine permanently and make it an independent state. He pointed out that this memorandum, addressed to the Secretary of State, is a purely legal document which presents our case and contains no controversial matter.

Explaining that the memorandum sets forth the legal reasons for the intervention of the United States in this matter and does not go into the Zionist

position, Dr. Akzin submitted for consideration two sections on which he felt guidance was necessary. (1) Shall we use this opportunity of stressing the fact that there is illegal discrimination against the Jews in Transjordan and that such discrimination is an express violation of some of the Articles of the Mandate? (2) Shall we include a section on the political implications as indicated in the brief telegram we sent to the President on this subject?

As a result of the discussion which followed, it was decided to omit the two sections referred to, thus confining the memorandum to a statement on the legal aspects of the matter.

Dr. Robinson pointed out that he did not agree on another point contained in the memorandum. It was his opinion that we should not commit ourselves to the position that the only possibility given by the Charter is to transfer a Mandate into a Trusteeship.

It was decided to revise the paragraph referred to by Dr. Robinson, in accordance with his suggestion.

It was voted to send the memorandum on Transjordan to the Secretary of State, after the revisions indicated have been made.

JAMAL EL-HUSSEINI AND THE EX-MUFTI

Referring to an article in the NEW YORK POST of January 30th, which announced the imminent return to Palestine of Jamal El-Husseini and other henchmen of the Mufti, the chairman presented for consideration the question of whether we should issue a statement protesting the re-admission of these people into Palestine.

Various opinions were expressed in the discussion which ensued on this subject. Mr. Kaplan felt that no formal protest should be made but that newspapers and magazines be given the facts of the case. There was danger in stressing the fact that these people were the instigators of the disturbances in Palestine, thus causing their ultimate expulsion from the country, Mr. Kaplan said.

Mr. Epstein advanced the suggestion that our objection to Jamal El-Husseini be based not on his return as a Palestinian citizen, but rather on the proof we have of his pre-war association with the Nazis. Letters to newspapers and magazines, he felt, were not satisfactory in bringing the case to the public, as witness the fact that a letter he had sent to the NEW YORK TIMES three weeks ago, had not been published to date.

Mrs. Halprin raised the question of the ex-Mufti and the possibility that the British may permit him to return to Palestine. She urged that we do not wait for a fait accompli in this matter to make our protest, but that we arouse public sentiment in regard to this danger in advance of its happening.

In this connection Mr. Ben-Horin reported that a memorandum on the subject of the ex-Mufti had been sent to the Secretary of State in December and proceeded to outline in detail the various steps which had been taken in this matter.

Dr. Goldstein made the suggestion that we send copy of our memorandum on the ex-Mufti to Justice Jackson and ask his opinion in the matter. Dr. Akzin advised that the State Department had forwarded copy of this memorandum to the American representative on the War Crimes Commission in London with the request

that he inform the State Department of the action taken.

Mr. Ben-Horin felt that the way is absolutely clear for a very aggressive campaign on our part in the matter of the ex-Mufti.

With regard to the return of Jamal El-Husseini to Palestine, it was decided to issue statements to the press acquainting the public with the character of the man and the nature of his past activities.

MARTIAL LAW IN PALESTINE

The discussion about the martial laws now in effect in Palestine brought forth suggestions that we contact the various groups fighting for the rights of man, such as the Civil Liberties groups, International League for the Rights of Man, League for Democratic Action, etc., pointing out the infringement of civil rights in the recently promulgated defense laws. Those laws are directed against the Jews and place the burden of proof of innocence on persons seized on suspicion.

It was decided that we look into this entire matter further, but that in the meantime we should issue a strong statement of protest against the martial laws enacted in Palestine.

DR. GOLDMANN'S REPORT

Dr. Goldmann, just back from London, presented a report on the London scene:

1. Transjordan: The Executive sent a letter to Mr. Bevin regarding his announcement about the granting of independence to Transjordan. A legal document on this matter is being prepared by Mr. Stein together with other lawyers but has not been submitted as yet.

2. Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry: Dr. Goldmann outlined the proposed movements of the Committee after departure from London and the steps taken by the Jewish Agency for coverage of the areas by our representatives. He stated that it was decided to have Mr. Lourie go to the American Zone in Germany, then to Munich, and to proceed from there to Vienna, the headquarters of the Committee for the second half of the European investigations. In this connection he pointed out how invaluable Mr. Lourie's coming to London had been and how helpful they had found his assistance and advice in the preparation of the evidence in London.

He stated that it is not yet clear whether the Committee will issue an interim report upon completion of its survey of the position of displaced persons in Europe.

3. UNO: Dr. Goldmann stated that the fact that he left London before the end of the UNO session was an indication that nothing was transpiring at these meetings which affected us either from a Jewish or a Palestinian point of view. There were matters which would have been of interest to us had they been taken up at this session, as anticipated, such as the possibility that the Trusteeship Council might be appointed. However, the decision was made to postpone these matters until the second session of the UNO.

4. Arab Boycott: The Jewish Agency addressed a letter on this subject to the President of the Assembly. Dr. Goldmann explained the technical difficulties encountered and the steps taken to have this matter brought to the attention

of the proper authorities. No action on this matter could be taken as it was too late for inclusion in the Agenda but it was being followed through. He stated that the Trusteeship Council may be set up at the session which will convene in April and that the subject of Palestine will probably be on the agenda of the September or October session.

AMERICAN LEAGUE FOR A FREE PALESTINE

Mrs. Epstein reported the receipt of a letter from Senator Gillette, the chairman of the American League for a Free Palestine, suggesting a conference of all groups interested in the Palestine question and working for its solution.

It was the feeling of some that this request should be completely ignored. Others felt that although such conference would serve no purpose, the letter, nevertheless, should be answered by the individuals to whom it was addressed.

LETTER FROM MR. LOURIE

The chairman read a letter from Mr. Lourie, in London, dated January 25th, in which he described the testimony given during the first day's hearings and the reactions of the Committee members.

GENERAL MORGAN

Announcement of the re-instatement of General Morgan to his post as UNRRA administrator by Mr. Lehman provoked a lengthy discussion.

Meeting adjourned at 6:20 P.M.

For A. L.

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AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

February 11, 1946

A special meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held on Monday, February 11, at 3:00 P.M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mrs. Samuel W. Halprin, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Emanuel Neumann, Professor Alexander Pekelis, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt, Mrs. Herman Shulman, David Wertheim, Dr. Stephen S. Wise.

Dr. I. B. Berkson, Rabbi Philip S. Bernstein, Dr. Nahum Goldmann, Professor Milton Handler, Rabbi Irving Miller, Meyer W. Weisgal.

Dr. Benjamin Akzin, Jacob M. Alkow, Eliahu Ben-Horin, Arnold K. Isreeli, Harold P. Manson, Dr. Benjamin Shwadran.

Elihu D. Stone.

ACCEPTANCE OF MINUTES

The Minute of the meetings circulated to date were approved.

JUDENSTAAT

In his brief report on the preparations for the Fiftieth Anniversary celebration of "Judenstaat," Mr. Alkow remarked on the fine cooperation of all organizations and groups contacted and announced that it has been decided to extend the time for this observance to cover a six-week period, from February 14th to the end of March, in order to comply with the request of those groups who required more time for arrangements.

WASHINGTON BUREAU

In reporting on the work of the Washington office, Dr. Akzin described in detail the efforts which are being made to concentrate on a more intensive plan of activity in connection with the cultivation of Washington officialdom:- (1) To approach as many government officials as possible, not confining ourselves only to those in the State Department; (2) To extend our relationship with the State Department to include other divisions which affect our work, in addition to the Near Eastern Division, hitherto our sole contact; (3) To reach in a more systematic manner members of Congress who in the past were approached sporadically and asked under pressure to help us; (4) To enlist the cooperation of local Zionist leaders in making contacts.

Dr. Akzin pointed out that with the Arabs, the Bergson group, and the Council for Judaism so active and always on the alert for new contacts in government circles, we could not afford to relax our efforts in gaining as many new friends for our cause as possible.

He stated that Eliahu Epstein, of the Jewish Agency office, and he exchange reports and cooperate as much as possible under existing physical conditions.

ACPC CONFERENCE IN HOUSTON

Dr. Silver called attention to the extensive preparations being made for the regional conference of the American Christian Palestine Committee, to take place in Houston on February 13th and 14th. He remarked on the fine work which the ACPC is doing in general and particularly in connection with the regional conferences which are being planned throughout the country.

ANGLO-AMERICAN COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY

Reports from Mr. Lourie: Dr. Silver reported the receipt of several communications from Mr. Lourie and called upon Mr. Manson to read the latest one, a memorandum which had arrived that morning.

In this memorandum, dated February 3rd, Mr. Lourie presented an over-all picture of the situation as he found it at the conclusion of the London Hearings and described the reactions of the Committee members. Although he did not deal with the details of the evidence submitted, he indicated the deep impression made on the Committee by Amery's advocacy of partition.

Mr. Lourie referred to the one or two occasions when Judge Hutcheson had gone out of his way to emphasize that so far as "election platforms, Congressional resolutions 'and all that kind of stuff'" were concerned, he felt himself a free agent and was approaching the issue in that spirit.

He concluded his report with the following suggestions which he hoped would be followed up: (1) A reaction, particularly in Congress, to the statement made by Judge Hutcheson. (2) Continued pressure through the press and at the White House. (3) Call for an immediate interim recommendation. (4) Of lesser importance but nevertheless desirable - the Mowrer story on the Mufti should be kept alive and should be read into the record of the Senate.

American Staff of Experts: Mr. Neumann stated that the experts who were to be appointed to assist the American members of the Committee had not been named to date, so far as he knew. He felt that this matter which had not been adequately handled by us should now be followed through in view of its importance and the fact that so little time remained.

Mr. Neumann mentioned also that a member of the Committee had emphasized to him the importance of keeping up our pressure.

JUDGE HUTCHESON'S STATEMENT

Several opinions were expressed on the question of the action to be taken on the statement made by Judge Hutcheson in London, as transmitted to us by Mr. Lourie. It was stated that the full text of the statement had been requested from the London office of the Jewish Agency but had not been received as yet.

As a result of the discussion, it was decided that as soon as we received from London the full text of Judge Hutcheson's statement - wherein he mentioned "election platforms, Congressional resolutions 'and all that kind of stuff'" - we would request our friends in Congress and Senate to raise this question, as well as any other related matters which may be helpful to us in this connection.

Mr. Manson reported that in the transatlantic conversation he had just had with Mr. Linton of the Jewish Agency office in London, he was informed that a cable setting forth the full text of Judge Hutcheson's statement was on its way to us.

MOBILIZATION OF OFFICIAL AND PUBLIC OPINION

With regard to the mobilization of public pressure, recommended by Mr. Lourie, Dr. Silver asked for suggestions as to what should be done at this time.

It was Professor Handler's opinion that there are no novel ways of applying pressure; that we must use the orthodox methods, but use them as quickly and as effectively as possible. He felt that there should be action on the part of Congress and suggested that a round-robin on the floor of Congress expressing disapproval of Judge Hutcheson's statement would be a very effective means of pressure. He added that the vehicle of advertising could be utilized to advantage in this connection.

Mr. Neumann stated that as far as the press was concerned in relation to the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, by this time there was sufficient behind-the-scenes information as well as publicly revealed material upon which we could draw for articles, columns, radio comments, etc. He felt that we should now organize wide discussion of the Committee and the manner in which it has been conducting its work in order to make the public aware that this is not the fair, impartial committee it was depicted to be.

Dr. Silver stated that before launching on any pressure campaign which would necessarily involve discrediting the Committee of Inquiry on the basis of developments to date, it is essential to reach a decision on the fundamental issue, i.e., whether we are prepared to go on record as saying we have lost confidence in the Committee, are unwilling to cooperate further through the continued presentation of our case, and will refuse to accept the Committee's findings. If, however, it is still the feeling of the Executive that it is important to continue to cooperate with the Committee and complete our presentation, he felt it would be inconsistent to bring pressure to bear at this time, for we would obviously have to await publication of the final report if we choose to continue to cooperate with the Committee.

Dr. Wise remarked on the bad effect announcement of a policy of non-cooperation would have at this time, when the Jewish Agency has already decided to appear before the Committee in Palestine with our leaders, Dr. Weizmann and Mr. Ben-Gurion, scheduled to present our case.

It was Dr. Goldmann's belief that all the suggestions advanced in the course of the discussions bearing on proposed activity to discredit the Committee were unsound. He felt strongly that once a movement has decided on a policy it was essential to adhere to it. While it is advisable to solicit intercession of individual Congressmen, we must not deviate from the line we have followed to date. We must first await the Committee's findings and if they are unfavorable, we can then decide upon a plan of attack.

Appointment with Secretary of State Byrnes: It was Mrs. Halprin's opinion, in connection with the mobilization of public opinion in the press and in Congress, that the time has come to seek an interview with the Secretary of State in order to discuss with him the various problems before us such as the Mufti, Transjordan, infringement of civil liberties in Palestine, etc.

Dr. Silver explained that while it had been felt until now that we should not dissipate the effectiveness of our contact with the State Department by separate approaches on individual items, if the Executive so desired it, we could now endeavor to obtain an appointment with the Secretary of State and discuss with him the various matters before us.

It was agreed that an effort should be made to meet with Mr. Byrnes and discuss with him the following: Transjordan, the Mufti, infringement of civil liberties in Palestine and Jamal el-Husseini.

Judge Hutcheson: Analyzing the situation with which we are confronted as regards the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, Mr. Neumann stated that we must do what we can now in order to prevent the unfavorable results which seem inevitable from present indications. A survey of conditions as he saw them led him to the conclusion that our only hope lies in the possibility that the American members, now divided, will not agree with the British on a definite anti-Zionist policy or solution. Toward that end he felt that it was important to concentrate on the American chairman. This might be accomplished by approaching the proper person at this, the logical moment, before the Committee's report has become a fait accompli.

After discussion it was decided to follow this suggestion.

LONDON - PUBLIC RELATIONS WORK

A lengthy discussion ensued on the subject of public relations work in England, as it affects the tide of public opinion there, in the course of which varying opinions were expressed.

It was decided to refer to the Committee of Eight the matter of making concrete proposals to the London office regarding the sending of public relations personnel from America.

MUFTI

Referring to Mr. Lourie's suggestion about the Mufti, Professor Pekelis inquired whether the Jewish Agency is now prepared to ask officially for the indictment of the Mufti as a war criminal. Dr. Goldmann replied that the Yugoslav Legation in Washington, with whom the matter was discussed, had sent another letter to Belgrade apprising them of the amazement of the American public at the fact that they had not yet dealt with the Mufti's status. It was Dr. Goldmann's feeling that the Committee of Eight should at this time communicate officially with the War Crimes Commission and inform them that we are shocked that the Mufti has not been placed on the list of war criminals, explain our general Jewish interest, and ask for an official reply.

In this connection Dr. Akzin stated that he had been told by the Yugoslav chargé d'affaires that the latter had received a wire from the Yugoslav Government informing him that on September 15th of last year Yugoslavia had withdrawn the name of the Mufti from the list of war criminals submitted to the War Crimes Commission.

Mr. Manson reported that Mr. Linton had informed him during the telephone conversation referred to before, that everyone in London was quite agitated about the Mufti matter and that arrangements were being made to pose the question in the House. The Board of Deputies, in cooperation with the Zionist Organization, was

also planning to approach the Foreign Office in this connection. Mr. Linton thought it would be a good idea if we in America were to organize a similar joint action vis-a-vis the State Department. He felt that it would be more effective if American Jewry as such - rather than the Jewish Agency - made a formal presentation to the State Department calling for action, primarily on the basis of the Nuremberg evidence.

It was decided to ask the American Jewish Conference, at its Third Session in Cleveland - February 17th-19th - to pass a resolution on the Mufti, such resolution to be sent to the President or to the State Department.

TRANSJORDAN

Professor Pekelis raised the point as to whether the question of Trans-jordan had been taken up with what remains of the League of Nations as well as with the Trusteeship Council of the UNO. In his opinion the unilateral disposal of mandated territory constituted a violation of international law and the issue could be dramatized more effectively than by merely submitting a memorandum on the subject to the State Department.

Dr. Goldmann advised that as far as he knew, the Jewish Agency Executive in London had sent a letter to Mr. Bevin which had been followed up and that a legal document on the subject was in the process of preparation.

LETTER FROM MR. SEGALL

Dr. Silver read a letter he had received from Mr. Segall, in which he suggested, among other things, that an invitation to Winston Churchill to appear in Palestine before the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, would be of real publicity and dramatic value.

As a result of the discussion which followed, it was decided to refer Mr. Segall's recommendation to the Jewish Agency for consideration. It was felt, also, that we should make an effort to obtain an interview with Mr. Churchill during his visit in this country.

Meeting adjourned at 6:15 P.M.

For A. L.

lk

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

March 19, 1946

A special meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held on Tuesday, March 19, at 3:00 P. M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Gedalia Bublick, Pinchas Cruso, Mrs. Samuel W. Halprin, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Professor Alexander Pekelis, Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt, Dr. Stephen S. Wise.

Dr. I. B. Berkson, Rabbi Leon I. Feuer, Professor Milton Handler, I. L. Kenen, Dr. Sidney Marks, Rabbi Irving Miller, Captain Abraham Tulin, Meyer W. Weisgal.

Dr. Benjamin Akzin, Jacob M. Alkow, Eliahu Ben-Horin, Arnold K. Isreeli, Harold P. Manson, Harry L. Shapiro, Dr. Benjamin Shwadran, Abraham Tuvim.

Richard Gilbert, Mrs. Benjamin Gottesman, Leo Sack, Dr. Morris Zucker and members of his committee.

ANGLO-AMERICAN COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY

Dr. Silver referred to the deletion of that portion of the testimony of Jamal el-Husseini and Auni Bey Abdul Hadi which dealt with the war-time association of the ex-Mufti with the Axis from the official stenographic transcript of the Palestine proceedings of the Committee, as reported in the press. The statements of the two Arab spokesmen which, in addition to admitting the war-time collaboration of the ex-Mufti with Hitler and Mussolini, reflected the general attitude of indifference of the Arabs to the cause of the Allies, were reported to have been deliberately omitted from the record and were held to be "irrelevant to the Inquiry" by certain British members of the Committee.

Dr. Silver submitted for consideration the draft of a cable to the co-chairmen of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry protesting this "doctoring" of evidence.

The ensuing discussion resulted in a decision to send the cable to Judge Hutcheson and Sir John Singleton, with copies to be forwarded to Secretary of State Byrnes and the British Ambassador, Lord Halifax, for transmission to the British Government in London.

NEW ENGLAND EMERGENCY COUNCIL

Mr. Shapiro read a letter from the New England Emergency Council in which permission to have an observer attend meetings of the Council was requested.

As a result of the discussion which followed, it was decided to advise the New England Emergency Council that in view of the fact that the American Zionist Emergency Council is constituted on the basis of party representation only, we could not permit it to have an observer sit on the Council. It was decided to point out that the granting of the New England group's request would establish a precedent which similar groups throughout the country might wish to follow.

ESCO FOUNDATION STUDY

Mr. Shapiro presented a letter from Mrs. Frank Cohen, dated March 13th, addressed to the attention of the Executive Committee, on the subject of the Esco Foundation Study, as well as his reply thereto of March 15th (letters on file).

PROVISIONAL JEWISH STATE

Dr. Morris Zucker was invited by the chairman to present his plan for a Provisional Jewish State. Following Dr. Zucker's presentation, the question was raised as to whether the proposal should be considered at the meeting or referred to a sub-committee. After a discussion, in which members of Dr. Zucker's committee also participated, it was moved and carried that the chairman be authorized to appoint a committee, comprised of representatives of the constituent parties of the Council, to consider the proposal and to bring back a report to the Executive Committee at the earliest possible time. Mrs. Halprin offered an amendment, which was carried, to the effect that the sub-committee in its deliberations should meet with Dr. Zucker.

PROPOSAL OF MR. RICHARD GILBERT

Mr. Richard Gilbert outlined a public relations program with regard to the JVA.

Following lengthy discussion, a motion was made and carried that a committee be appointed to meet with Mr. Gilbert and his associates in order to study in detail the plan submitted.

INDEPENDENT JEWISH PRESS SERVICE

Mr. Weisgal outlined briefly the facts in the situation concerning the Independent Jewish Press Service and Palcor which made it imperative to take immediate action on the question of whether this Service is to continue to function. In order to enable it to operate, the sum of \$60,000.00 per year must be underwritten. Of this, the Jewish Agency is prepared to assume responsibility for \$15,000.00 a year to defray the share of the budget covering Palcor; and the balance of \$45,000.00 for Independent Jewish Press Service would have to come from the Zionist organizations under whose aegis this responsibility rightly belongs, according to Mr. Weisgal. Because of the urgency of the matter, Mr. Weisgal stated, it was essential that the Executive Committee decide immediately whether it wishes to underwrite the required \$45,000.00; otherwise the news agency would have to be liquidated forthwith.

Following discussion, it was moved and carried, with Professor Pekelis dissenting, that we have regretfully reached the decision that we can no longer continue the financial support of the Independent Jewish Press Service.

MEETINGS

Remarking on the long interval which had elapsed since the last meeting of the Executive Committee, Mr. Cruso stated that he was authorized to voice formal protest against the failure to convene a meeting earlier.

The chairman pointed out that in instances such as this, when neither co-chairman is in a position to attend meetings, there are prescribed methods whereby members of the Executive Committee can convoke meetings, even if the chairman does not do so.

The meeting adjourned at 4:45 P. M.

For A. L.

lk



MINUTES OF THE INNER COMMITTEE MEETING
WEDNESDAY, MARCH 27, 1946
held at
AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

- - - - -

PRESENT: Rabbi Irving Miller, Chairman; Mark Sugerman, Daniel Frisch,
Jacques Torczyner, Joseph Greenleaf, Harry Shapiro, Yale Goldberg

Guests: Ernest E. Barbarash and Herschel Auerbach

GENERAL ZIONISM

A platform was submitted by Rabbi Irving Miller on behalf of the Shekel campaign. It was decided that it will be released on Sunday in conjunction with the meeting of the National Administrative Council.

Rabbi Miller indicated that a full page advertisement in the Yiddish newspapers will be published several days later. Mr. Isreeli will handle these ads. Mr. Barbarash will take care of the press releases and copies will be sent to the District Presidents for placement in local Anglo-Jewish newspapers throughout the country.

GENERAL ZIONIST LOAN

This loan was approved by the Administrative Council of the Jewish National Fund and was to be submitted to its Executive. Dr. Silver forwarded a copy of the 1939 resolution approving action to be taken for such loan from the United Palestine Appeal and instructions were given to place copies of this resolution into the hands of our representatives to the JNF so that they may be guided by the convention resolution at the meeting on Thursday night, March 28th, 1946.

VETERANS

A report was rendered by Major Auerbach, copies of which have been forwarded to the members of the Inner Committee. It was decided that he would be retained and his work be concentrated in major communities. It was indicated that he would be helpful in the sale of Shekolim. It was decided that he would be engaged on a permanent basis and financial arrangements would be made by the Finance Committee in consultation with the Executive Director regarding his salary.

SHEKEL CAMPAIGN

A review was had of the proceedings of the Shekel Board with reference to the voting date. Dissension has arisen within the composition of the Board on a choice of dates. It was decided that one day be set aside for voting in smaller communities and two days for larger cities. The action on this decision is to be taken at the next meeting of the Shekel Board on next Tuesday. It was also suggested that Regional Conferences be convened for the Shekel campaign in Chicago, St. Louis, Los Angeles and other major cities throughout the country.

Minutes, Inner Committee Meeting
March 27th, 1946

EXECUTIVE UNION

A report was rendered by the sub-committee of the Inner Committee with reference to the demands made by the Executive Union. These demands were reviewed and modifications indicated. Thereafter, the agreement and modifications were referred to the sub-committee for action.

BANK RESOLUTIONS

On behalf of the Secretary of the organization, Banking Resolutions were submitted empowering the Secretary and Comptroller under joint signature to execute checks drawn on the Z.O.A. petty cash account; empowering the Comptroller or the Secretary individually to execute checks drawn on the Z.O.A. payroll account; empowering the Chairman of the Finance Committee and the Treasurer and the Associate Treasurer as alternate for the Treasurer only to execute checks drawn on the regular account of the Z.O.A.; empowering the Chairman of the Finance Committee and the Treasurer and the Associate Treasurer as alternate for the Treasurer only to execute checks drawn on the expansion fund account; empowering the Chairman of the Finance Committee and Treasurer or Associate Treasurer to sign on behalf of the account which will contain the receipts and disbursements in connection with the flight to Palestine. These resolutions were unanimously passed.

The meeting was adjourned.

Respectfully submitted,

SIDNEY MARKS
Secretary

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

April 1, 1946

A special meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held on Monday, April 1, at 4:00 P.M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mrs. Samuel W. Halprin, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Louis Lipsky, Professor Alexander Pekelis, Mrs. David de Sola Pool, Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Louis Segal, Mrs. Herman Shulman, David Wertheim, Dr. Stephen S. Wise.

Dr. I.B. Berkson, Eliahu Epstein, Professor Milton Handler, Dr. Sidney Marks, Rabbi Irving Miller, Abraham Tulin, Meyer W. Weisgal.

Arnold K. Isreeli, Harold P. Manson, Harry L. Shapiro, Dr. Benjamin Shwadran, Abraham Tuvim.

Judge Simon H. Rifkind, Dr. Josef Cohn, Elihu D. Stone.

MINUTES

Professor Pekelis drew attention to the fact that the Minutes of March 19th did not record Mrs. Halprin's query as to whether anything had been done about obtaining an interview with Winston Churchill before he left America and the chairman's reply that we were doing what we could.

With this correction noted, the Minutes were approved.

Mrs. Halprin asked Dr. Silver why, when she posed this question, and he was then leaving for the appointment with Mr. Churchill, he had not so indicated. Dr. Silver stated that the matter was being placed on the agenda for discussion later - in accordance with Professor Pekelis's request - and asked that we proceed with the pressing matters before us.

TRANSJORDAN

1. Legal Case: Judge Rosenblatt pointed out the possibility of establishing a legal case in the matter of Great Britain's grant of independence to Transjordan on the basis of the arrangements in 1922 when, according to his recollection, Mr. Churchill offered to the Zionist Executive the principle of economic absorptive capacity for western Palestine as a condition for the suspension of the application of the provisions of the Mandate relating to the Jewish National Home in Transjordan.

Since our consent to this agreement was requested at that time, he felt, it must necessarily follow that our consent should also be obtained before granting independence to Transjordan.

As to the procedure to be followed in dealing with this aspect of the situation, he submitted for consideration the following possibilities: (1) Appealing to the U.N.; (2) approaching the American Government as a partner to the Convention of 1924; (3) engaging legal counsel to look into the entire matter; (4) appealing to some of the smaller nations to bring this question up to the members of the old League of Nations on the ground that this act may lead to disturbance of the peace in the entire Middle East.

Professor Pekelis agreed with Judge Rosenblatt and drew attention to the fact that at the meeting of February 11th, he had suggested that the matter of Transjordan be taken up with what remains of the League of Nations. In his opinion this was the proper jurisdiction from a legal viewpoint. He asked that we ascertain the status of the legal document which Dr. Goldmann had informed us was in the process of preparation in London, whereupon Mr. Weisgal reported that the document setting forth the legal points has already been presented to the Colonial Office.

Mr. Tulin was of the opinion that our only hope in the matter lies with the American Government, and not with the defunct League of Nations; that we must concentrate on bringing whatever pressure we can to bear on our Government in order to influence it to assert its right under the Convention of 1924, wherein Great Britain undertook not to make any changes in the Mandate without the consent of the United States.

With regard to the reference to the Convention of 1924, using it as a basis for U.S. intervention, Mr. Stone explained that there is a formal State Department ruling that the Convention refers only to cases where the interests of American nationals are obviously affected by any changes which the British Government might make; that ruling is official and limits us to that extent.

Mr. Epstein felt that in view of the fact that the question of Transjordan will not be coming up until the next session of the U.N. Assembly meeting in September, we should press the issue in America from all angles. It should be presented to the old League of Nations and, through the proper channels, later on to the U.N. He reported that from conversations he had had with government officials it appeared that the American Government was at first taken by surprise when the announcement of Transjordan's independence was made. Their first reaction was negative, but this may have changed by now. From a legal point of view Mr. Epstein thought that we had a good case which would require concentration on many phases and that if we were successful in our approach to the American angle, it would assist the Jewish Agency immeasurably.

Professor Pekelis urged the appointment of a legal sub-committee to study the complex legal questions involved so that we could have advice of legal counsel with a view to initiating appropriate action by the Jewish Agency before the proper international bodies, and submitted a motion to that effect. He pointed out the problems involved, such as "estoppel", interpretation, etc., referred specifically to Article 25 of the Mandate which indicates that Transjordan is an integral part of Palestine, and mentioned Articles 5, 26 and 27 of the Mandate as examples of the legal possibilities.

Professor Handler expressed the opinion that the appointment of a committee would be highly desirable in order to explore whether any legal procedures are available to the Jewish Agency to question and challenge the action of the British Government; if such legal procedures are not available or desirable, this may at least give us some opportunity for a public relations campaign in which the issues can be effectively presented.

Further discussion of the motion elicited additional points as well as a number of amendments to Professor Pekelis's motion. As a result, it was decided to appoint a legal committee to advise us in presenting our case to the State Department, with the understanding that this committee should first inquire from the Jewish Agency as to what it has done in this matter and to inform it of contemplated action on our part.

2. Telegram to Secretary of State Byrnes: Dr. Silver presented for consideration draft of a telegram to the Secretary of State (1) protesting against Great Britain's action in unilaterally recognizing Transjordan as an independent state and in separating that territory from Palestine; (2) requesting that the United States Government withhold recognition of Transjordan's independence until we have been given a chance to present the facts in the situation.

As a result of the ensuing discussion, during which various comments and revisions were noted for incorporation in the telegram to Mr. Byrnes, a motion was adopted to dispatch the telegram to the Secretary of State.

Mr. Tulin suggested inclusion of a statement to the effect that the right of the sovereignty of the U.S. in Transjordan was violated by the British proclamation of the independence of Transjordan. Dr. Goldstein wondered whether we should not include in the telegram reference to the interpretation which Professor Dulles gave in San Francisco of the phrase "parties principally concerned" as meaning the Allied and Associated Powers of the last war - according to which America has as much concern with the disposition of the Mandate as any other country involved.

RABBI PHILIP S. BERNSTEIN

The following excerpt from a cable which Mr. Bakstansky, of London, sent to the UPA office here, was read: "BERNSTEIN SUGGESTS YOU ASK EMERGENCY COUNCIL WIRE EMBASSY HERE TO INVITE HIM AND ALSO HELP HIM IN SEEING CABINET MINISTERS."

Remarking that he assumed that Rabbi Bernstein, who is now in London, was keeping in close touch with the Jewish Agency, Dr. Silver asked for an expression of opinion on the request made. Mr. Weisgal suggested that it is not proper procedure for us to send cables directly to the American Embassy. Following a brief discussion, the chairman stated that if there were no objections, the action requested would be taken.

U.N.

In connection with cultivating the key members of UN delegates to the Zionist point of view, Dr. Silver submitted for consideration the question whether we should leave it to the Jewish Agency to handle this matter in all its aspects or whether the Emergency Council should cooperate with it on one or more phases of the problem. If the Emergency Council is to participate in this activity, detailed plans would have to be formulated, he felt.

Mr. Weisgal pointed out that at the meeting of the Executive in Jerusalem it was decided that the Jewish Agency should deal with the matter of the U.N. delegations and he called attention to the fact that at the last meeting of the Committee of Eight action on this matter had been postponed for a short while. To this Dr. Silver countered that while it was true that the Executive authorized the Jewish Agency to set up an office to carry on its official contacts with the U.N. delegations, our discussion concerned itself with the question of whether all phases should be covered by the Jewish Agency office in New York, or whether the Emergency Council should cooperate in the social aspect of this work.

In the ensuing discussion many opinions were expressed. Dr. Wise offered a motion, which he later amended, in order to incorporate Rabbi Miller's suggestion about the American Jewish Conference, to the effect that the chairman appoint a committee and that the Jewish Agency be asked to appoint a committee of the same number who, together with representatives the American Jewish Conference will be asked to designate, shall meet and discuss this entire question and bring its report to this body.

Mr. Lipsky was of the opinion that we were complicating matters by appointing additional committees and drew attention to the fact that in the arrangements with the Emergency Council the Jewish Agency has reserved for itself certain rights to represent the Zionist movement in international situations. The matter under consideration should therefore come under the aegis of the Jewish Agency. He felt that a suggestion might be made to the Jewish Agency to invite the cooperation of the bodies enumerated.

As a result of the discussion, it was decided to ask the Jewish Agency at the earliest opportunity to call into conference representatives of the American Zionist Emergency Council (and other bodies, if so desired) to discuss the best ways of cultivating, for our purpose, the visiting U.N. delegations in America.

JUDGE SIMON H. RIFKIND

In presenting Judge Rifkind, who just returned from a five months' stay in Europe, where he had served as Special Advisor on Jewish Affairs to General McNarney, European Theater Commander, Dr. Silver mentioned the significant service he had rendered our country and our people by his fine achievements there and stated how grateful he was to him for having accepted the invitation to come and share his impressions with us.

Judge Rifkind gave a graphic survey of the situation in the DP centers in Europe and emphasized the importance of immediate mass migration to Palestine as the only solution for the Jews in Europe. He described his visit to Palestine as "the only ten days of joy" which he had experienced throughout his stay abroad. His stirring talk was followed by many questions which he answered.

At the conclusion of Judge Rifkind's talk, Dr. Wise and Dr. Silver expressed their deep gratitude to him and commended him on the historic service he has rendered to the Jewish people in this very critical hour - a service which will long be remembered.

Mr. Segal remarked on the high esteem in which Judge Rifkind was held by all who came in contact with him in his work in Europe and the admiration and praise for his work which was expressed by everyone whom Mr. Segal met in his tour of the DP camps.

Because of the lateness of the hour, Dr. Silver explained that we would have to postpone until the next meeting the opportunity of listening to Mr. Louis Segal's report of his experiences abroad. For the same reason, it was also agreed to wait until the next meeting to discuss the question of Winston Churchill.

The meeting adjourned at 6:20 P.M.



For A.L.
lk

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

April 9, 1946

A special meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held on Tuesday, April 9, at 1:30 P.M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Stephen S. Wise (presiding), Gedaliah Bublick, Mrs. Samuel W. Halprin, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Louis Lipsky, Professor Alexander Pekelis, Mrs. David de Sola Pool, Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Louis Segal, David Wertheim.

Dr. I. B. Berkson, I. L. Kenen, Dr. Sidney Marks, Jacob Dostrovsky, Meyer W. Wesigal.

Eliahu Ben-Horin, Arnold K. Isreeli, Harold P. Manson, Harry L. Shapiro, Dr. Benjamin Shwadran, Abraham Tuvim.

Tuviah Arazi.

MUFTI

Dr. Wise invited Mr. Tuviah Arazi, of the Jewish Agency, to report on the latest developments in the Mufti matter.

Mr. Arazi read a cable which he had just received from France dealing with the release of the ex-Mufti. The information contained therein was confirmed and elaborated upon in a Reuter's dispatch appearing in DER TAG of April 9th, which stated:

"France is ready to let the pro-Nazi Jerusalem ex-Mufti go, if any Arab State is willing to let him enter its country, today declared an official of the French Foreign Ministry, whereby he pointed out that the Mufti, who collaborated with Hitler, is now in France not under arrest, but under "police protection for his own security" and that he can go wherever he wants.

"The official of the French Foreign Ministry denied that any note was received about the Mufti from the Arab League.

"The announcement that the Mufti is "free" evoked great astonishment in Paris, for on previous inquiries about him the replies were that he was under "house confinement". Now the government officials claim that no such statement was issued from official circles....."

Mr. Arazi reported that the Jewish Agency had prepared an indictment of the Mufti with substantiating documents proving his incontestable guilt in his

pro-Nazi activities. While this is now ready for publication and it is only a question of the time required for printing, etc., before it is released, he felt that in view of today's developments we could not wait for the publication of the book. Immediate action was imperative in order to prevent the escape of the Mufti to Saudi Arabia which, according to the telegram, was imminent -- perhaps within a day or two.

He explained that in reply to Mrs. Barbara Gould's (Labor M.P.) inquiry in the House of Commons on April 4th with regard to the Mufti, Mr. Bevin had replied that the French Government so far had failed to comply with the British request for the extradition of the Mufti but that the British Government was pressing the matter and had the request constantly before the French Government. As for the reasons the French had given for not agreeing to surrender the Mufti, Mr. Bevin had stated that the French presented no official answer but that it is understood that there are certain difficulties involved.

Under the circumstances, therefore, Mr. Arazi felt that time was of the essence and he recommended that the following action be taken immediately: (1) That we initiate at once a press campaign attacking France's action in the matter. (2) We should make public one of the documents in our possession -- an affidavit signed by Wisliceny, an official of the Gestapo, which attests to the accuracy of the statement that the Mufti was one of the instigators of the extermination of European Jewry by the Germans and substantiates the evidence of Mr. Kastner, made public a while ago. This immediate action should be taken in addition to the eventual publication of the book referred to.

In the lengthy and detailed discussion which ensued many suggestions were offered with regard to the action to be taken:

1. Mrs. Barbara Gould: In view of the interest which Mrs. Gould had evinced in the House of Commons on the question of the Mufti, it was decided to communicate with the Jewish Agency by telephone and ask them to apprise her of the present developments in the situation.

Note: Mr. Weisgal agreed to transmit this information to the Jewish Agency during his telephone conversation with London.

2. Leon Blum: It was decided to ask Professor Pekelis to telephone immediately to Leon Blum (who, it was reported, had previously indicated that he did not even know that the Mufti was in France) and to place the entire issue clearly and bluntly before him, stressing the loan angle.

3. An Exclusive Release to the New York Times or the Herald Tribune.

4. Further Mobilization of Public Opinion: A discussion on the channels through which public opinion could be aroused evoked the following suggestions on which it was decided to act: (a) to influence Senators and Congressmen to speak on the subject of the Mufti on the floor of both Houses, as they did on the question of Transjordan; (b) to disseminate Reuter's dispatch to the newspapers; (c) to enlist immediately the cooperation of a number of radio commentators in apprising the public of the present status of the Mufti matter.

5. Lord Halifax: In view of England's involvement in the Mufti development, as conveyed by Mr. Arazi, it was agreed that Dr. Wise should get in touch with Lord Halifax to convey to him our feelings in the matter and to urge him to communicate them to his Government.

6. Appointment with Secretary of State Byrnes: Considerable thought was given to the advisability of seeking an interview with Mr. Byrnes in the matter of the Mufti. In the detailed discussion which followed, it was pointed out -- among other pertinent observations made -- that (a) we have Mr. Byrnes' reply to the effect that the United States cannot indict the Mufti because indictment by the United States Government can be made only against those war criminals who committed crimes against American nationals; (b) that the attack on the Mufti should be based on the fact that he was a Nazi collaborator rather than on the basis of the harm done by him to the Jews; (c) indictment of the Mufti for his crime against humanity does not coincide with the position taken by Mr. Byrnes.

It was the consensus of opinion that it was important to communicate with Secretary of State Byrnes, present the facts to him, and arrange for an appointment, and a motion to that effect was carried.

7. Cable to Monsieur Bidault: It was decided to recommend to the American Jewish Conference that they send a cable to Monsieur Bidault.

Professor Pekelis subsequently reported his telephone conversation with Leon Blum which, he felt, was very satisfactory. Monsieur Blum understood the situation and promised to telephone to Paris immediately.

JEWISH REFUGEES IN LA SPEZIA

In connection with the reported plight of the 1,100 Jews detained on board the FEDE in La Spezia, northern Italy, in order to prevent their departure for Palestine, the following cable was read:

"THE FOLLOWING TELEGRAM RECEIVED FROM REFUGEE SHIP FEDE DETAINED
IN LA SPEZIA QUOTE WE 1100 JEWISH REFUGEES DETAINED ON BOARD SHIP
FEDE IN LASPEZIA ITALY WHILE TRYING TO LEAVE FOR PALESTINE THE LAND
OF OUR LAST AND ONLY HOPE DECLARE THAT WE SHALL NOT LEAVE THIS SHIP
AND WE DEMAND PERMISSION TO CONTINUE OUR VOYAGE STOP WE SHALL SINK
THE SHIP AND DROWN WITH IT BECAUSE WE REACHED THE LAST STAGE OF
DESPAIR STOP APPROACH BRITISH PRIME MINISTER AND USA PRESIDENT VIEW
OBTAINING PERMISSION FOR OUR ENTRY PALESTINE THIS BEING THE ONLY
SALVATION IN OUR DESPERATE SITUATION UNQUOTE WIRE IMMEDIATELY YOUR
ACTION

(SGD) GARFUNKEL BRIK BERNSTEIN -- ON BEHALF OF CENTRAL REFUGEE
COMMITTEE ITALY

Reference was also made to the item which appeared in the NEW YORK TIMES of April 8th which reported an authoritative source as charging that the British authorities had used diplomatic pressure to seal the doors of Eastern European borders against escaping Jews in order to halt illegal immigration to Palestine.

As a result of the ensuing discussion, during which many suggestions were entertained on the action to be taken, it was decided: (1) To request the American

Jewish Conference to send a telegram to President Truman embodying the cable received and requesting the President to intervene in such ways as he deems advisable in order to enable the 1,100 refugees to proceed to their hopeful destination.

(2) To intercede with our friends in the Italian-American group here and ask them to intervene with influential people in Italy. Toward this end, Dr. Wise volunteered to contact Messrs. Pecora and Antonini, and Mrs. Pool promised to communicate with Mrs. Ferreira.

Mrs. Halprin made the suggestion that we mobilize both Christian and Jewish public opinion in this country and stimulate the sending of telegrams to the President.

ST. LOUIS OIL CONFERENCE.

Mr. Ben-Horin presented a brief report on the oil conference which took place in St. Louis on April 8th, strictly in camera, and was attended by 9 oil men -- all Zionists (Messrs. F. Julius Fohs, Julius Livingston, Sidney Herold, Eugene M. Solow, Herman P. Taubman, Bernhard H. Lasky, Herbert Gussman, Louis Franklin and William Elson) as well as by Dr. Silver, Dr. Akzin, Mr. Tuvim and Mr. Ben-Horin. Mr. Eliahu Epstein was invited to attend but could not be present. Two reports had been prepared for this conference, which was called for the purpose of discussing the effects of Middle Eastern oil on the Zionist position -- one by Mr. Ben-Horin, on the political aspects of the situation, and the other by Mr. Fohs, on the technical phases.

The conference, which was considered most helpful and useful by those present, adopted as the basis for the policy to be pursued the conclusions and suggestions recommended in Mr. Ben-Horin's memorandum (on file). A committee, consisting of Mr. Herold, chairman, Mr. Fohs and Mr. Taubman, with Mr. Ben-Horin as liaison, was appointed to follow through the decisions taken.

POLICY

Mrs. Halprin suggested for inclusion in a future agenda the subject matter dealt with in a memorandum from Mr. Leo Sack, copy of which she had seen. Mr. Shapiro explained that this memorandum, addressed to Dr. Silver, was to have been considered at the last meeting of the Executive, but because of the crowded agenda then, would be discussed at the meeting on April 18th. Since she would not be able to attend the April 18th meeting, Mrs. Halprin asked that the matter be taken up at the meeting following that.

JUDGE RIFKIND

Judge Rothenberg made a motion -- which was unanimously carried -- that we place on record our deep sense of satisfaction with the splendid report which Judge Rifkind rendered to the Executive Committee at its meeting of April 1st; that this be spread on the Minutes and that Judge Rifkind be informed to that effect.

MR. WEISGAL'S REPORT

Mr. Weisgal reported on the trans-Atlantic telephone conversation he had just completed with London during which the various matters taken up at this meeting were discussed:

1. La Spezia: Contact had been made with the Colonial Office in this matter, but the results are not yet known. Mr. Weisgal as asked to convey the

message that all instruments in America should be used in order to avert a catastrophe for these Jews who are deeply in earnest about their intentions.

2. Mufti: The various points raised in our discussion today were brought up in the conversation, with this additional interesting development: The British have made a "demarche" to the French Government, asking them not to release the Mufti. The French Government asked the British Government whether it regarded the Mufti as a war criminal whereupon the answer was "we regard him as a quisling." As a "quisling," the French said, they could not turn him over to the British Government.

3. Mrs. Barbara Gould: Our decision to apprise Mrs. Gould of the present developments in the Mufti matter was conveyed and will be acted on.

4. Transjordan: London asked that the Council make public on the following day the legal document on Transjordan which the Jewish Agency sent to the Colonial Office on March 14th.

ANGLO-AMERICAN COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY

1. Our Ad re: the Mufti: Mr. Shapiro read a cable from the American members of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, addressed to Dr. Wise and Dr. Silver, and our reply thereto (attached).

2. Our Future Attitude toward the Committee: In connection with Mr. Weisgal's statement that a number of requests had come to him from various authoritative sources asking that nothing be said or done which might tend to irritate the members of the Committee at this time, while they are writing their report, it was moved and carried that no representative of the Executive Committee nor of the Council as a whole -- no member or group, collectively or individually -- shall do anything in the way of attacking the members of the Anglo-American Committee unless such action is decided upon at a meeting.

Mr. Tuvim suggested that this restriction be not limited to attack only; that nothing favorable nor unfavorable about the Committee be said until we reach a decision.

3. Long-Range Recommendation by the Committee: Mrs. Halprin raised the point whether, if it were in our power to influence the Committee to make proposals for ultimate solution, favorable and acceptable to us, it would not be wise to press for the issuance of a long-range recommendation simultaneously with the interim report which the Committee is expected to submit. Under the circumstances, she suggested that we meet on the following day in order to discuss what might be acceptable to us.

It was therefore decided to call a meeting for April 10th at which time this matter could be discussed in detail.

The meeting adjourned at 4:00 P.M.

For A.L.
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AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

April 10, 1946

A special meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held on Wednesday, April 10, at 12:00 Noon, at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Stephen S. Wise (presiding), Leon Gellman, Mrs. Samuel W. Halprin, Professor Alexander Pekelis, Mrs. David de Sola Pool, Mrs. Herman Shulman, David Wertheim,

Rabbi Philip S. Bernstein, Jacob Dostrovsky, Dr. Sidney Marks, Meyer Weisgal.

Eliahu Ben-Horin, Arnold K. Isreeli, Harold P. Manson, Harry L. Shapiro, Dr. Benjamin Shwadran, Abraham Tuvim.

Tuvia Arazi, Dr. Josef Cohn, Mrs. A. P. Schoolman.

REFUGEES ABOARD VESSEL FEDE

In connection with the detention of 1200 Jewish refugees on board the vessel FEDE, in Italy, which was bound for Palestine, Dr. Wise read the following telegram which is being sent today by Mr. Charles Poletti to the Italian Government:

"American people deeply shocked over action of Italian police probably under British orders in detaining 1200 Jewish refugees ready to sail on ship FEDE to Palestine. Strongly urge that everything be done to release these refugees who threaten to commit suicide and permit them to go to Palestine."

Dr. Wise had also been in touch with Mr. Antonini who will communicate with influential circles in Italy in order to obtain their assistance.

EX-MUFTI

Mr. Manson reported in detail on the press and radio activities of this office with regard to the contemplated release of the ex-Mufti by the French Government. It is hoped that the news will be spread around until it evokes comment on its own.

Mr. Arazi reported that a visit had been paid to the French Embassy which advised the visiting representatives that three telegrams were being sent to the French Government, informing them of the dangerous situation here. Mr. Arazi also brought to the attention of those present the fact that certain documents he possessed requesting the return of the ex-Mufti had the signatures affixed thereto of the leaders of the Lebanon, the majority of which were those of Christian Lebanese.

Dr. Wise reported that a meeting had been arranged with Monsieur Bonnet for five-thirty this afternoon at the Hotel Pierre. Mr. Arazi, Mr. Jaffee and Professor Pekelis are to accompany Dr. Wise.

LETTER FROM DR. SILVER

Mr. Shapiro read a letter from Dr. Silver, dated April 9, 1946, in which Dr. Silver stated he felt that in anticipation of the report which is to be issued by the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, the Council should send a letter to the officers of the various national Zionist bodies, requesting them not to issue any public statements when the report is published until the Emergency Council has had a chance to orient itself and to establish a "line" in harmony with that of the Jewish Agency; a letter should also be sent to all the Local Committees of the Emergency Council all over the country to await direction from the Council.

A general discussion ensued and it was decided to send two separate letters, one to the national organizations and one to the Local Emergency Committees.

ANGLO-AMERICAN COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY

In accordance with the latest information as to the progress of the Committee there was a full discussion (on file) as to further steps to be taken to: (1) urge the Committee, in accordance with its Terms of Reference, to make recommendations for the ultimate political disposition of Palestine, or (2) to urge the Committee to deal with immediate necessities and to by-pass the full political problems.

Following the discussion it was agreed that our representatives in Switzerland should not be advised of the substance of the debate.

A motion was made that the Emergency Council should immediately extend an invitation to Mr. Shertok to come to this country following the issuance of the Committee report. The motion was seconded and carried, Mr. Gellman dissenting.

RABBI PHILIP S. BERNSTEIN

Rabbi Philip S. Bernstein just returned from London, reported on his visit to England.

Rabbi Bernstein pointed out that Jews need some status in the world today. He illustrated his point by describing the opening session of the United Nations Refugee Commission in London, where there were twenty odd nations represented, and the Jews not having status could not participate in the discussions.

There is growing weakness of our movement in England. We have very few friends, even among the people on whom we thought we could depend in years gone by. There is developing a growing feeling of resentment against the Jews, as Creech-Jones puts it, in relation to the loss of British lives in Palestine, and in relation to the problems that are being created for them. This apparently is a genuine thing. We have no friends among the Christians. The Church of England follows the government line in matters of this kind and there is no real support from the Church there. The same is true of the press, which is not publishing Zionist letters and Zionist speeches. In response to Dr. Wise's question as to whether there were any suggestions that we curtail our bitterness against England, Rabbi Bernstein replied that there were no such suggestions.

Rabbi Bernstein stated that his visit to Germany last week confirmed his belief that nothing is worse than reality. The despair of people standing around in camps with nothing to do and no place to go is heartbreaking to witness. There is no other stand than to be firm Zionists. We should disregard the fact that we may be more unpopular and go ahead with our program.

The London office requests that we be in touch with the State Department, requesting that they advise the British not to act on Transjordan until the Palestine problem is settled. The State Department should not ratify Transjordan's independence.

Meeting adjourned at 2:30 P.M.

H.L.S.

NF



16th January, 1946

The Chief Secretary
Government Offices
J e r u s a l e m

Sir,

I have the honour to address you on the subject of the economic boycott proclaimed against the Palestine-Jewish community by the Arab League, comprising the Governments of the neighbouring Arab States and the Government of the Mandated Territory of Transjordan, as well as by the Arab Higher Committee in Palestine.

2. I beg to attach a copy of a letter on the subject addressed by the Jewish Agency for Palestine to the Chairman of the General Assembly of the United Nations Organization and would ask for the favour of its transmission to His Majesty's Government. The Jewish Agency would respectfully request that its submissions may be endorsed and supported by the representatives of His Majesty's Government in the appropriate organs of the United Nations Organization. A similar request is being addressed by the Jewish Agency to the Governments of the United States, U.S.S.R. and France.

3. Quite apart from His Majesty's Government's status as a leading member of the United Nations Organization, its locus standi in the matter derives from its position as the Mandatory for Palestine. The Jewish Agency was gratified to see in an official communique issued by the Government of Palestine a full recognition of the fact that the boycott "is a measure of immediate concern to the Mandatory Power which is responsible, under the provisions of the Mandate, for the well being of all peoples in Palestine."

4. From the beginning of the boycott agitation the Jewish Agency has been anxious to refrain from doing or urging anything that might be calculated to precipitate the issue. In the hope that the decisions taken by the Arab Governments might remain on paper, the Jewish Agency has urged upon the economic circles directly concerned the necessity of showing the maximum measure of forbearance and abstaining from premature retaliation. Experience has unfortunately proved these hopes to have been unwarranted.

5. The legislative and administrative boycott measures adopted by the Governments concerned, to which reference was made in the attached communication, have been followed by practical steps carrying the above formal decisions into effect. Cases have already been reported of consignments of Palestinian goods having been stopped or confiscated at frontier posts. Palestinian firms trading with the neighbouring countries have received notices of cancellation of orders and of severance of commercial relations. Import licences for Palestinian goods are in the process of being cancelled. The officially directed propaganda for the complete enforcement of the boycott is in full swing.

6. In Palestine itself an extreme reluctance appears to prevail in wide sections of the Arab business community and general public to engage in the boycott, as the Arab and Jewish economic systems have never been so closely integrated and interdependent as they are today. But the action taken by the neighbouring countries is exerting pressure on the Arabs of Palestine and strengthening the agitation for a complete economic rupture between the two communities.

7. In these circumstances, urgent and determined action on the part of His Majesty's Government and the Palestine Administration appears to be called for, if the mounting tide of racial incitement and economic destructiveness is to be stemmed in time. It may well be that, if left to itself, the boycott policy will eventually produce boomerang effects which may bring its authors back to reason. Even so, a large volume of preventable harm will have been created and direct retaliation by those immediately affected -- unavoidable in the absence of governmental action -- will have caused lasting bitterness. Modern experience, however, has proved how unwarranted is reliance on the automatic working of economic logic where racial prejudice dictates policy and national prestige bars retreat.

8. The first consideration as regards the British Government's reaction to the boycott arises from the fact that it was proclaimed and is being implemented under the auspices of the Arab League. This organization has come into being with the full blessing of His Majesty's Government. In fact, a declaration of His Majesty's Government's sympathy with the idea of the Arab League preceded, and can therefore be rightly held to have prompted, its birth. This being so, it would appear to be desirable that His Majesty's Government should publicly register their condemnation of the racial boycott policy and pledge their opposition to it, lest their silence on the subject be misconstrued as tacit approval or, at least, toleration.

9. As, however, mere censure and admonition can hardly prove an effective remedy, it is submitted that a series of practical steps should be taken to bring home to the Governments concerned the extent to which their own economic interests depend upon normal trade relations with Palestine, of whose economy the Jews form such a significant sector, and the harm which they are liable to suffer as a result of these relations being disturbed by aggressive action on their part.

10. There appear to be three main channels through which benefits accrue to the neighbouring countries from trade relations with Palestine. In the first place, they all export considerable quantities of food and other commodities to Palestine of which a large proportion is consumed by Jews. These imports include cotton from Egypt, wheat from Syria and Transjordan and cattle from Iraq, all of which are obtainable from other sources. In 1944 (the last year for which official figures are available) the expenditure of Palestine on imports from the countries of the Arab League was nearly £4,000,000 for barley and £130,000 for wheat, most of the latter cereal having gone to the urban population of which Jews form the majority. For Syrian wheat the Palestinian consumer is paying more than twice the price of Canadian wheat and for Transjordanian more than twice the price of the Australian. The ratio of the Syrian price to the Canadian is more than 3:1. In the second place, most of the neighbouring countries obtain part of their imports by transit through Palestine. This is particularly the case of Transjordan, but Egypt, too, imports livestock from Iraq and Transjordan via Palestine, while Iraq enjoys the facility of a free zone in the Haifa harbour. In the third place, the dollar deficiencies of those countries are covered wholly or in part by the dollar surpluses of Palestine deriving from Jewish sources (proceeds of the sale of diamonds and remittances of Zionist funds).

11. It is submitted that a very serious warning should be addressed without delay to the Governments pursuing the boycott policy that, unless that policy is immediately discontinued, the Government of Palestine will proceed to the

curtailment or complete withdrawal of all these benefits, i.e., the diversion of Palestine's import trade to other countries, the drastic restriction of the grant of import licences to nationals of the boycotting States, the denial of transit facilities and the reduction of the allocations of currency from the dollar pool. It should be realised that if the boycott continues and no retaliatory measures are taken under the first and last counts, the Jews of Palestine will find themselves in the grotesque position of actually financing a boycott directed against themselves.

12. In the particular case of the Government of Transjordan the powers wielded by His Majesty's Government as the Mandatory should, it would seem, be sufficient to put an end to the boycott policy even without resorting to any sanctions.

13. In the case of Syria and the Lebanon, the obligations assumed by those States under the Trade Agreement with Palestine of the 30th November, 1939, should be invoked. Paragraph 9 of this Agreement reads as follows:

9. "Trade between the territories of the Contracting Parties shall as far as possible not be impeded by any import or export prohibitions or restrictions.

In so far as prohibitions and restrictions may be enforced on the importation or exportation of any goods, articles produced or manufactured in the territory of one Contracting Party and imported into or exported to the territory of the other Contracting Party shall receive treatment in all respects as favourable as that accorded to the like articles produced or manufactured in any foreign country. The foregoing provision shall in particular apply in respect of any import or export licences which may be required, and in respect of the conditions under which such licences are issued."

The boycott now instituted is a flagrant breach of the Agreement calling for its immediate abrogation by the Palestine Government.

14. The boycott further involves a breach of existing trade agreements between all the boycotting States and the United Kingdom. Under all these agreements Palestine is entitled to enjoy the benefits of the "most favoured nation" clause. There can be little doubt that the present boycott is, in relation to Palestine, a direct violation of the obligations incumbent upon the Arab States in question by virtue of that clause.

15. The question of the administrative and other measures called for by the boycott agitation in Palestine calls for special treatment and may form the subject of further submissions. In the present context it is only desired to draw attention to the detrimental effect which this boycott is liable to have on Jewish-Arab relations and the country's internal security, and to point out that the internal boycott agitation will automatically collapse if the external boycott is checked and liquidated.

16. The Jewish Agency would be grateful for the earliest possible consideration

of these submissions and for an intimation of the steps taken by the Government, to which reference was made in your letter C.S. 742/4 of the 5th January, 1946, as well as of the further measures which the Government intends to adopt.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,

M. Shertok
EXECUTIVE OF THE JEWISH AGENCY



AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

April 15, 1946

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

PRESENT

Dr. Stephen S. Wise (presiding), Mrs. Samuel W. Halprin, Professor Alexander Pekelis, Louis Segal, Mrs. Herman Shulman, David Wertheim.

Rabbi Philip S. Bernstein, Jacob Dostrovsky, Dr. Sidney Marks, Abraham Tulin.

Arnold K. Isreeli, Harold P. Manson, Harry L. Shapiro, Dr. Benjamin Shwadrin, Abraham Tuvim.

Dr. Josef Cohn.

JEWISH REFUGEES ABOARD VESSEL FEDE

A full discussion ensued with respect to the type of support which Zionists in America should give to the leaders in Palestine carrying on the hunger strike, to the Yishuv and to those aboard the FEDE. The proposal of a supporting hunger strike by leaders in America was argued pro and con and in the midst of it, Mr. Wertheim delivered the message that he had just spoken with his office and they had advised him that the High Commissioner had already been seen and had given his assurance that those aboard the FEDE would be given certificates within a day or too. Following this announcement, it was the decision of the meeting not to take steps relative to the hunger strike until Thursday, April 18. The decision of the Council then will be based on the action of the Palestine Administration.

It was agreed that the following cable, containing necessary revisions, be sent to the Yishuv:

"ON BEHALF OF ZIONISTS OF AMERICA WE SEND YOU THIS EXPRESSION OF SOLIDARITY IN YOUR MAGNIFICENT STRUGGLE AGAINST LATEST ACT OF BRUTALITY PERPETRATED AGAINST JEWISH SURVIVORS EUROPE STOP YOUR COURAGEOUS HUNGER STRIKE IN SUPPORT HOMELESS REFUGEES ABOARD FEDE AT LA SPEZIA HAS AWAKENED ADMIRATION OF US ALL AND HAS HEIGHTENED OUR RESOLVE FIGHT AT YOUR SIDE UNCEASINGLY UNTIL SUCH TRAGIC INCIDENTS ARE THING OF PAST STOP IT IS BITTERLY IRONIC SUCH MUST BE MESSAGE OF JEWS TO THEIR BRETHREN IN ERETZYISRAEL ON THIS PASSOVER EVE STOP BUT IN GREAT TRADITION OUR FESTIVAL OF FREEDOM WE WILL CONTINUE OUR STRUGGLE AGAINST TYRANNY AND OPPRESSION UNTIL FINAL COMPLETE LIBERATION"

The meeting adjourned at 4:45 P.M.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

April 18, 1946

A special meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held on Thursday, April 18th, at 2:00 P.M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Gedalia Bublick, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Louis Lipsky, Professor Alexander Pekelis, Mrs. David de Sola Pool, Louis Segal, Mrs. Herman Shulman, Dr. Stephen S. Wise.

Dr. I. B. Berkson, Jacob Dostrovsky, Eliahu Epstein, Professor Milton Handler, I. L. Kenen, Dr. Sidney Marks, Rabbi Irving Miller, Abraham Tulin.

Eliahu Ben-Horin, Arnold K. Isreeli, Harold P. Manson, Harry L. Shapiro, Dr. Benjamin Shwadran.

Tuvia Arazi, Col. Bernard Bernstein, Dr. Josef Cohn, Dvora Rothbard, Leo Sack.

HADASSAH

Dr. Wise expressed regret at the fact that his request for a change in the hour of this meeting from 4:00 to 2:00 P.M. was responsible for the inability of Hadassah's representatives to be present at the full proceedings of this meeting. He wished it to be recorded that he had made this request without knowledge of the fact that it would conflict with Hadassah's scheduled National Board meeting.

HARVARD CONFERENCE ON MIDDLE EASTERN AFFAIRS

Mr. Ben-Horin presented a brief report on the Harvard Conference on Middle Eastern Affairs which took place on April 13th. Approximately 45 people, of whom 11 were Jews, participated in this conference, the call for which was issued by Professor Carl Friedrich. Professor Rappard, Vice-Chairman of the Palestine Mandates Commission, was the principal guest of the conference, and gave a fine, pro-Zionist address at a special session on Mandates with relationship to the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations. In all, there were about five sessions devoted to such topics as (a) Great Power Conflicts in the Middle East, (b) League Experiences with the Mandates, (c) Question of the future of Turkey, Iran, Dardanelles and Russia, (d) Oil and economic interests in the Middle East, (e) Trade and Foreign Policy in the Middle East -- with an address by Dean Landis

Mr. Ben-Horin stated that this conference, as a whole, was friendly to the Zionist cause.

FINANCE COMMITTEE

Mr. Shapiro read the Minutes of the meeting of the special Finance Committee which took place on April 4th (attached).

In keeping with the recommendation of this special committee to have a committee appointed to serve as a continuing body to examine and supervise the financial activities of the Council, Dr. Silver announced the appointment of the following people to constitute such a committee: Daniel Frisch - chairman, Louis Segal, Rabbi I. M. Kowalsky, and Mrs. A. P. Schoolman.

The action taken by the special committee was approved.

GILBERT PROPOSAL

The chairman invited Col. Bernstein to present the developments in the Gilbert plan since the Executive Committee meeting of March 19th, when Mr. Gilbert had submitted his proposal on this project connected with the JVA.

Following Col. Bernstein's presentation, there ensued a lengthy discussion on the merits of this proposal (on file).

As a result, it was moved and carried that the committee which was appointed to study this proposal, following the March 19th meeting (consisting of Professor Handler, Professor Pekelis, Mrs. Halprin and Rabbi Kirshblum) plus Mr. Tulin and Mr. Epstein, shall be authorized to carry on negotiations with those interested and that the Jewish Agency shall be apprised of developments and its opinion solicited in this matter.

"PALESTINE - PROBLEM AND PROMISE"

Dr. Wise reported that he had been approached by Mr. Blinken of the American Palestine Institute with the request that the Council contribute toward the deficit of approximately \$21,000 which the Institute had incurred as a result of the publication of "Palestine - Problem and Promise" by Robert Nathan, Oscar Gass and Daniel Creamer.

It was pointed out that at the meeting of January 30th action had been taken by the Executive Committee to the effect that the American Zionist Emergency Council purchase 200 copies of this book and should so coordinate its distribution as to avoid any duplication with other Zionist bodies.

While it was the feeling that this book was of inestimable value, it was the consensus of opinion that the Council was not in a position to allocate the large sum of money requested. Following suggestions for promoting the sale of this book, it was finally moved and carried that the Finance Committee be asked to work out a plan in order to promote the distribution of the book among the constituent Zionist bodies.

ACTIVITIES IN WASHINGTON - REPORT

Dr. Silver called upon Mr. Leo Sack to present his report on contacts and approaches he had made in Washington circles.

At the conclusion of this report, which was well received, Dr. Silver expressed his thanks to Mr. Sack for a job well done and a report well rendered.

AMERICAN PALESTINE CHRISTIAN COMMITTEE

Dr. Silver presented for approval the statement of principles of the American Christian Palestine Committee, which is to serve as the constitutional basis for the Committee's activity.

The statement was approved, as read, and ordered to be recorded in the Minutes. (Attached).

BEN HECHT -- AMERICAN LEAGUE FOR A FREE PALESTINE

Dr. Silver submitted for consideration the request made by representatives of the Jewish Agency that the Council issue a statement to the press denying the allegations made by the Repatriation Supervisory Board of the American League for a Free Palestine (comprised of Ben Hecht, Will Rogers, Jr. and Louis Bromfield) that it was responsible for the emigration of thousands of Jews from Europe to Palestine.

Mr. Epstein referred to the "ad" in the NEW YORK TIMES of April 17th as well as to the other statements in the press and stated that they were designed to create the impression that this group had been instrumental in evacuating Jews from Europe to Palestine in order that it might facilitate the collection of funds as well as establish prestige for the Bergson Group. Because of these, as well as other reasons he enumerated, Mr. Epstein felt it was essential to take the necessary action to repudiate the misrepresentations.

A detailed discussion ensued during which the advisability of issuing a statement to the press to denounce the contentions of the Ben Hecht group, was carefully considered.

A motion made and seconded -- that the Council issue a statement in effect repudiating these people who are collecting money under false pretenses, was defeated, 4 to 5.

LA SPEZIA

Dr. Silver stated that he had contacted people in Washington in regard to this matter and that a message had reached him that certificates had been granted to the refugees.

Dr. Silver paid tribute to the hunger strikers in Palestine who have given us an amazing example of Jewish spirit and Jewish loyalty. Their act was an exemplary one in many ways and sets us a high mark for evidence of the kind of strength which we have in the Yishuv and in the Jewish leaders who took part in the hunger strike.

It was decided to convene a special luncheon meeting the following day in order to deal with the important unfinished matters on the agenda.

The meeting adjourned at 4:25 P.M.

For A. L.
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MINUTES

SPECIAL FINANCE COMMITTEE
AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

Thursday, April 4, 1946

PRESENT: Abraham Goodman, Charles Ress,
Judge Morris Rothenberg, Harry L. Shapiro.

In accordance with the motion passed by the Executive Committee on January 14, "After a discussion in which various points were raised and elucidated, it was moved and carried that the budget of \$623,000 be adopted in principle, subject to the approval and control by a Finance Committee to be appointed."

The meeting concerned itself with the discussion of the budget for the fiscal year October 15, 1945 - October 14, 1946.

Following the discussion it was the decision of the meeting that it approved the budget as submitted in the amount of \$623,000 on condition that a Finance Committee be appointed by the Chairman of the Executive Committee which would serve as a continuing body to examine and supervise the financial activities of the Council.

The meeting adjourned at 5:30 P.M.

H.L.S.

STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES
AMERICAN CHRISTIAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE

The American Christian Palestine Committee believes that the so-called "Jewish problem" is primarily a Christian problem. As Christians we must resist and seek to destroy racial and religious discrimination. We must demand justice for the Jewish people everywhere. We must restore security and liberty wherever these have been lost. We must obtain the democratic freedoms of citizenship and the right to work for Jews who choose to remain in or return to the lands of their birth. We must safeguard their rights to restitution of property and to lives of dignity and self-respect, wherever such rights have been denied to them.

But this is not enough, as has been historically demonstrated. The basic solution which will end Jewish national homelessness -- the root of most of the evils which have afflicted the Jewish people -- is imperative today. We therefore demand the fulfillment of the clear intent and purpose of the Balfour Declaration, the League of Nations Mandate for Palestine, and of the 1924 Convention between Great Britain and the United States, all of which were designed to provide a national homeland, in the full sense of the word, for the Jewish people.

Specifically, we urge the implementation of the concurrent Congressional Resolution passed in December, 1945:

"BE IT RESOLVED, that the interest shown by the President in the solution of this problem is hereby commended and that the United States shall use its good offices with the mandatory power to the end that Palestine shall be opened for free entry of Jews into that country to the maximum of its agricultural and economic potentialities, and that there shall be full opportunity for colonization and development, so that they may freely proceed with the upbuilding of Palestine as the Jewish national homeland, in association with all elements of the population, establish Palestine as a democratic commonwealth in which all men, regardless of race or creed, shall have equal rights."

The steps to the realization of the Zionist goal are free immigration and unrestricted colonization by Jews, resulting in a Jewish majority in Palestine empowered to create the institutions of democratic government. In the Jewish national homeland thus to be established, complete separation of church and state is assured. The holy places of all religions will be fully protected under international guarantees.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

April 19, 1946

A special luncheon meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held on Friday, April 19, at 11:30 A.M. at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Gedalia Bublick, Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, Leon Gellman, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mrs. Samuel W. Halprin, Louis Lipsky, Professor Alexander Pekelis, Mrs. David de Sola Pool, Mrs. Herman Shulman, Dr. Stephen S. Wise.

Dr. I. B. Berkson, Daniel Frisch, Professor Milton Handler, Dr. Sidney Marks, Rabbi Irving Miller, Abraham Tulin.

Eliahu Ben-Horin, Arnold K. Isreeli, Harold P. Manson, Harry L. Shapiro, Dr. Benjamin Shwadran.

Col. Bernard Bernstein, Dr. Josef Cohn, Richard Gilbert, Leo Sack, Max Swirin.

Dr. Silver expressed to Mrs. Pool the gratitude of the members of the Executive Committee for the lovely Passover repast which she had provided.

GILBERT PROPOSAL

Following Professor Handler's presentation of the report of the sub-committee appointed to study this project, a lengthy discussion ensued (on file) on the various aspects of the proposal, in which Mr. Gilbert and Mr. Swirin participated.

As a result of the discussion, it was moved and carried that this body take no action on this proposal until it learns the contents of the report of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry and that in the meantime our friends be advised to continue exploring the problem without commitments of any kind.

TRANSJORDAN

Professor Handler, chairman of the legal committee, appointed in accordance with the action taken at the meeting of April 1st, submitted his report.

He stated that the committee, after having examined all the pertinent documents on the subject as well as the documents already submitted to the State Department and the British Colonial Office, was of the opinion that all major legal points have been taken into consideration. This committee will, in due course, present for the approval of the Executive Committee a supplementary memorandum which it believes should be submitted to the State Department.

DR. ZUCKER'S PLAN FOR A PROVISIONAL JEWISH STATE

Mr. Tulin reported on behalf of the sub-committee which was appointed to study Dr. Zucker's plan for a Provisional Jewish State.

Dr. Zucker and three of his associates had been invited to the second meeting of the sub-committee in order that they might explain the proposal more fully. As a result of a friendly and frank discussion of the plan, Dr. Zucker agreed: 1. That he would not proceed further with this project; 2. that he would refrain from further advertising; 3. that in view of the forthcoming World Zionist Congress, this is a matter which may be considered at that time.

U. N. CONTACTS

Dr. Silver called attention to the fact that to date the Jewish Agency had not met with our representatives to discuss the best ways of cultivating the visiting U. N. delegates in America, in accordance with the decision taken at our meeting of April 1st.

At the suggestion of Dr. Wise and Mr. Lipsky, it was agreed that Dr. Silver, Dr. Wise and Mr. Lipsky convene a meeting of the Jewish Agency to discuss this matter with the view to submitting a report at the next meeting, if possible.

ANGLO-AMERICAN COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY - REACTION TO REPORT

In order to have a unified statement of reaction by Zionist leaders to the forthcoming report of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, it was decided to ask the members of the Jewish Agency Executive in America to send a cable to the Jewish Agency Executive in London and in Palestine asking them not to issue any public statement of reaction to the report of the Committee before communicating with the American members of the Jewish Agency.

For A.L.
lk

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

April 25, 1946

A special meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Thursday, April 25th, at 2:00 P.M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Gedalia Bublick, Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, Leon Gellman, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mrs. Samuel W. Halprin, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Louis Lipsky, Emanuel Neumann, Prof. Alexander Pekelis, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Louis Segal, Mrs. Herman Shulman, Dr. Stephen S. Wise.

Jacob Dostrovsky, Daniel Frisch, Isaiah L. Kenen, Rabbi Joseph H. Lookstein, Abraham Tulin.

Dr. Benjamin Akzin, Dr. I. B. Berkson, Eliahu Ben-Horin, Arnold K. Isreeli, Harold P. Manson, Harry L. Shapiro, Dr. Benjamin Shwadran.

Dr. Josef Cohn, Yale Goldberg, Rabbi Irving Miller, Miss Dvora Rothbard.

Dr. Silver opened the meeting, stating that the session was called under the assumption that by this time we might have more authoritative news on the contents of the Anglo-American Report. He regretted that as of the moment further information was not available. It was hoped, he stated, that the American members of the Committee would have returned by this time, but as yet none had arrived, except Judge Hutcheson who keeps himself incommunicado.

Dr. Silver had word from Paris that Mr. Ben-Gurion had requested that he (Dr. Silver) telephone him there. Because of communication disturbances, Dr. Silver had been unable to complete the call. As soon as the call is completed, Dr. Silver will communicate any pertinent information to the members of the Executive Committee.

CABLE FROM MR. SHERTOK

Dr. Silver stated that at the last meeting of this body it had been decided that a cable should be sent by the American members of the Jewish Agency to members of the Jewish Agency Executive in London and in Palestine, requesting that comment be withheld by the Executive of the Jewish Agency on the Report when it is issued until we should have an opportunity to be consulted with regard to its contents. The following cable was received from Mr. Shertok in reply:

"PUBLIC COMMENT BY EXECUTIVE OR INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS ANYWHERE IS INCONCEIVABLE BEFORE OFFICIAL PUBLICATION WHICH MAY TAKE TIME STOP MEANWHILE WITHIN WEEK ARTHUR WILL REPORT ENABLING YOU CABLE LONDON YOUR REACTION WHICH THEY WILL RELAY JERUSALEM STOP YOUR DIRECT CABLING JERUSALEM INADVISABLE STOP ONCE REPORT PUBLISHED EXECUTIVE JERUSALEM MUST REACT IMMEDIATELY STOP PAST EXPERIENCE PROVES PRIOR CONSULTATION SUCH OCCASIONS IMPRACTICABLE AS AUTHORITATIVE COMMENT CANNOT BE DELAYED STOP SHALL CONSULT BENGURION PARIS TUESDAY CABLE AGAIN

SHERTOK"

EXPORT-IMPORT BANK

Dr. Silver informed the meeting that the members of the committee appointed to investigate the question of a loan from the Export-Import Bank are exploring the situation further and are in the process of drafting sample legislation which may apply to this matter. This is in line with the decision and the discussion on this subject at the last meeting.

Mrs. Halprin stated that, from newspaper reports, it seemed that the Jewish Agency was in the process of considering future large-scale development schemes. Such being the case, she felt it would be advisable to proceed with the loan proposal.

Mr. Tulin pointed out that during the discussion of the committee dealing with the plan that he had expressed the views that it might be inadvisable for them to proceed prior to the issuance of the Anglo-American Report, as the recommendations of the Report might make it necessary for us to seek other terms.

Dr. Silver stated that Mr. Tulin's point of view was in agreement with the committee's resolution on the subject and that the Council would take no action on the matter until after the Report is received.

TRANSJORDAN

Professor Pekelis called attention to the letter of Secretary of State Byrnes to Senator Myers on the matter of Transjordan, with which a sub-committee is dealing. The significance of the letter lies, not in what it says regarding the position of the United States with respect to Transjordan, but in the general interpretation of America's position with regard to Palestine and to all mandated territories. We must make representation to the State Department in order not to permit the theory to prevail that the United States has no jurisdiction with reference to Palestine because it was not a member of the League of Nations. If the point of view as expressed in the letter to Senator Myers prevails, it will create a situation which would be injurious to our movement. The position of Secretary Byrnes is untenable and can be contradicted with official State Department documents. The League of Nations has officially taken cognizance of the

stipulation between the United States and Great Britain, to wit the following agreement between Great Britain and the United States which was published in the official journal of the League of Nations in 1932:

"The principle remains established that the approval of the United States is essential to the validity of any determination which may be reached regarding mandated territory."

This agreement between Great Britain and the United States is now being repudiated by Secretary Byrnes.

In response to a statement that this particular position had not been invented by Secretary Byrnes, Professor Pekelis agreed that that was true. However, Secretary Byrnes has been particularly explicit about that position, and it makes no difference as to who first adopted the position. No Secretary of State has the right to waive the rights and privileges which belong to the Government and to the people of the United States. The waiver could not be made by a letter of Secretary Byrnes, but by another international agreement. What is actually being done is the waiving of technical sovereignty.

Mr. Tulin interjected the remark that the statement Professor Pekelis had reference to was the one made with regard to the termination of the Iraqi Mandate.

Professor Pekelis felt it referred to all mandated territory. With respect to Transjordan the agreement is even more explicit and it applies "to the East as well as the West of the River Jordan." The issue is not so much the right of the Secretary of State to waive the sovereignty of the United States. That point could be raised in Congress which has real power with reference to violation of relations of the United States. This body should be aware of the necessity to file a protest and perhaps initiate congressional action.

Dr. Silver stated that we have a committee appointed on this subject, to which committee the letter of Secretary Byrnes had been referred this morning. As soon as the committee's report is received, we will be ready to take action. Action should be taken and not be too long delayed.

MR. EMANUEL NEUMANN

Mr. Neumann, who had been requested to go to Palestine (where he had spent five weeks) to be of assistance to our people there in connection with the hearings of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry in Palestine and also to represent us in various activities in which he might be helpful, reported in detail on his visit there (report on file).

ANGLO-AMERICAN COMMITTEE REPORT

Dr. Silver stated that should the Committee report be published today or tomorrow morning, a meeting of the Executive Committee would be held at noon tomorrow; otherwise, a special meeting will be called for the early part of next week.

Meeting adjourned at 3:50 P. M.

H.L.S.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

May 3, 1946

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

PRESENT

Dr. Stephen S. Wise (presiding), Gedalia Bublick, Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, Leon Gellman, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mrs. Samuel W. Halprin, Louis Lipsky, Emanuel Neumann, Professor Alexander Pekelis, Mrs. David de Sola Pool, Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Louis Segal, Mrs. Herman Shulman, David Wertheim, Rabbi Sidney Zambrowsky.

Jacob Dostrovsky, Dr. Nahum Goldmann, Professor Milton Handler, Isaiah L. Kenen, Rabbi Irving Miller, Abraham Tulin.

Dr. Benjamin Akzin, Eliahu Ben-Horin, Arnold K. Isreeli, Arthur Lourie, Harold P. Manson, Harry L. Shapiro, Dr. Benjamin Shwadran, Abraham Tuvim.

Tuvia Arazi, Elihu D. Stone, Marvin Lowenthal, Daniel Shind.

LETTER FROM DR. SILVER

Mr. Shapiro read a letter from Dr. Silver, dated May 2, 1946, in which the following points were stressed (letter on file):

(1) We should center our attack on Attlee's unconscionable attempt to delay the immigration of 100,000 by making this report contingent on the disarming of the "secret armies."

(2) Zionist spokesmen should stress our satisfaction with the positive elements of the report; and our bitter disappointment with the other aspects which we are determined to fight.

(3) Since it is clear that the matter of Palestine may be brought up by one nation or another at the Security Council or Assembly of the United Nations, it is of the utmost importance that we have at our disposal immediately the best legal talent that we can obtain, and that the officers of the Emergency Council be authorized to engage such counsel.

(4) That the Jewish Agency proceed immediately to take necessary action to win friends among the nations of the Latin and South American countries, and if the Jewish Agency is unable to do so the Emergency Council should proceed with such an effort.

With reference to a point made in Dr. Silver's letter that it would be inadvisable at this time to invite any members of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry to speak on Zionist platforms, Mrs. Halprin and Professor Pekelis agreed and expressed the view that to do so would impair their usefulness.

With regard to the point in Dr. Silver's letter about the necessity for carrying our work to Latin America, Dr. Goldmann stated that this was within the competence of the Jewish Agency. At the same time, he wished to report that an important Cuban statesman is leaving these days for Palestine and he should later be a valuable ally; in addition, it is planned to send several Zionists to South America. It would be better to delay discussion on the matter until June or July.

ANGLO-AMERICAN COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY

Dr. Goldmann read a cable received from the Jewish Agency Executive in which it was stated that the general position in that country now is worse than before the advent of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry since relations with the Arabs are more strained without, at the same time, any action having been taken in fulfillment of the Committee's recommendations.

He then introduced the question of the stand to be taken by the Emergency Council with regard to the demand by the British Government that the United States join in accepting responsibility, including apparently not only financial and moral but also military responsibility for the implementation of the report.

Among those who participated in the discussion which followed (full report on file) were Mr. Ben-Horin, Professor Pekelis, Mr. Segal, Mr. Tulin, Dr. Akzin, Professor Handler, Judge Rothenberg, Mrs. Epstein, Dr. Goldstein, Rabbi Miller, Mr. Neumann, and Mrs. Halprin.

It was urged on the one hand that while the United States might properly be called upon to participate "financially, morally and physically," (i.e., including such matters as transportation), it could not be expected to commit itself militarily, nor would American public opinion be willing to accept such a commitment. As against this, the opinion was expressed that from the British point of view American military participation, even if only of a token character, was essential so far as the British were concerned.

Mr. Tulin finally moved: that an appropriate committee of the Emergency Council should see the President at the earliest possible moment, thank him for his interest and for what has been so far achieved, and urge upon him the necessity for carrying out the specific recommendation of the Committee of Inquiry with regard to the immigration of the one hundred thousand; and further that the Government of the United States which has shown such keen interest in the matter should participate vigorously and generously with the Government of Great Britain in the fulfillment of this recommendation; that American participation should take the form of public moral backing, as well as of physical participation in the actual transfer and immediate settlement of the one hundred thousand, as well as a definite commitment of financial support to whatever extent may be necessary to this end. An amendment by Dr. Goldstein and Professor Pekelis to the effect that an affirmative answer should be given to the question as to whether this included, if necessary, also military intervention was defeated by a vote of five to four and the motion of Mr. Tulin was then carried.

It was decided that Mr. Monsky would be asked to accompany the delegation to Washington.

Meeting adjourned at 6:00 P.M.

A. L.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING HELD MAY 9, 1946

A meeting of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Thursday, May 9, at 9:00 P.M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Abba Hillel (presiding), Miss Juliet N. Benjamin, Gedalia Bublick, Mrs. Chava Cohen, Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, Jacob Fishman, Mrs. Benjamin Gottesman, Mrs. Samuel W. Halprin, Isaiah L. Kenen, Dr. Judith Lieberman, Louis Lipsky, Dr. Sidney Marks, Emanuel Neumann, Mrs. David de Sola Pool, Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt, Miss Dvora Rothbard, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Mrs. A. P. Schoolman, Robert Szold, Numa Torczyner, Abraham Tulin, David Wertheim, Rabbi Sidney Zambrowsky.

Dr. Nahum Goldmann, Meyer W. Weisgal.

Dr. Benjamin Akzin, Eliahu Ben-Horin, Gerold Frank, Arnold K. Isreeli, William Kaufman, Arthur Lourie, Harold P. Manson, Harry L. Shapiro, Dr. Benjamin Shwadran, Harry Steinberg, Abraham Tuvim.

E. Barbarash, Dr. S. Bernstein, Simon Federbush, Mendel Fisher, Edward Gelber, Paul Goldman, Samuel Kirstein, Miss Jeannette Leibel, Dr. Ludwig Lewishohn, Dr. M. L. Perlzweig, Mrs. A. Raginsky, Leo Sack, William Z. Spiegelman, Dr. Arie Tartakower, Zorach Warhaftig, Yona Yanai.

ANGLO-AMERICAN COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY

Mr. Arthur Lourie and Mr. Gerold Frank who had followed the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry throughout its proceedings in the various countries which it had visited, (the latter as correspondent for the Overseas News Agency), each gave detailed reports on their experiences. (Reports on file).

Dr. Silver expressed the gratitude of this body for the services which Mr. Lourie and Mr. Frank had rendered. He added that the news emanating from Palestine and Cairo since the publication of the Report had been heavily weighted on the Arab side and that it might be necessary soon to ask Mr. Frank to return to the Middle East.

Dr. Nahum Goldmann who had also been in Palestine and in Switzerland at the time of the meetings of the Committee of Inquiry commented on the character of the Report which he described as at best a very poor statement of non-Zionism. At the same time he emphasized the importance of the recommendation with regard to the immediate immigration of the 100,000. It was at this moment more important to follow up this recommendation than to devote our attention to the remainder of the Report, not only because we may have an opportunity to save these lives, but also because it would strengthen our position in Palestine. This will require tremendous pressure on the American Government and the President in particular. As regard the longer term objectives, we have to realize that we have practically no support for the establishment of Palestine today as a Jewish State and we shall be faced very soon with the question of a trusteeship over Palestine to succeed

the Mandate. Unquestionably if we insist on an undivided Palestine there can be no alternative to a trusteeship -- a trusteeship which will be a hundred times worse than the old mandate. The alternative is to be ready to make territorial concessions. Dr. Goldmann analyzed the situation of the Jews of Europe as it was developing today, and also referred to the position of Zionism within the Anglo-American orbit. Zionism would have to reach some decision, one way or another, in the very near future on these major issues. (Full text of Dr. Goldmann's statement on file).

Dr. Silver thanked Dr. Goldmann for his political analysis of the situation and stated that the time remaining should be used for a concrete discussion as to how to carry on our work from here. Action had to be taken by way of rallying American public opinion. We had to consider how to carry on our political activities in this country. There was also the possibility that our case may come before the UN very soon, and we should prepare ourselves accordingly.

In response to a question raised with regard to developments since the Report had been issued, Dr. Silver reported on the circumstances attending the issuance by the President of his statement supporting the recommendation of the Committee in regard to the 100,000, and on subsequent developments. The Emergency Council had sent word to all our people throughout the country asking that wires and letters be sent to the White House asking that speedy action be taken and that there be no delay. A national Conference of our Community Contacts Chairmen is to be held in Washington within two weeks, at which time we will be able to inform our people of what is going on. We have been informed that the State Department may be inviting representatives of Jewish organizations to meet with it before long to carry on the "consultations" which it had indicated would be undertaken at the time of the publication of the Roosevelt-Ibn-Saud correspondence.

Referring to the matter of the transportation of the 100,000, Dr. Silver expressed the view, which was shared by the other members of the Agency here, that it was to be hoped that this would be undertaken by the United States Army and UNRRA and that it would be unfortunate if individual organizations at this time thrust themselves forward with offers, for various publicity campaign purposes, to handle and finance the undertaking. Such offers could only serve to produce confusion in Washington on the subject. As far as some of the matters raised by Dr. Goldmann are concerned, we will have to wait until the Chairman of the Executive arrives here.

Mr. Neumann was of the opinion that the question of the trusteeship would not be settled very quickly, and felt that it would be a great mistake on our part to ignore at the present time the implications of the long-range recommendations. We must fight for the positive part of the Report, but we must also fight against the negative aspects. Our immediate task is to seek to have the American Government implement the 100,000 recommendation. A clear statement on the Report with regard both to its positive and its negative aspects should be issued, to serve as a guide in the future for our Zionists throughout the country.

Judge Rosenblatt urged the need for political action to implement the positive recommendations of the Committee without delay.

Mr. Sack felt that the National Conference in Washington of all Chairmen was a very important step.

Mr. Tulin agreed with Mr. Neumann that it is very important that we exert all the pressure possible to get the positive recommendations adopted, and that we should make a very clear record of our opposition to the negative aspects. At the same time he drew attention to the possibility that we may be faced eventually with the acceptance of the Report as a unit or not at all. Dr. Silver said that while he knew what his answer would be, this was a matter for the Agency to decide as and when the issue arose. Following comments by Mr. Szold, Mrs. Schoolman, Rabbi Zambrowsky, Judge Rothenberg and Mr. Neumann, Dr. Silver said that it will be necessary for us to get Christian sentiment to express itself in behalf of the early movement of the 100,000 and we are working toward that end. A Christian Conference is being held in Baltimore next week which will be very useful.

WORLD ZIONIST CONGRESS

In response to a question as to whether the Zionist Congress will be held in Palestine, Dr. Silver stated that at the moment the Congress is scheduled to convene in Palestine. However, there had been considerable discussions regarding the postponement of the Congress, and the Canadian Zionists have passed a Resolution asking for its postponement. The Zionist Organization of America, some weeks ago, passed a Resolution asking for the Congress to meet in the United States. There may be further discussion when Mr. Ben-Gurion arrives here.

Meeting adjourned at 11:45 P. M.

A. L.



AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

May 13, 1946

A special meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held on Monday, May 13, at 3:00 P. M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Gedalia Bublick, Leon Gellman, Mrs. Samuel W. Halprin, Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Louis Lipsky, Rabbi Irving Miller, Professor Alexander Pekelis, Mrs. David de Sola Pool, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Louis Segal, Mrs. A. P. Schoolman, David Wertheim, Dr. Stephen S. Wise.

David Ben-Gurion, Rabbi Leon I. Feuer, Daniel Frisch, Dr. Nahum Goldmann, Professor Milton Handler, Siegfried Hoofien, Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt, Abraham Tulin.

Eliahu Ben-Horin, Jacob Dostrovsky, Eliahu Epstein, Mendel Fisher, Gerold Frank, Arnold K. Isreeli, Isaiah L. Kenen, Arthur Lourie, Marvin Lowenthal, Harold P. Manson, Sidney Marks, Mrs. Mina Rogers, Leo Sack, Harry L. Shapiro, Dr. Benjamin Shwadran, Meyer W. Weisgal.

Rabbi Jesse Schwartz, S. J. Zacks.

EGYPTIAN TRANSIT VISAS

Mr. Shapiro reported that we are working in conjunction with the American Jewish Conference. All the necessary material has been assembled and will be made public at a Press Conference being held on Wednesday, May 15, at which Dr. Israel Goldstein will preside. A press release is being prepared at this time.

Mr. Weisgal presented an additional report on the latest developments. The State Department again took up the question of visas with the Egyptians, and the Egyptian Legation in Washington finally agreed to issue these visas provided the people would have return passage to New York. Some of them did not actually have return passage, and only those who did were permitted to obtain visas. But that did not solve the problem at all and Mr. Henderson was so informed. He was advised that the only way to effectuate this matter for the present trip was the issuance of an order directing that the ship go to Haifa instead of to Alexandria, rather than not permitting these people aboard the ship. The ship was supposed to leave on Saturday, at two o'clock, D.S.T., and after a conference between the War Department and the War Shipping Board on Saturday an order was issued that the ship should dock in Haifa -- go directly from Naples to Haifa -- and then make its call in Alexandria. While this took care of the people who already had visas, it did not help in the case of the Chalutzim as time was required to get into contact with them and the ship was due to sail. The ship was in fact detained for a number of hours. The Captain and the Army people

aboard were very cooperative and efforts were made to contact the Chalutzim and the others in the hope that they would be able to board the ship in time. When the American Export Line was informed of this decision, they took a very unfriendly and unhelpful attitude and actually sent away the immigration authorities without whose assistance the people could not get on board. So these poor people, after being informed that everything was in order, had to return to their homes, with the exception of one who had arrived there early. A very strong telegram was sent to Mr. Henderson, thanking him for his intervention, and informing him of the attitude of the American Export Line. He was also requested to permit us to submit a full report in regard to the action taken by the American Export Line in view of the fact that the Line is running this ship under Government direction.

Mr. Weisgal felt that whatever else we do from this point on, the important thing to bear in mind is that a precedent has been set with regard to the ship going directly to Haifa. There are also planes that are going to the Near East and they too can stop in Haifa. There is no reason why Jews should be subjected to such indignities as they encounter in the Port of Alexandria. As a matter of fact, the Captain of the ship had shown Mr. Weisgal a letter in which he had protested to the American Government with regard to the outrageous treatment the Jews were subjected to there.

Mrs. Halprin felt that the fact that the ship is permitted to go to Haifa directly does not meet the crux of the situation. The Egyptians should be compelled to issue visas to us as American citizens.

Dr. Silver stated that official representations will be made to the State Department, and that all the facts submitted by Mr. Weisgal will be turned over to the Committee to be made public on Wednesday. The press will be glad to obtain all the available data. The State Department, War Department and the War Shipping Board were to be commended for their action.

MR. DAVID BEN-GURION

Dr. Silver introduced Mr. Ben-Gurion, the Chairman of the Executive of the Jewish Agency, who arrived in this country on Friday for a brief visit. Mr. Ben-Gurion analyzed the Report of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry (on file). It is necessary that we do everything in our power quickly to see that the recommendation for the 100,000 immigration is immediately implemented. If this recommendation is not carried out at once then it will be lost. At the same time, we must not forget that we will have to fight the negative part of the Report. When we were faced with this Report, we consulted our colleagues as far as we could, we spoke to Dr. Silver and others, and we came to the conclusion that for the time being, before there is a decision by the Government, we should refrain from either condemning or approving the Report as a whole and this is what we did. At the same time the statement of the Jewish Agency pointed out the positive side of the Report and also the main negative aspects and emphasized that there is only one solution. It is wise that we follow this line until a decision is made. But when the decision will be made or we are asked "do you subscribe to the entire Report?" then we will have to give a very clear answer. As regards the implementation of the recommendation with regard to the 100,000, a great deal depends on America. We are also counting on the support of some people in England, but everything possible must now be done here.

Dr. Silver expressed the thanks of the body to Mr. Ben-Gurion for his report. There are certain steps which have already been taken. We have called

a National Conference of all the leaders throughout the country in Washington, on Thursday, May 23, and we expect to have a great number of people from coast to coast in attendance. Telegrams were sent to the White House from all over the United States in the last week. We have asked our Chairmen and the hundreds of communities in America to get leading men to wire and to write to the President urging him not to delay action in the implementation of the 100,000 immigration. There will be a Regional Christian Conference in Baltimore tomorrow, at which time Mr. Sumner Welles will submit a very important statement on this matter. The question is whether the time has now arrived for large-scale public action of a demonstrative character. We have been planning a series of impressive advertisements in the public press --- shall we start pushing them now or shall we wait a little while until we know more definitely what our Government plans to do? If we do start a major attack, such activities ought simultaneously to be started in London and in the camps of the DP's, so that it is a world-wide action on behalf of the 100,000. Not enough is being done in England and if the Jews of America are to be asked to do their best, at the same time. England's Jews should get into motion far more effectively than in the past.

Mr. Ben-Gurion felt that the question of timing was very important. It will be necessary for us to issue a very strong criticism of the Report as a whole, but we must delay that until we have done everything possible for the recommendation in regard to the 100,000. The Jews in Europe will do what they can -- they are on the march. The issue will depend on the State Department and the President.

In reply to a request by Mrs. Schoolman for clarification of the present Zionist line, Dr. Silver stated that our position had been clearly defined in the official statement of this body, over the signatures of the Joint Chairmen and with the authorization of the Council. The Report contains two elements which have different timing, an element which concerns the transference of the 100,000, if possible in 1946, and the element which concerns long-range political policies and which the President said require study and would be taken under advisement. We have said practically the same. While there are elements in the Report of which we cannot approve and which we can never accept, nevertheless there are positive elements of an immediate character which we can accept and we are therefore delaying future comment. That is a very clear line and until we have found reason to change that line, that is the one we will follow.

Meeting adjourned at 5:10 P.M.

A.L.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

May 29, 1946

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

PRESENT

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Gedalia Bublick, Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Louis Lipsky, Emanuel Neumann, Mrs. David de Sola Pool, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Mrs. A. P. Schoolman, David Wertheim.

Daniel Frisch, Professor Milton Handler, Abraham Tulin.

Tuvia Arazi, Eliahu Ben-Horin, Arnold K. Isreeli, Isaiah L. Kenen, Arthur Lourie, Harold P. Manson, Sidney Marks, Harry L. Shapiro, Dr. Benjamin Shwadran, Abraham Tuvim.

Mark Sugerman.

WASHINGTON NATIONAL CONFERENCE

Mr. Shapiro reported on the National Conference of the Chairmen of the Local Zionist Emergency Committees, held in Washington on May 23, 1946. The attendance at the meeting was very gratifying. Dr. Silver made the presentation on behalf of the Zionist Emergency Council, evaluating the present political situation and analyzing the statement which had been issued by the Department of State that day. The delegates were then advised with regard to their contemplated visits with the Congressmen and Senators. They found that many of the Congressmen and Senators were troubled regarding the use of military aid in effecting the implementation of the recommendation of 100,000 immigration and desired an analysis of that point, which analysis we promised to send to them. On the day after the Conference, the Council sent out a memorandum to the Chairmen which dealt with the program for the next four or five weeks, this program to include mass meetings, letters to the President and the Secretary of State, contacts with local political leaders in the Democratic and Republican parties, local newspaper and radio campaigns and preaching on the subject by Ministers and Rabbis. We are going to insert in local newspaper advertisements signed by people of importance in the locality, and will also request these people to assist us in a resolution campaign. Mr. Shapiro felt that the Washington Conference would have a fine effect on our campaign to move the State Department to act quickly on the 100,000 immigration.

OCEAN CITY SEMINAR

Mr. Shapiro reported that at the Ocean City Seminar, held May 27-29, 1946, there were fifty-two Christians present. Each one is being asked to make five speeches in the next four weeks.

INTERVIEW WITH THE PRESIDENT

Dr. Silver reported that a telegram had been sent to the President on May 6th, over the signatures of Dr. Wise, Dr. Silver and Mr. Monsky, asking for an interview. We received a letter, dated May 16, from David K. Niles, Administrative Assistant to the President, in which he stated that the President had instructed him to acknowledge our telegram of May 6th and to advise us that he would be glad to have such a conference in the near future at a time mutually convenient, without actually setting a date. An explanation was given orally that the President is very occupied with the coal and steel strikes, although the day we were in Washington he received two Catholic Monseigneurs and a representative of the Korean Embassy.

Mr. Lourie had subsequently been in touch with Mr. Niles who advised him that the President was busy at that time with the strike situation, but he took into account the suggestion that Wednesday or Thursday would be convenient days and would let Mr. Lourie know whether or not an appointment could be arranged. However, when Mr. Lourie tried to reach Mr. Niles on Tuesday he was unable to contact him.

Dr. Silver felt that he would do nothing more in the matter. He added that the matter had been complicated and unnecessary conflicts had arisen as a result of unwarranted interventions with government officials by a member of the Jewish Agency Executive.

A motion was made and carried that the Committee of Eight be requested to give consideration to the problems which arise out of the uncoordinated activities of members of the Executive of the Jewish Agency in Washington in matters directly affecting the Emergency Council.

MEETING WITH DEAN ACHESON

Dr. Silver reported that after the issuance of the President's statement on April 30th, the Arabs protested in Washington; whereupon, the State Department, after receiving a committee of representatives of Arab States, issued a statement in which they said that nothing would be done about the Report of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry without prior consultations with Jews and Arabs, implying that everything in the Report, including the hundred thousand, was subject to consultation, although the President had made a clear distinction between those parts of the Report which called for immediate fulfillment and those which would be given further consideration. The Executive Committee had then asked us to send a protest to Dean Acheson, which was done, and in that telegram we also asked for an interview which was granted. The evening before our interview the press carried the formal invitation of the State Department to all the Agencies and organizations which had participated in the hearings to present their comments in writing and were given thirty days to do so. At noon, Dr. Wise and Dr. Silver met with Dean Acheson and also with Mr. Henderson who is anti-Zionist. Dr. Wise opened the meeting by expressing the feeling of confusion and indignation of the Jews with regard to the apparent discrepancy between the action of the State Department and the statement of the President. Dean Acheson attempted to reconcile these statements though without much conviction. We asked Dean Acheson whether the State Department would not issue a clarifying statement, but he was not willing to do so. Mr. Acheson did little talking and it was clear to Dr. Silver that it was Mr. Henderson who had been active in developing the State Department's policy in the matter. The conversation was a rather stormy one and there was a good deal of plain speaking.

The direct outcome of our conversation was that an hour later the following statement was issued by the State Department:

FOR THE PRESS

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

May 22, 1946

No. 350

"The Department of State has been asked the question whether the statement of May 10 of the then Acting Secretary of State regarding the initiation of consultations with Jews and Arabs on the recommendations of the Anglo-American Committee on Palestine represents a withdrawal from the statement issued by the President on April 30.

"In reply the Department said today that there is no conflict and can be no conflict in the two statements. It must be clear that the President's statements are controlling upon all the Departments of Government. In his statement of April 30th the President reaffirmed the urgency of the transference of the 100,000 Jews as recommended by the Committee and previously by him.

"It is precisely because of the urgency of this problem that under the direction of the President the State Department has agreed to and inaugurated immediate consultations with the Jews and Arabs as well as with the British Government as the best and quickest means of reaching an effective solution of the problems dealt with in the report."

(See also telegram of May 18 from Dr. Silver and Dr. Wise to the Acting Secretary of State and his reply dated May 24, copies of which are attached to these Minutes.)

Dr. Silver felt that the gain in the press release issued by the State Department on May 22 was in the fact that the Department had finally put itself on record as accepting the President's position on the 100,000. But we still do not know what the State Department intends to do by way of implementing the recommendation.

REPLY TO STATE DEPARTMENT'S INVITATION TO COMMENT AND CONSULT

Mr. Lourie read the statement of the American Jewish Conference (on file) in reply to the request of the State Department for additional comments and suggestions on the Report of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry.

A motion was made and carried that a Committee of Three be appointed to draft a reply along similar lines to the letter of the State Department, of May 20th, in which the Department requests additional comments and suggestions with regard to the Report of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry (reply attached).

LETTER FROM DR. BENJAMIN AKZIN

Mr. Shapiro read a letter, dated May 24, from Dr. Akzin (on file) in which he reported on a conversation with Senator Brewster with reference to a possible British request for American military aid in Palestine.

After a general discussion, in which Mr. Arazi, Mr. Ben-Horin, Mr. Frisch, Professor Handler, Mr. Lipsky, Mr. Manson, Mr. Neumann, Judge Rothenberg, Mrs. Schoolman, Mr. Tulin and Mr. Wertheim participated, it was decided that a carefully drafted letter be prepared for submission to the President in regard to this reported request.

MADISON SQUARE GARDEN DEMONSTRATION

Dr. Silver reported that we have arranged for a mass demonstration at Madison Square Garden on June 12, and our Committees are now at work to make an impressive meeting that evening. The purpose of the demonstration is to call for an end to these innumerable delays and to ask for the immediate transfer of 100,000 Jews from Europe to Palestine. We have asked communities throughout the country to sponsor similar demonstrations in their localities. We plan to arrange for press advertisements that are now being prepared. It is expected that a very effective advertisement will be signed by perhaps a hundred of the leading Christians of the United States, and another will be signed by fifty foremost editors and publishers in this country.

In response to a question, Dr. Silver stated that Mr. Tartakower, as Chairman of the Committee arranging for the meeting to be held Tuesday evening, June 11, for the Polish Delegation here in this country, had been urged, if possible, to postpone their meeting since it was felt that two meetings, one after the other, would not be very effective.

EXPORT-IMPORT BANK

Mr. Neumann stated that at the present time he was not prepared to take any definite stand in regard to further action on the loan proposal; one thing seems to him clear however; to ask for a loan of \$250,000,000 if the Government is not prepared to back the recommendation of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry that 100,000 Jews be permitted to go to Palestine immediately would be a ridiculous proposition.

Dr. Silver stated that the matter is still, more or less, at an academic stage. It had not yet come before the Senatorial Committee, and by the time that happens we will probably know more about our own situation. There were indication that the approval of such a loan was by no means outside the bounds of possibility

The meeting adjourned at 6:15 P.M.

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DAY LETTER

MAY 18, 1946

HONORABLE DEAN ACHESON
ACTING SECRETARY OF STATE
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

ON APRIL 30, 1946, THE PRESIDENT ISSUED A STATEMENT EXPRESSING HAPPINESS THAT HIS REQUEST FOR THE IMMEDIATE ADMISSION OF 100,000 JEWS INTO PALESTINE HAD BEEN UNANIMOUSLY ENDORSED BY THE ANGLO-AMERICAN COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY AND DECLARING THAT THE TRANSFER OF THESE UNFORTUNATE PEOPLE SHOULD NOW BE ACCOMPLISHED WITH THE MAXIMUM OF DISPATCH.

DESPITE THIS CLEAR AND UNEQUIVOCAL STATEMENT ON THE PART OF THE PRESIDENT WE NOW LEARN FROM REPORTS IN THE PRESS THAT THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE ARAB STATES HAVE BEEN INFORMED BY YOU THAT IT IS THE INTENTION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO CONSULT WITH ARABS AND JEWS BEFORE TAKING ANY DEFINITE DECISION RELATIVE TO THE COMMITTEE'S REPORT. THIS PROPOSAL FOR CONSULTATION HAS BEEN WIDELY INTERPRETED AS APPLYING NOT ONLY TO THE LONG TERM RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE COMMITTEE BUT ALSO TO THAT FOR THE IMMEDIATE ADMISSION OF THE HUNDRED THOUSAND DISPLACED AND STATELESS JEWS.

THE DECISION TO CONSULT WITH ARAB AND JEWISH LEADERS IS APPARENTLY BASED ON THE STATEMENT BY SECRETARY BYRNES OF LAST OCTOBER THAT THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT WOULD NOT REACH FINAL CONCLUSIONS ON ANY PROPOSALS WHICH WOULD "CHANGE THE BASIC SITUATION IN PALESTINE" WITHOUT SUCH CONSULTATION. THAT STATEMENT WAS ISSUED AT A TIME WHEN THE PRESIDENT WAS PRESSING FOR THE IMMEDIATE ENTRY OF THE HUNDRED THOUSAND DISPLACED AND HOMELESS JEWS INTO PALESTINE AND IT WAS A CLEAR INFERENCE THAT FULFILLMENT OF THAT PROPOSAL TO WHICH REFERENCE WAS IN FACT MADE IN SECRETARY BYRNES' STATEMENT, WAS NOT TO BE REGARDED AS CHANGING THE "BASIC SITUATION" AND SHOULD NOT THEREFORE BE SUBJECT TO THE FURTHER CONSULTATION PROPOSED.

HONORABLE DEAN ACHESON

MAY 18, 1946

SO OBVIOUS INDEED DID THIS CONCLUSION APPEAR THAT IN THE COURSE OF A MEMORANDUM TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE DATED OCTOBER 23, 1945, OUR COUNCIL STATED AS FOLLOWS: "WE TAKE GRATEFUL NOTE THAT THE STATEMENT OF SECRETARY BYRNES INDICATES THAT MEASURES TO FACILITATE IMMIGRATION INTO PALESTINE OF SUBSTANTIAL NUMBERS OF THE SURVIVORS OF EUROPEAN JEWRY SHOULD, AND CAN BE UNDERTAKEN FORTHWITH, AND THAT SUCH IMMIGRATION DOES NOT AFFECT THE 'BASIC SITUATION' IN PALESTINE."

WE ARE ASTONISHED AND DISMAYED THAT DESPITE THESE FACTS, DESPITE THE ADMITTEDLY URGENT NEED FOR ACTION TO RELIEVE THE TRAGIC FLIGHT OF THE JEWISH SURVIVORS OF THE NAZI TERROR, DESPITE THE LAPSE, FURTHER, OF MORE THAN EIGHT MONTHS FROM THE PRESIDENT'S INITIAL REQUEST TO THE PRIME MINISTER FOR THEIR ENTRY INTO PALESTINE, AND FINALLY DESPITE THE UNANIMOUS REPORT IN THIS CONNECTION OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY SUPPORTED BY THE PRESIDENT'S OWN UNQUALIFIED STATEMENT OF APRIL 30, INSTEAD OF IMMEDIATE ACTION TO IMPLEMENT THE RECOMMENDATION OF THE COMMITTEE THERE IS APPARENTLY GRAVE DANGER THAT UNDER COVER OF THE ALLEGED NEED FOR CONSULTATION THE WHOLE MATTER MAY BE FURTHER DELAYED AND CONFUSED.

WE ACCORDINGLY URGE THAT IT BE MADE IMMEDIATELY CLEAR THAT THE PROPOSED CONSULTATIONS DO NOT INVOLVE THE RECOMMENDATION OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY FOR THE IMMIGRATION FORTHWITH OF THE 100,000 JEWS; AND THAT OUR GOVERNMENT, WHICH GIVES ITS FULL SUPPORT TO THAT RECOMMENDATION, WILL ASSIST IN SECURING ITS FULFILLMENT AND LOOKS TO THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT FOR ITS PART, LIKEWISE TO DO WHATEVER LIES IN ITS POWER TO IMPLEMENT THIS RECOMMENDATION OF THE COMMITTEE. IN THE LIGHT OF THE PRESIDENT'S REPEATEDLY EXPRESSED DESIRE FOR ACTION ON THIS EVER MORE URGENT MATTER, ANY OTHER COURSE WOULD IN THE CIRCUMSTANCES BE INCOMPREHENSIBLE AND WE EARNESTLY ASK FOR AN IMMEDIATE PUBLIC ASSURANCE IN THIS REGARD.

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

STEPHEN S. WISE

JOINT CHAIRMEN, AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

WASHINGTON

May 24, 1946

In reply refer to NE

My dear Rabbi Wise:

I wish to acknowledge receipt of the telegram which you and Rabbi Silver sent me on May 18 relating to Palestine. In replying to the various questions raised in your telegram, I have little to add to the statements which I made to you and to Rabbi Silver during the course of our conversation on May 22nd. For your information I am attaching hereto a copy of a statement issued to the press by the Department on the same day.

Sincerely yours,

DEAN ACHESON (signed)

Under Secretary

Enclosure:

Press Release date
May 22, 1946

Rabbi Stephen S. Wise
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

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May 31, 1946

The Secretary of State
Department of State
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

We have the honor, on behalf of the American Zionist Emergency Council, to acknowledge receipt of your letter of May 20, 1946, inviting comments or suggestions by our Council with regard to the various matters discussed in the Report of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry.

It will be recalled that the appointment of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry arose from the request of President Truman last September to Prime Minister Attlee, for the immediate immigration into Palestine of 100,000 survivors of European Jewry. At the time of the appointment of the Committee strong exception was taken by our Council, in telegrams addressed to the President, copies of which were sent to the Department, to a procedure which would necessarily involve considerable delay in obtaining action on his request for the immediate transfer to Palestine of these 100,000 Jews. It was indeed no doubt in part due to the criticism very generally expressed at that time that a limitation of 120 days was placed upon the period within which the Committee was expected to make its report.

The Committee of Inquiry completed its report in April, 1946. In a statement issued April 30th the President gave his warm approval to those recommendations of the Committee which concerned immediate action and, conspicuously to that recommendation which confirmed his request for the admission forthwith of 100,000 Jews into Palestine. The President stated that "the transference of these unfortunate people should now be accomplished with the greatest dispatch."

It is with astonishment that we note that instead of immediate action being taken pursuant to the President's statement, several weeks were allowed to elapse at the end of which the request is made for observations and comments. A further thirty days has been indicated as the date by which these comments or suggestions should be submitted. There is no indication as to the date within which a decision on the comments or suggestions may be expected.

It is now over ten months since at Potsdam President Truman made his initial request to Prime Minister Attlee for the admission to Palestine of persecuted Jews from Europe. More than eight months have passed since the President, in his letter to the Prime Minister, urged the grant of 100,000 immigration certificates for this purpose. As the President then stated "no other single matter is so important for those who have known the horrors of concentration camps for over a decade as is the future of immigration possibilities into Palestine."

The Report of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, in confirming the view of the President, has merely reaffirmed the findings of Mr. Earl G. Harrison and of numerous other official investigators. It has in this respect added nothing to facts already well known at the time of its appointment. In the circumstances further consultations and comments appear meaningless except to produce delay where immediate action is called for, and to confuse where the issue has long been altogether clear. So far as the Committee's long-term recommendations are concerned, we beg to point out that the views of the American Zionist Emergency Council were fully presented to the Committee at its hearings in Washington and are a matter of record. The President himself, however, indicated the distinction to be drawn between the immediate objectives of the Committee's Report and the other questions of long-range political policies, and we must strongly and respectfully urge that action be taken without further postponement of any kind to implement, in accordance with the President's statement, the recommendation of the Committee with regard to the immediate transference of these 100,000 survivors of Nazi persecution.

Sincerely yours,

Abba Hillel Silver Stephen S. Wise
Joint Chairmen, American Zionist Emergency Council

SW:LNF



AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

June 7, 1946

A special meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held on Friday, June 7, at 2:00 P.M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Stephen S. Wise (presiding), Gedalia Bublick, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Louis Lipsky, Emanuel Neumann, Alexander Pekelis, David Wertheim.

I. B. Berkson, Philip Cruso, Daniel Frisch, Nahum Goldmann, Moshe Shapiro, Abraham Tulin.

Benjamin Akzin, Eliahu Ben-Horin, Gerold Frank, Isaiah L. Kenen, Arthur Lourie, Harold P. Manson, Harry L. Shapiro, Benjamin Shwadran, Abraham Tuvim.

LIAISON BETWEEN JEWISH AGENCY AND EMERGENCY COUNCIL, WASHINGTON

Dr. Goldmann made a statement with reference to the difficulties which, it had been suggested at the previous meeting, had arisen in connection with overlapping activities of the Jewish Agency and the Emergency Council in Washington (statement on file).

FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS IN REGARD TO THE 100,000 RECOMMENDATION

It was reported that the British Government had submitted a questionnaire to the State Department dealing with the recommendations of the Committee of Inquiry, and had requested that a delegation from the Department meet with officials of the British Government to discuss the matter. Apparently the American Government had indicated that it is not yet ready to discuss the entire Report, but feels that the implementation of the 100,000 recommendation should be effected at once. In this connection, the President had indicated yesterday at his Press Conference that the American Government is prepared to assume its part of the moral and financial responsibility for the transfer to and settlement in Palestine of the 100,000. From a telephone conversation with representatives of the Jewish Agency in London it appeared that the British have not completely dropped the matter of the disarming of the Haganah, but depending on the American attitude, there is still hope that it may not be made a condition precedent.

In response to a question, it was reported further that our information to date is that the British Government has not officially asked for American military aid. There is some hint of the fact that the British Government has prepared a draft document to replace the Mandate, but we were without knowledge of its contents.

JOINT TELEGRAM TO PRESIDENT TRUMAN

Mr. Kenen reported that Dr. Isadore Lubin had come to his office with the proposal that the American Jewish Conference, the American Zionist Emergency Council and the American Jewish Committee send a joint telegram to the President in connection with the request of the State Department for comment on the Report of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry. Dr. Lubin felt that it was important at the present time to have a joint statement from the three organizations in order to impress upon the President the unanimity of Jewish opinion with regard to this recommendation. After a discussion with Dr. Silver, it was decided that a meeting of the Emergency Council be called to take an official position on the matter.

A general discussion ensued, with the following members participating: Dr. Akzin, Mr. Bublick, Mr. Cruso, Mr. Frisch, Mr. Kenen, Mr. Lipsky, Mr. Lourie, Mr. Manson, Dr. Neumann, Dr. Pekelis, Mr. Tulin, Mr. Wertheim and Dr. Wise.

Emphasis was placed on the constitutional difficulties involved in placing on a par with the Conference an organization which had chosen to secede from that body. Also it was thought by a number of those participating that no effective purpose would be served by such a telegram. Others urged the importance of a public manifestation of Jewish unanimity on the issue of the 100,000. It was finally decided that separate telegrams -- to be differently worded, but of similar content -- be sent to the President from each of the three organizations (i.e. the American Zionist Emergency Council, the American Jewish Conference and the American Jewish Committee).

Meeting adjourned at 3:40 P.M.

A.L.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

A special meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held on Tuesday, June 11, at 4:00 P.M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Gedalia Bublick, Philip Cruso, Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, Mrs. Benjamin Gottesman, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Louis Lipsky, Emanuel Neumann, Alexander Pekelis, Mrs. David de Sola Pool, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Mrs. A. P. Schoolman, David Wertheim, Dr. Stephen S. Wise.

Jacob Robinson, Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt, Abraham Tulin.

Tuvia Arazi, Eliahu Ben-Horin, Gerold Frank, Arnold K. Isreoli, Arthur Lourie, Marvin Lowenthal, Harold P. Manson, Harry L. Shapiro, Benjamin Shwadran, Abraham Tuvim.

Dr. Silver stated that this meeting had been called since it was felt necessary to discuss a plan of action in connection with the recent developments regarding the ex-Mufti of Jerusalem and the Cabinet Committee on Palestine and Related Problems appointed by the President.

EX-MUFTI

Mr. Lourie reported that on March 22, 1946, we had been informed by the State Department that in reply to our memorandum to them of December 13, 1945, regarding the ex-Mufti, they had sent a copy of the memorandum to the United States Commissioner on the United Nations War Crimes Commission in London. They had been advised by the Commissioner that no charges had been filed by any government against the Mufti with the Commission; as the alleged crimes of the Mufti did not affect American nationals directly it would be contrary to the practice of the United States Government to take action in the matter. We are at present preparing another memorandum based on new evidence regarding the Mufti's co-responsibility with the Nazis for the extermination policy. Dr. Robinson has prepared a note on the legal position with regard to such an indictment, from which it appears that our Government is entitled to and should take action on the basis that the Mufti was a major war criminal and not a minor war criminal in the sense of the Moscow Declaration of October 30, 1943 and that his activities did not fall solely under the category of war crimes in a technical sense, but encompassed crimes against humanity. A Declaration should be submitted placing responsibility for the Mufti's "escape" on the British and French Governments, urging that the whole test and sincerity in the matter hinges upon the action taken with regard to the hundred thousand. New evidence with regard to the co-responsibility of the Mufti for the extermination policy had already been published in the press.

A telegram on the same subject, dated June 11, from Mr. Bartley C. Crum to the State Department regarding the Mufti was read (on file).

It was decided that, should our finances permit, the Crum telegram be printed as an advertisement in various newspapers.

(more)

Mr. Arazi also urged that a Declaration should be issued and felt it should be prepared along the following lines: (a) although Great Britain and France were well aware of the fact that the Mufti was one of those responsible for the Nazi extermination policy of European Jews, they chose to do nothing about the matter - by permitting the Mufti to return to the Near East the admission of the hundred thousand was prejudiced; (b) documents attesting to the Mufti's guilt, and which are now in the hands of the Allies, should be made public; (c) the United States Government should ask for the extradition of the Mufti in order that he may be put on trial.

It was decided that a committee of three lawyers, together with Mr. Arazi, Mr. Lourie and Dr. Robinson, prepare a new memorandum calling for the indictment of the Mufti, to be sent to the State Department; also that consideration be given to the proposal for a public statement.

CABINET COMMITTEE ON PALESTINE AND RELATED PROBLEMS.

Dr. Silver read the following statement issued by the President today:

"In view of the urgency of various problems relating to the displaced Jews in Europe and Palestine, I am appointing, under the Chairmanship of the Secretary of State, a Cabinet Committee on Palestine and Related Problems, composed of the Secretaries of State, War and Treasury. The Committee will be charged with assisting me in formulating and implementing such policy with regards to Palestine and related problems as may be adopted by this government. An executive order will be issued outlining the functions and authority of the Committee in further detail.

"The Committee will be authorized to negotiate with the British Government and with other foreign governments and to maintain contact with private organizations relating to the various matters arising out of the recommendations of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry.

"It is my honest hope that the Cabinet Committee will be able to undertake its earnest task at the earliest possible moment."

Following is the statement issued by the State Department today:

"With reference to the establishment by the President of a special Cabinet Committee on Palestine and Related Problems, I have appointed Mr. Henry F. Grady as my alternate on the Committee with the personal rank of Ambassador. Mr. Grady was recently head of the American Section of the Allied Mission to observe the elections in Greece and has previously served as Assistant Secretary of State and on economic missions to the Far East and to India."

Dr. Silver stated that it has been learnt that the technical Committee going to London will, in all probability, include Mr. Cramer, who is the Assistant to General Hildring for the State Department, Colonel Lewis for the War Department and Mr. Evan Wilson, of the Palestine desk in the Near East Division. It is understood that Mr. Grady will remain in this country and will act as coordinator in all these matters. Judging from the President's own statement there has now been created an important instrumentality of our Government to handle the entire problem. It is not known, however, whether the Committee will restrict its activities to the hundred thousand recommendation or whether it will consider the Anglo-American Committee Report as a whole.

(more)

It is too soon to know what the implications are for us, but we are facing a new situation. Since the next few weeks will be critical we must do everything possible to bring home to people the urgency of the issues at stake.

A motion was made and carried that if possible an American Zionist be sent to London to be on hand during the negotiations between the American and British representatives.

LEAGUE FOR PEACE WITH JUSTICE IN PALESTINE.

It was decided that the program of action put forth by Mr. Arazi with regard to the League for Peace with Justice in Palestine be financed to the extent of \$3,000.

ADMISSION CHARGE TO MEETINGS SPONSORED BY THE EMERGENCY COUNCIL

The question arose regarding the advisability of charging for admission to meetings and demonstrations sponsored by the Emergency Council. It was decided that the matter would be taken up in detail at another meeting.

Meeting adjourned at 5:35 P.M.

A.L.



AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

A special meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held on Friday, June 21, at 2:30 P.M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Philip Cruso, Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, Leon Gellman, Israel Goldstein, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Louis Lipsky, Emanuel Neumann, Judge Morris Rothenberg, David Wertheim, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Rabbi Sidney Zambrowsky.

Jacob Dostrovsky, Richard Gilbert, Milton Handler, Siegfried Hoofien, Leo Kohn, Rabbi Irving Miller, Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt, Moshe Shapiro, Abraham Tulin.

Benjamin Akzin, Eliahu Ben-Horin, Gerold Frank, Arnold K. Isroeli, Arthur Lourie, Harold P. Manson, Harry L. Shapiro, Benjamin Shwadran, Abo Tuvim; Tuvia Arazi, Eliahu Epstein, Sidney Marks.

CABINET COMMITTEE ON PALESTINE AND RELATED PROBLEMS

Dr. Akzin reported that the technical advisors on the President's Cabinet Committee had been sent to London with instructions to discuss only the matter of the immigration of the hundred thousand. In the course of these negotiations the British indicated that they were ready to agree to the distribution of the immigration certificates being handled by the Jewish Agency but they wished for a strong measure of control over the Agency in this regard. Among other questions raised during these discussions was that a date be fixed subsequent to which Jews arriving in the American or British zones should not be eligible for emigration certificates; also the tempo of immigration. While the Americans felt that the immigrants could be transported at the rate of twenty thousand per month, the British were of the opinion that Palestine could not absorb more than two to four thousand per month. Dr. Akzin reported on certain suggestions for action. A proposal that a letter should be addressed to the President by a group of Senators urging once again that the hundred thousand recommendation be implemented immediately had been acted upon, and such a letter has already gone to the White House over the signatures of nine Senators.

ORGANIZATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

Mr. Tuvim reported that Mr. Zaritsky, on behalf of the Trade Union Committee for Palestine had cabled in strong terms to the British Trade Union Congress and the British Labor Party. Mr. Green had permitted us to send telegrams to every State Federation of Labor and central body in the country, calling on them to write, telegraph, or call the White House and the State Department, protesting the present situation and asking for the immediate entry of the hundred thousand. Excellent results have been obtained. At present, we are working on a march to Washington of veterans in uniform under the sponsorship of the Jewish War Veterans of the United States. They will also include other veterans' groups, both Jewish and non-Jewish. This will call for two hundred automobiles, containing four or five veterans each, to leave on Sunday, July 14, for Washington. An effort

will be made to have them received at the City Hall steps by the Mayor in order to obtain initial publicity on the project in New York. The cars are to go through New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, etc., picking up other lines of cars, and it is estimated that the march on Washington will include seven hundred to one thousand people. It is planned to have a veterans mass meeting in Washington on Sunday night, July 14, and to have delegations visit the White House, the State Department and Congress on Monday, July 15. Another part of this plan is to have veterans groups organized in every State of the Union for a visit to their respective Governors on Monday, July 15, to urge them to assist in the work that will be done in Washington that day by sending wires to the President and the State Department. We have also discussed with a number of labor people the necessity for a labor demonstration in this city, and the Trade Union Committee for Palestine is calling a special meeting to make arrangements to this end. It was suggested that the key-note of the demonstration be the implementation of the positive parts of the report and an attack on the policy of the British Labor Government.

Mr. Shapiro reported that action was being taken to make clear to the various news agencies and newspapers that the word "terrorist" when applied to the Jews of Palestine is incorrectly used. Many mass meetings and demonstrations are being held throughout the country. It has been learned that seven Ministers in Chicago have been picketing the British Consulate and we will try to encourage this medium of protest throughout the country. Different types of advertisements are being inserted in papers in various communities. We are also trying to locate veterans with British decorations who would be willing to return these decorations to the British Embassy.

In response to a question as to why the veterans' march is being limited to the Eastern seaboard, Mr. Shapiro stated that that will be a matter of discussion with the Jewish War Veterans of the United States.

BUDGET

Mr. Shapiro stated that in view of the fact that many emergencies had arisen this year which were not anticipated when we had set up our budget, we are placed in a position where we are unable to make the necessary moves because of lack of funds. It seemed likely that there would be a deficit at the end of the financial year of \$120,000. At the same time an immediate grant of \$100,000 would probably enable us to get by. It was resolved that the request for an additional sum of \$100,000 to enable the Council to continue its work be approved subject to confirmation by the Finance Committee which was given power to act.

MADISON SQUARE GARDEN MEETING

Dr. Silver felt that the attendance at the Madison Square Garden meeting was a keen disappointment. A great deal of time, thought and money had gone into the meeting to make it a success, but the response was not gratifying. If such a negative attitude represents the mood of American Jewry, then a great deal of work still lies ahead.

LOAN TO BRITAIN

After a general discussion on the matter of the American loan to Britain, it was agreed that if through our friends it is possible to delay the passage of the legislation granting the loan to Britain that would be desirable pending the outcome of the Palestinian situation. At the same time the Council should not go on record publicly on the issue.

DR. LEO KOHN

Dr. Silver welcomed to the meeting Dr. Leo Kohn, Political Secretary of the Jewish Agency, Jerusalem, who is at present visiting in the United States. Dr. Kohn made a brief statement in which he emphasized the gravity of what was happening in Palestine and the need for a proper appreciation of and reaction to the situation here. There would be an immediate change if the American and British governments were to issue a joint announcement that the 100,000 would be admitted.

HAGANAH

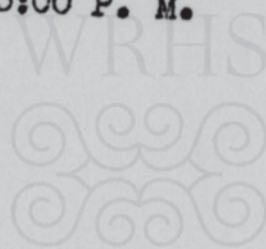
After a general discussion on the matter, a motion was made and carried that a Committee of Three be appointed to draft a forceful statement associating American Zionism with the Haganah and assuring the Haganah of our wholehearted support, at the same time distinguishing between the Haganah and the Irgun Zvei Leumi and the Stern group.

BOOK PROJECT

Mr. Neumann raised the question of an important book project which is being undertaken now and which will serve us in its field as effectively as did Dr. Lowdermilk's book. It is required that the necessary arrangements and financial provisions be made for the publishing of this book.

It was decided that the matter should be referred to the Finance Committee.

Meeting adjourned at 5:00 P. M.



A. L.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

June 29, 1946

A special meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held on Saturday, June 29, at 9:00 P.M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Stephen S. Wise (presiding), Gedalia Bublick, Philip Cruso, Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, Leon Gellman, Mrs. Samuel W. Halprin, Louis Lipsky, Emanuel Neumann, Alexander Pekelis, Louis Segal, David Wertheim, Rabbi Sidney Zambrowsky.

Jacob Dostrovsky, Nahum Goldmann, Siegfried Hoofien, Leo Kohn, Jeannette Leibel, Mrs. Mina Rogers, Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt, Abraham Tulin, Mrs. Stephen S. Wise.

Gerold Frank, Arthur Lourie, Harold P. Manson, Harry L. Shapiro; Tuvia Arazi, Eliahu Epstein, Gottlieb Hammer.

BRITISH RAID ON YISHUV AND ARREST OF JEWISH AGENCY EXECUTIVE LEADERS

Dr. Wise stated that this is the second of two meetings called for today, the first meeting this afternoon being that of the Committee of Eight. Dr. Silver was not able to attend since he was presiding at a meeting in Chicago.

Dr. Goldmann reported that in reply to the statement of the spokesman of the British Foreign Office that the American Government had been aware of Britain's contemplated action in raiding the Yishuv and arresting the Jewish Agency Executive leaders, the Department of State had today issued a formal denial that they had received advance information to this effect. However, they did receive a call from the Jewish Agency after the events had taken place. A cable, signed by Mr. Weisgal but presumably from Dr. Weizmann, was received today in which it was urged that all the American members of the Agency in the United States come to Palestine immediately to continue the Agency work. The Committee of Eight have discussed the matter, and it is assumed that should it be necessary that the American members go they will be ready to do so. It was decided at the meeting this afternoon to recommend to the Emergency Council to arrange for a large mass demonstration directed against British actions in Palestine to be held in New York on Monday. There was a proposal to arrange a demonstration in Washington on Tuesday morning when the four members of the Jewish Agency Executive are to see the President. However, it was felt that such a demonstration in Washington would not be advisable since we should direct ourselves now against the British and not against the White House. It was further decided that the four members of the Jewish Agency Executive in America should issue a statement in which they declare their solidarity with the arrested members in Jerusalem and assume full responsibility. It was also felt that the Emergency Council should issue a statement on the solidarity of American Zionism with the Jewish Agency.

After a general discussion in which Mr. Bublick, Mr. Cruso, Mrs. Epstein, Dr. Goldmann, Mrs. Halprin, Mr. Hoofien, Mr. Lipsky, Mr. Lourie, Mr. Manson, Dr. Pekelis, Mr. Segal, Mr. Shapiro, Mr. Tulin, Mr. Wertheim and Dr. Wise participated, it was decided that the following courses of action would be taken to voice the protest of American Jewry against British action in Palestine:

(1) The American members of the Jewish Agency Executive to issue a statement expressing their solidarity with the Yishuv and the arrested members of the Jewish Agency Executive in Palestine;

(2) The American Zionist Emergency Council to issue a statement expressing the solidarity of American Jewry with the Jewish Agency and the Haganah.

(3) Telegrams be sent to the Chairmen of the Local Emergency Committees urging that the members of their respective communities send telegrams to President Truman expressing their feeling of outrage at British arrest of Jewish Agency leaders and urging that the President take firm stand against this and insist upon Britain's fulfillment of 100,000 immigration recommendation.

(4) Mass demonstration to be held at Madison Square Park, Tuesday, July 2, at 5:30 P.M.

(5) From 2:00 P.M. until 5:00 P.M. on Monday, July 2, there is to be a steady stream of picketing of the British Consulate.

(6) Voters at the World Zionist Congress polls are to be instructed to wire the President expressing their indignation at what has today happened in Palestine; they should further be invited to attend the mass demonstration to be held at Madison Square Park.

LOAN TO BRITAIN

Following a discussion, Mr. Cruso moved that this session express its agreement with the resolutions adopted at the Executive Committee meeting of the Council on June 21. The Chairman stated that the decision of the Council on that occasion was a matter of record and that there was no need to reaffirm it.

Mr. Neumann then moved, as an amendment, that at the same time we get our friends throughout the country to send telegrams to their Members of Congress expressing indignation at what is taking place in Palestine and requesting them to use their influence to make audible in Congress public feeling on the matter.

In response to a statement by Mr. Lipsky, as Chairman, that Mr. Neumann's proposal had nothing to do with the loan, Mr. Neumann stated that in the light of the strong opposition at the meeting to public action on the loan, he was putting his amendment in the form that the telegrams from Local Emergency Committees need not necessarily express opposition to the loan, but that we should simply ask our people to get their Congressmen to voice the indignation of the American public and use their influence in whatever way they could make it felt.

The Chairman, in putting Mr. Neumann's substitute amendment to the vote, stated that while it did not intend any direct reference to the loan, undoubtedly the action proposed would have some effect upon the loan. Upon a vote, Mr. Neumann's amendment was adopted, with Professor Pekelis contra.

Meeting adjourned at 11:40 P.M.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

July 1, 1946

A special meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held on Monday, July 1, at 2:00 P.M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Gedalia Bublick, Philip Cruso, Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, Leon Gellman, Mrs. Samuel W. Halprin, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Louis Lipsky, Emanuel Neumann, Alexander Pekelis, Mrs. David de Sola Pool, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Louis Segal, Mrs. A. P. Schoolman, David Wertheim, Dr. Stephen S. Wise.

I. B. Berkson, Mrs. Chava Cohen, Daniel Frisch, Eliav Glanz, Leo Kohn, Rabbi Irving Miller, Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt, Moshe Shapiro, Abraham Tulin.

Eliahu Ben-Horin, Gerold Frank, Arnold K. Isreeli, Arthur Lourie, Marvin Lowenthal, Harold P. Manson, Harry L. Shapiro, Abraham Tuvim.

REPORT ON ACTION TAKEN REGARDING ARRESTS IN PALESTINE

Mr. Shapiro reported that on Saturday night, June 29, telegrams were sent to the Zionist polling booths in which voters were urged to wire the President expressing their indignation at the British raid on the Yishuv, picket the British Consulate on Monday afternoon, July 1, and attend the mass meeting scheduled for Tuesday, July 2, at 5:30 P.M., at Madison Square Park. On the following morning, June 30, telegrams were sent to all Local Emergency Committee Chairmen and read as follows:

"LATEST TREACHEROUS ACTION OF BRITAIN CALLS FOR IMMEDIATE AND UNPRECEDENTED REACTION AMERICA. MOVE YOUR COMMUNITY TO FOLLOWING ACTIONS QUICKLY: SEND TELEGRAMS TO PRESIDENT EXPRESSING OUTRAGE BRITISH ARREST OF JEWISH AGENCY LEADERS AS ACT OF WAR AGAINST JEWISH PEOPLE REQUESTING HE TAKE FIRM STAND AGAINST THIS TYRANNY AND INSIST BRITAIN FULFILL RECOMMENDATION FOR TRANSFER 100,000 FROM DP CAMPS TO PALESTINE. DISPATCH WIRES TO CONGRESSMEN EXPRESSING INDIGNATION AGAINST BRITAIN IN CONGRESS. IF THERE IS BRITISH CONSULATE IN YOUR COMMUNITY ORGANIZE MASS PICKETING OUTSIDE CONSULS OFFICE. IMPORTANT THAT PROMINENT LOCAL LEADERS, JEWISH AND NON-JEWISH, BE IN VANGUARD OF SUCH DEMONSTRATION IN ORDER SECURE ADEQUATE PUBLICITY FOR SAME. IF POSSIBLE ORGANIZE INDOOR AND OUTDOOR MASS DEMONSTRATIONS ON LARGEST POSSIBLE SCALE. STATEMENT IN PRESS RELEASE SENT YESTERDAY AS REPLY TO BRITISH ACTION SHOULD BE KEYNOTE FOR THESE MEETINGS. THE CRUCIAL MOMENT IS NOW: WE COUNT ON YOU TO CARRY OUT ABOVE ESSENTIAL ASSIGNMENTS."

Reports indicated that a large crowd had gathered before the British Consulate that afternoon. With regard to the mass meeting at Madison Square Park tomorrow, the afternoon papers will carry ads, as will tomorrow morning's papers.

AMERICAN MEMBERS OF JEWISH AGENCY EXECUTIVE

Dr. Wise brought to the attention of the body that at a meeting of the Committee of Eight on Saturday a proposal was made that the four American members of the Jewish Agency Executive should, in response to a cable suggestion from Palestine, proceed immediately to Palestine to indicate their solidarity with their fellow members of the Executive and to participate in its further work.

It was stated that the Committee of Eight had also considered the possibility of sending American representatives of Zionist organizations who are not members of the Executive if for any reason it should be deemed inadvisable that the Jewish Agency members go over.

Mr. Lourie reported that in the course of a call from Mr. Ben-Gurion from Paris, Mr. Ben-Gurion had advised against all four of the American members of the Jewish Agency leaving the United States at this time since their presence here might be important.

Mr. Tulin, too, felt that this was a time for the American leaders to remain in the United States and seek to take up our matters with the American Government on the top level. America has an absolute legal right to intervene in regard to the disposition of Palestine based on specific assertions and documents and that point has not been stressed.

Mr. Frisch was of the opinion that the American Zionist leaders must present the Zionist position in Washington. They alone could speak for the five million American Jews in this connection and under no circumstances should they leave the country at this time.

Dr. Leo Kohn stated that it was very obviously the desire of Britain to liquidate the Jewish Agency which represents the Jewish people in regard to Palestine. The Yishuv was now literally fighting for its existence. It would be very helpful in view of the fact that the leaders there have been arrested, that people of high standing from here should go to Jerusalem. It would also be very advisable for what lies ahead that one or two prominent non-Jewish American journalists should go to Palestine. The presence of these journalists would have an inhibitive effect on the Government. Similarly, if we could arrange an immediate visit by distinguished pro-British American Senators who might be able to influence the British Government.

Dr. Pekelis was of the opinion that something very different from our ordinary reaction of protests and mass meetings was required. It was necessary in some dramatic way to arouse and give expression to the emotions of the people. He made certain suggestions in this connection and urged further that we consider the idea of approaching the Commission on Human Rights of the United Nations.

Mr. Segal also felt that it was necessary to do things we had not done before. In addition to strengthening the leadership in Palestine by manpower from America, it would have a tremendous effect if some of the American Jewish youth should go to Palestine as soon as possible.

Mr. Ben-Horin was of the opinion that an impressive delegation comprised of people like Bartley Crum, Reinhold Niebuhr, Nelson Rockefeller and others should go to Palestine. Their presence and their reports would have a restraining effect on British action. Secondly, Dr. Silver and Dr. Wise should, on

behalf of the Emergency Council, send a properly worded wire to Stalin and officially ask for Russian intervention in Palestine.

Judge Rothenberg felt that it was not advisable for the American members of the Agency to go to Palestine. The main fight will be in America. Moreover, in Palestine censorship might greatly hamper their effectiveness there. On the other hand, it might be helpful if the President would send a personal emissary to Palestine. He favored action in opposition to the grant of the loan to Great Britain.

Mrs. Epstein stated that as many American Zionist leaders as possible should go to Palestine, although a necessary number of those in authority should naturally remain in the United States. She was very much against any direct appeal to Russia.

(Mr. Gellman and Mr. Moshe Shapiro spoke in Yiddish and the stenotypist failed to transcribe their remarks).

Mr. Neumann felt that we have one very immediate opportunity and that is the conference with the President. The President should be requested to take a firm stand and demand that the arrested people be released. A suggestion should be made that the American Government send its own mission to Palestine now or a Presidential mission to look into the situation and exercise what influence they can. Instead of being drawn into endless discussions, further, the American Government should be asked to indicate its impatience at the prolonged delay and insist on concrete action. Our Administration must realize that in the absence of effective and helpful action they will be held to that extent responsible for the situation as it is.

Mr. Lipsky also discussed the interview with the President. It is necessary to bring home to our Government the manner in which it is being used by the British Government for its own purposes. He did not think it was advisable for us to use the British loan as an instrument of action.

Mrs. Halprin stressed the need for carefully thinking out the matters to be taken up with the President at the interview the next day.

Judge Rosenblatt said it was clear that the British line was to seek the elimination of the Agency. He supported Mr. Tulin in drawing attention to the legal aspects of America's rights in the whole matter.

Dr. Wise felt that an appeal should be made to the President to exercise the influence of his office to put an end to the reign of terror in Palestine instituted by the British. The members of the Agency should be set free and the illegal raiding of Jewish settlements be stopped. The President should also be asked in very specific terms as to just when the 100,000 are going to be moved to Palestine and also whether the Cabinet Committee has been instructed to implement as quickly as possible the transference of the hundred thousand.

MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT

Dr. Silver stated that an appointment had been sought with the President nearly two months ago in the names of Dr. Wise and himself, and Mr. Monsky, representing the Emergency Council and the American Jewish Conference, respectively. It was only in the course of last week that they had at length been

informed that an appointment had been fixed and that the President wanted to see, in addition, Dr. Nahum Goldmann and Mr. Louis Lipsky as representing the Agency. Invitation to the Agency had arisen in consequence of a letter sent to the President, offering the services of the Agency in a technical way to assist in the moving of the hundred thousand Jews to Palestine and making certain financial and other suggestions.

Dr. Silver felt that the addition of representatives of the Agency to those participating in the interview was uncalled for and he expressed criticism of the manner in which it had been arranged. He added that an intolerable situation was developing internally and there would have to be a radical reorganization if he was to be able to do effective work.

DELEGATION TO PALESTINE

A motion was made and carried that a delegation of four or eight leading American Zionists, representing the four parties, should go to Palestine as soon as possible in connection with the present situation there.

BRITISH LOAN

A reference was made to the matter of our attitude to the proposed loan to Britain. It was pointed out that it had previously been decided that we should seek indirectly, and without going officially on the record, to obtain a postponement of action on the loan; that vote still held good.

Meeting adjourned at 5:00 P.M.

A.L.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

July 3, 1946

A special meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held on Wednesday, July 3, at 4:00 P.M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Gedalia Bublick, Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, Leon Gellman, Mrs. Samuel W. Halprin, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Louis Lipsky, Emanuel Neumann, David Wertheim, Dr. Stephen S. Wise.

I. B. Berkson, Jacob Dostrovsky, Daniel Frisch, Milton Handler, Rabbi Irving Miller, Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt, Moshe Shapiro, Abraham Tulin.

Eliahu Ben-Horin, Gerold Frank, Arnold K. Isreeli, Arthur Lourie, Harold P. Manson, Harry L. Shapiro, Benjamin Shwadran, Abraham Tuvim.

MADISON SQUARE PARK DEMONSTRATION

Dr. Silver, in commenting on the Madison Square Park demonstration held yesterday afternoon, stated that it was an effective and dignified event. There was a fine turn-out of people, and perhaps the most significant part of it was the participation of the people themselves in the meeting. Dr. Silver expressed the deep appreciation of this body for the fine work done by the members of the staff of the Emergency Council and others who were instrumental in making the meeting the success that it was. Various communities throughout the country are having meetings of a similar nature and our office is being besieged with requests for speakers.

VETERANS MARCH ON WASHINGTON

Dr. Silver stated that there were advertisements in today's papers, inserted by the Jewish War Veterans of the United States, announcing the contemplated march on Washington on July 14, requesting Jewish servicemen to join the cavalcade and asking people to make their cars available for transportation. It will be an impressive and worthwhile demonstration.

MEETING WITH PRESIDENT

Dr. Silver reported on the meeting of the delegation with the President on July 2 (report on file). They had discussed with the President, who appeared friendly and anxious to be helpful, the raids and arrests in Palestine and also their possible effect on the implementation of the 100,000 immigration. The President was determined to press for the hundred thousand and not to permit the events which have occurred in the last few days to interfere.

In consultation with Mr. Niles, who had been present at the interview, a statement was prepared which was subsequently approved by the President and released to the press by the White House (attached).

CABINET COMMITTEE ON PALESTINE AND RELATED PROBLEMS

It was decided that an effort would be made to find out more precisely the scope and purposes of the visit of the Cabinet Committee to London -- whether it is to consummate the arrangements for the movement of the 100,000 Jews from Europe to Palestine, or whether it is to explore the recommendations of the Report as a whole and make decisions accordingly.

TELEGRAM TO DR. ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN

It was resolved to send a telegram to Dr. Israel Goldstein expressing the deep sympathy of the Executive Committee in the tragic loss sustained by Dr. Goldstein and his family by the death of his daughter-in-law in an automobile accident.

SOLIDARITY WITH YISHUV AND HAGANAH

Mr. Neumann made the suggestion that a sub-committee consisting of one representative of each of the organizations should meet to consider what, if anything, can now be done to give legal and constructive form to the tremendous public sentiment which has developed as a result of recent events in Palestine in behalf of the Jewish resistance in Palestine. People are anxious to express themselves concretely. It was agreed that a sub-committee be appointed to consider the matter and make recommendations. Dr. Silver pointed out that pending the report of the sub-committee, no action should be taken on its own by any one of our groups without having first consulted this body.

Meeting adjourned at 6:00 P.M.

A. L.

July 2, 1946

PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT

"The President conferred today with the following American members of the Executive of the Jewish Agency for Palestine: Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, Dr. Nahum Goldmann, Mr. Louis Lipsky and Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver.

"The representatives of the Jewish Agency gave the President their views of recent events in Palestine.

"The President expressed his regret at these developments in Palestine. He informed the representatives of the Jewish Agency that the Government of the United States had not been consulted on these measures prior to their adoption by the British Government. He expressed the hope that the leaders of the Jewish community in Palestine would soon be released and that the situation would soon return to normal.

"The President added further that it was his determination that these most recent events should mean no delay in pushing forward with a policy of transferring 100,000 Jewish immigrants to Palestine with all dispatch, in accordance with the statement he made upon the receipt of the Report of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry.

"The President indicated that the Government of the United States was prepared to assume technical and financial responsibility for the transportation of these immigrants from Europe to Palestine.

"He expressed his thanks for the workmanlike suggestions embodied in the letter which the American members of the Jewish Agency Executive sent him on June 14 with respect to the technical and financial problems involved in the transfer and resettlement of the 100,000 immigrants."

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AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

July 15, 1946

A special meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held on Monday, July 15, at 5:00 P.M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Miss Juliet N. Benjamin, Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, Leon Gellman, Israel Goldstein, Mrs. Samuel Halprin, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Louis Lipsky, Emanuel Neumann, Alexander Pekelis, Mrs. David de Solo Pool, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Louis Segal, David Wertheim.

Mrs. Chava Cohen, Daniel Frisch, Milton Handler, Leo Kohn, Moshe Shapiro, Abraham Tulin.

Benjamin Akzin, Eliahu Ben-Horin, Arthur Lourie, Harry L. Shapiro, Benjamin Shwadran.

EX-MUFTI

Mr. Lourie stated that a new memorandum on the Mufti, together with supporting exhibits based on documentary material which had recently become available evidencing the co-responsibility of the Mufti with Himmler and others for the Nazi extermination policy of the Jews, is now completed. The authority of this body was requested for submission of the memorandum to the State Department.

It was decided that the memorandum should be sent to the State Department and that it be made public after it has been submitted.

VETERANS MARCH ON WASHINGTON

Mr. Shapiro reported that it had originally been planned to have a motorcade of approximately one hundred cars leave from New York and as it went along the line of travel to Washington it had been expected that cars from cities enroute would fall in the procession and go along. However, since it was necessary to obtain permits in every city in order to travel through the streets that plan was abandoned. Since, too, all the necessary cars were unobtainable gratis, it was decided that the Council budget on this project would have to be raised from \$5,000 to \$15,000 in order to have the required transportation. Yesterday morning the cars gathered in Union Square and their first stop was at the steps of City Hall where they were very well received by the Mayor; after which the cars traveled together to Washington, carrying banners and streamers. At Pennsylvania Railroad in New York there were assembled more men than for whom we had tickets and the Jewish War Veterans decided that they would have to expend \$4,000 or \$5,000 for additional tickets. After the veterans had arrived in Washington last night they held a mass meeting with an attendance of about 3,000. Today there was a parade of about 4,000 veterans, mostly in uniform, who marched in military formation and carried their colors and streamers. Our

people in Washington reported that it constituted an impressive spectacle. From a public relations standpoint, it will probably be the most effective thing we have done -- it had been covered by the newsreels, the newspapers in Washington are full of it and the news services are sending wirephotos all over the country.

We had also arranged that Local Emergency Committees should get in touch with the Jewish War Veterans in their respective States and arrange for a delegation to visit the Governor and request him to send a wire to the President on the subject. Mr. Shapiro read a wire from the Governor of Louisiana to the President (on file), and stated that it is expected that the same procedure will be followed in at least forty States.

In Washington one delegation, headed by Fred S. Harris, of Meriden, Connecticut, called on the President. During the course of the meeting the President emphasized that the matter of the hundred thousand immigration is the primary interest. He also stated that he is trying to get a hundred thousand displaced persons into Africa and another hundred thousand into South America. The delegation then declared that they were confident that no American troops were needed in Palestine and that the British demand for such troops was a colossal bluff designed to frighten and mislead the American people. However, they felt that if the President was of the opinion that American troops were needed there, they would have no difficulty in recruiting a volunteer Jewish Division for service in Palestine. Each of the six members of the delegation to the President were asked to submit separate reports from which we will be able to obtain a fairly composite picture of the meeting.

No reports have yet been received as to the outcome of the visit of other delegations to the State Department and the British Ambassador. However, it is hoped that we will be able to present a full picture of what took place at our next meeting.

While this cavalcade has been a very successful event, Mr. Shapiro was of the opinion that further activity of this nature should not be attempted at this time.

TRANSJORDAN

Mr. Lourie brought up the matter of the application that is being made at the present time for the admission of Transjordan to the United Nations. We had submitted a very full memorandum on the subject of Transjordan to the Department of State on May 24, 1946, and it is obviously our duty to do whatever we can to place before the Security Council the facts which indicate that Transjordan is not a suitable member for admission to the United Nations. There was a brief discussion on the material to be incorporated in a memorandum for submission to the members of the Security Council and the suggestion was made that the representatives of the Agency cooperate in this matter with those members of the Emergency Council who had been interesting themselves in the Transjordan problem. Special reference was made to the contribution of Professor Handler and Mr. Tulin in the drafting of the memorandum on Transjordan for submission to the State Department; and to that of Dr. Pekelis and Dr. Jacob Robinson in preparing the memorandum on the Mufti.

It was finally decided that the committee of lawyers which drafted the original memorandum on Transjordan be given authority to carry on whatever activity is necessary in connection with the matter.

LIAISON BETWEEN JEWISH AGENCY AND AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

A lengthy discussion took place on what was described as the "chaotic situation" which was arising as a result of the overlapping activities of the Emergency Council and the Jewish Agency. It was stated that there were no clear limitations of authority, and various instances of confusion or duplication were cited. Complaint was also made of the uncontrolled actions of individuals and in particular there was reference to an interview with an unnamed Zionist leader which had appeared in the New York Times and to the matter of the loan to Great Britain. The imperative need for integration or coordination of all Zionist political activities on the American scene was emphasized. It was reaffirmed that a committee of the Emergency Council should be appointed to meet with a committee of the Agency to work out a reorganization of political procedure including a) the relationship between the Emergency Council and the Agency and b) the control of public statements by Zionist spokesmen speaking on behalf of the movement.

The Chairman said that he would appoint the committee and ask it to meet within the week.

Meeting adjourned at 7:50 P.M.

A. L.



AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

July 25, 1946

A special meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held on Thursday, July 25, at 1:00 P.M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Emanuel Neumann (presiding), Miss Juliet N. Benjamin, Mrs. Chava Cohen, Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, Israel Goldstein, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Mrs. A. P. Schoolman, Louis Segal, David Wertheim.

I. B. Berkson, Daniel Frisch, Simon Federbush, Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt.

Arnold K. Isreeli, William Kaufman, Harold P. Manson, Harry L. Shapiro, Joseph P. Sternstein, Abraham Tuvim.

CABINET COMMITTEE ON PALESTINE

Mr. Neumann reported that it had been learnt that the British have submitted their proposals for a permanent solution, making the immigration of the 100,000 dependent upon the acceptance of a plan for a permanent solution on which consultation between Jews and Arabs is to take place after the plan will have received the approval of both the American and British Governments. The plan calls for a division of Palestine into Arab, Jewish and British provinces, with full control over the entire territory to be vested in the central British administration. It is reported that Dr. Goldmann has denounced these proposals and has urged that every effort be made on the American scene to discourage the American Government from accepting them; that is why Dr. Silver is at present in Washington.

BRITISH WHITE PAPER

With regard to the White Paper issued by the British Government, Mr. Neumann stated that according to information he had received, the Jewish Agency Executive had issued a statement challenging the evidence submitted by the British in this White Paper to indicate the responsibility of the Jewish Agency for the acts of terrorism committed in Palestine and calling on the British to permit an examination of this evidence or to indicate in more detail how, when and where the alleged messages and telegrams had been sent. So far as world opinion is concerned, there can be no doubt that these messages had the appearance of authenticity and tended to identify the Jewish Agency Executive with the activities of the Haganah and through that body to a minor degree, with the activities of the other two other groups. The White Paper is evidently designed to pave the way for drastic revision of the status quo in respect to the Jewish Agency and other vital matters.

KING DAVID HOTEL BOMBING

Dr. Goldstein stated that he felt that public opinion is of the mind that the Zionist leadership has not sufficiently indicated its sense of horror at and disapproval of the bombing. While the Emergency Council has indicated its condemnation of the act, separate and strong statements should be issued in the name of Dr. Silver and of the Zionist Organization of America, respectively. In this connection, Dr. Goldstein brought out the fact that Mr. Nathan D. Shapiro had sent out letters in which he stated that not enough has been done by Zionist leadership to disassociate itself from the bombing, and unless something is done about the matter he and many of his friends will be compelled to sever their connections with the Zionist movement in America. While Dr. Goldstein did not know how seriously this was to be taken, still he felt that it was a good indication of how some people felt about the matter.

After a general discussion, the motion was made and carried that the Emergency Council issue a statement of condemnation of the bombing of the King David Hotel, at the same time emphasizing the fact that the basic fault in the situation lies with the Mandatory power. After the motion had been carried it was decided to confer with the Jewish Agency before issuing the statement.

MOBILIZATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

It was decided that an effort would be made to organize a general counter-offensive against the British among our Christian friends, the American Christian Palestine Committee, newspapers, columnists and radio commentators.

ATTENDANCE AT PARIS MEETING OF DR. SILVER

Mr. Neumann stated that he would convey to Dr. Silver the feeling of many members of the Executive Committee that it was necessary that he should attend the Paris meeting.

Meeting adjourned at 5:35 P.M.

A. L.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

July 26, 1946

A special meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Friday, July 26, at 1:00 P.M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Emanuel Neumann (presiding), Miss Juliet N. Benjamin, Gedalia Bublick, Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, Israel Goldstein, Herman Hollander, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Alexander Pekelis, Louis Segal, David Wertheim.

Daniel Frisch, Sidney Marks, Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt.

Arnold K. Isreeli, Marvin Lowenthal, Harold P. Manson, Harry L. Shapiro, Abraham Tuvim.

PROPOSALS OF CABINET COMMITTEE ON PALESTINE

Mr. Shapiro reported that in the course of a conversation he had had with Dr. Silver the previous evening, Dr. Silver had indicated that it was his opinion the President had accepted the proposals of the Grady Committee for the cantonization of Palestine. However, this morning, Dr. Silver had informed him that it was doubtful if the President had yet done so. Dr. Silver was doing a most important piece of work (report on file) in Washington in bringing pressure to bear on the circles concerned.

A tentative statement (on file) was read to the Committee to be published with reference to the Grady report; after various revisions had been made, it was decided that, pending further word, it was ready for issuance in its revised form.

In the course of the meeting, Mr. Shapiro reported further that Dr. Silver had made a telephonic request that the revised statement be phoned to him after the meeting — he will then, being on the scene, have more information and will therefore be in a position to make the necessary suggestions for any changes to be incorporated in the statement, which is to be issued today.

Judge Rosenblatt, Dr. Goldstein and Messrs. Neumann and Tuvim reported on various activities being undertaken in an attempt to persuade the American Government to disassociate itself from the Grady Committee report (on file).

MOBILIZATION OF AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION

In response to a suggestion that another demonstration should be held, the opinion was expressed that it would be futile at the present time. While the various demonstrations that had been held at Madison Square Garden and at Madison Square Park and also the Veterans' March had been impressive, it would serve no useful purpose now to apply those methods.

A discussion followed on the nature and effectiveness of action on the American political scene. It was also urged that the bombardment of official Washington with letters and telegrams would be another means of conveying to the American Government the sense of indignation aroused by the Grady Committee proposals.

After a general discussion, it was decided that action be initiated in the press and by advertisements as well as by letters and telegrams to the White House demanding that the Government repudiate the Grady Committee plan.

Meeting adjourned at 3:15 P.M.

N.F. for
A.L.



AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

July 30, 1946

A special meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held on Tuesday, July 30, at 5:30 P.M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Miss Juliet N. Benjamin, Gedalia Bublick, Mrs. Hava Cohen, Israel Goldstein, Mrs. David B. Greenberg, Herman Hollander, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Emanuel Neumann, Alexander Pekelis, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Mrs. A. P. Schoolman, Louis Segal.

M. Ben Tov, I. B. Berkson, Simon Federbush, Daniel Frisch, Siegfried Hoofien, Sidney Marks, Rabbi Irving Miller, Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt.

Arnold K. Isreeli, Arthur Lourie, Harold P. Manson, Moshe Perlman, Harry L. Shapiro, Joseph P. Sternstein, Abraham Tuvim.

DEVELOPMENTS REGARDING GRADY COMMITTEE PROPOSAL

Pending the arrival of Dr. Silver, whose plane had been delayed, Mr. Neumann took the Chair and stated that the meeting had been called in order to bring the Committee up-to-date on developments in Washington in regard to the report of the Grady Committee.

An interview had been arranged with the President the previous Friday for Senators Mead and Wagner and Mr. McDonald, but a hitch resulted in the President being seen by Senator Mead alone. On Dr. Silver's initiative, a further appointment was set for the following morning when it was understood that a very frank conversation in which Mr. McDonald was the principal spokesman took place (report on file).

Dr. Silver had also had a conversation with Mr. Benjamin V. Cohen. Others had been in touch with Mr. Snyder and Mr. Patterson. Both Senators Taft and Wagner had been in communication with Dr. Silver and had undertaken to make a speech in the Senate in criticism of the Grady report.

Requests are also being sent out throughout the country for messages to the White House and to others in Washington, and, undoubtedly, a great many of these had been coming in.

Dr. Silver had also had a long talk with David Niles.

A delegation of New York Congressmen, Jews and non-Jews, mostly non-Jews, had also seen the President that day, but the report had indicated that the conversation was not a satisfactory one.

Mr. Neumann also referred to a cable which Dr. Silver had received from Dr. Wise, indicating that Dr. Wise understood that Mr. Byrnes had agreed with

Mr. Attlee on the report of the Cabinet Committee and that a joint statement by the two Governments might be expected the following day. Mr. Neumann indicated that a meeting of the Cabinet in Washington would probably give the matter consideration before any statement was issued.

Dr. Silver arrived at this point and continued with the report. There had apparently been a good deal of surprise in the Government circles on the nature of the Grady report in view of the fact that it had been contemplated that the Grady Committee would go to London in order to try to implement the Report of the Anglo-American Committee. It was clear that the Grady report was a British product. Dr. Silver went on to refer to the meetings of McDonald and others with the President and with different members of the Cabinet Committee, and also reported further on the interview of the Congressmen with the President (a full report of Dr. Silver's statement on file).

Dr. Goldstein then reported on a conversation which he and Mr. Tuvim had had with Government Lehman in Nantucket. This was supplemented by a brief report by Judge Rosenblatt of certain political contacts which he had made.

In a further review of the political situation, Dr. Silver stressed the vital importance of unified action on the part of every member of the Council in connection with any political line that might be adopted in relation to the Administration.

In response to a request whether it would not be possible for him to attend the Paris meeting of the Agency Executive, even if only for a few days, Dr. Silver indicated that his mind was not made up, but that he would have to wait and see what develops in Washington. Dr. Silver also indicated that he would not go to Paris except with the clear backing of this group for the reorganization of the movement in the United States under a central authority. It was agreed that the representatives of the parties should consult their organizations and be ready to discuss the matter further the following day.

Meeting adjourned at 8:15 P.M.

A. L.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

August 1, 1946

A special meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held on Thursday, August 1, at 11:00 A.M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Miss Juliet N. Benjamin, Gedalia Bublick, Mrs. Hava Cohen, Philip Cruso, Mrs. David B. Greenberg, Herman Hollander, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Emanuel Neumann, Alexander Pekelis, Mrs. A. P. Schoolman, Louis Segal.

I. B. Berkson, Daniel Frisch, Milton Handler, Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt.

Arnold K. Isreeli, Arthur Lourie, Harold P. Manson, Moshe Perlman, Joseph P. Sternstein, Abraham Tuvim.

DEVELOPMENTS REGARDING PROPOSALS OF GRADY COMMITTEE

Dr. Silver stated that the American Government had not committed itself to the acceptance of the Grady plan after all, and the President had recalled the Cabinet Committee. There will now be further discussions and negotiations. There had been a sudden, almost miraculous, last minute shift. We must carry on with our work and the situation in Washington must be watched continuously. It is reported that Mr. Attlee had been in touch with President Truman that morning and that the President is calling a press conference. It is very likely that the Government will call upon us to present our case within the next week or two. It is unfortunate that the entire Zionist Executive is at present in Paris instead of being in Washington, and although this body had passed a resolution urging that the conference be held here, it was ignored. A few members of the Executive should return here with some understanding as to what the Executive intends to do in the situation in order that we may take a united position vis-a-vis our Government.

After a general discussion as to what our line should now be, Dr. Silver summarized by stating that we are all agreed that at present it is desirable that we should press for the hundred thousand and for the recommendation of the Anglo-American Committee that land restrictions be relaxed -- the remainder of the recommendations to be stalled off, if possible. Since it is understood that the six members of the Anglo-American Committee are being called to Washington for discussion, our first step in that direction should be to attempt to persuade our friends on the Committee to press for the hundred thousand and the relaxation of land restrictions. If we are unsuccessful in that direction, then we will have to face the next step, namely, negotiations with the Governments (a) either under the original Anglo-American Committee Report, trying to retain as much of the good that is in it and eliminating most of the evil, but not committing ourselves to the proposition that there can never be a Jewish state; or (b) to discuss the matter of partition. It was Dr. Silver's view, however, that in the light of the present state of public sentiment discussion of partition would not get us much beyond the Grady report.

In response to a request the Committee was informed that a careful analysis of the Grady proposal was being prepared for distribution and would be available the following day.

CENTRALIZATION OF ZIONIST ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

With reference to discussions held at previous meetings regarding the lack of coordination in political activities between the Jewish Agency for Palestine in America and the American Zionist Emergency Council, the following Resolution was proposed by Mr. Neumann:

RESOLVED that experience has demonstrated the urgent necessity of complete coordination and centralization of Zionist political activity in this country and the serious dangers inherent in the present division of authority between two bodies concerned with political work. It is therefore the considered judgment of the Executive Committee that steps be taken without delay to bring about a merger of the Committee of Eight and the American Zionist Emergency Council in one central body composed of the resident members of the Jewish Agency and representatives of the major American Zionist organizations; the consolidation of the staffs now under separate direction and placing all officials and their activities under a unified and centralized direction.

It is tentatively suggested that the new central body shall be known as the Central Council for Zionist Affairs. American Zionists as well as representatives of world Zionism will channelize their activities in America through this central body.

This envisages the continued existence in this country of a branch office of the Jewish Agency and the functioning of the Jewish Agency in America whenever and wherever it is deemed advisable. However, the supervisory and directive functions hitherto vested in the Committee of Eight shall be vested in the new central body which shall be so empowered and recognized by the World Executive of the Jewish Agency and the technical functioning of the branch office of the Jewish Agency will be closely integrated with the administrative framework of the Central Council.

The Chairman of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council is authorized and requested to bring this Resolution officially to the notice of its four constituent organizations and to the Executive of the Jewish Agency for consideration and to take such further steps as may be necessary to promote a reorganization along these lines at the earliest possible moment.

Mrs. Greenberg felt that a Resolution of the kind put forward by Mr. Neumann which proposed a definite structure for a contemplated new organization, should not be adopted in the absence of a Jewish Agency representative to present their side of the case; she therefore moved a substitute Resolution which would give wider latitude for change, as follows:

RESOLVED that in view of the present crisis in Jewish and Zionist life and the necessity for avoiding duplication of effort and overlapping activities in the all-out political effort on the American scene, the American Zionist Emergency Council calls upon the Executive of the World Zionist Organization meeting in

Paris to re-examine the structures for political action in America and, together with the American Zionist Emergency Council, find ways and means of integrating existing bodies for action to achieve complete coordination and cooperation among them at the earliest possible moment.

On a vote on Mrs. Greenberg's substitute amendment, five voted for and five against. The Chairman then put Mr. Neumann's Resolution to the meeting and, on a further tie, cast his vote in favor of the Resolution which was accordingly passed.

Meeting adjourned at 2:30 P.M.

A.L.



AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

August 7, 1946

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

PRESENT

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Gedalia Bublick, Mrs. Hava Cohen, Philip Cruso, Mrs. Benjamin Gottesman, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Emanuel Neumann, Alexander Pekelis, Mrs. A. P. Schoolman, Louis Segal, Jacques Torczyner.

I. B. Berkson, Maurice Bisgyer, Jacob Dostrovsky, Simon Federbush, Rabbi Leon I. Feuer, Richard Gilbert, Nahum Goldmann, Isadore Hamlin, Milton Handler, Judge Sidney Herold, Leo Kohn, Leo Sack, Hy Schulson, Mrs. Raphael Tourover, Yona Yanai.

Benjamin Akzin, Arnold K. Isreeli, Arthur Lourie, Harold P. Manson, Harry L. Shapiro, Joseph P. Sternstein, Abraham Tuvim; Tuvia Arazi, Eliahu Epstein.

REPORT OF DEVELOPMENTS ON WASHINGTON SCENE

In opening the meeting Dr. Silver said that he had felt it desirable to call the Executive Committee together in Washington in order to receive a report on what had been happening there during these eventful days and also to hear from Dr. Goldmann who had just returned from Paris where he had attended the sessions of the Executive of the Jewish Agency. Dr. Goldmann was delayed, but would be present later.

Mr. Tuvim, Mr. Manson, Mr. Neumann and Mr. Lourie reported on political contacts and developments in Washington during the last few days (report on file).

Following further reports on action in regard to the threatened deportation of Jewish refugees now arriving in considerable numbers in Haifa, a discussion took place on the possibility of the Palestine issue coming before the United Nations. A reference was made to the article that appeared the previous day by Sumner Welles and which contained an excellent analysis of the problem, but which urged that the most hopeful way of solving it was by placing it before the United Nations. In the course of the discussion, however, the danger was stressed that the matter might go on for years before the United Nations until a decision was reached. The United Nations is divided into four blocs; the Russian bloc -- with whom nothing much could be done at present; the British bloc; the Arab bloc -- which could be regarded either as part of the British Empire or separately; and the American bloc -- America and the Latin American Republics. Our only chance lay in a friendly representation at least on the part of the American bloc, and it was therefore urged that we should take steps to secure the help of prominent counsel -- international lawyers who should begin to work up and document a case for the purpose of presentation, not to the United Nations as a whole, but to the American representatives in the United Nations.

Dr. Silver concluded the discussion by stating that his feeling had always been that the wider we extend the area of interest in our cause, the stronger will become our position. Up to a year ago, we had felt that our entire salvation lay exclusively with the British and that line had failed. During the last few years we have tried to make an effort to bring America more effectively into the picture, but our destiny was not entirely wrapped up with Great Britain and the United States. It was a world problem and would ultimately have to find a world solution. In building up greater strength on the world stage, it was necessary for us to secure a positive attitude on the part of the United States and also to get a substantial number of the small states of South America and other parts of the world to give us their support.

PARIS RESOLUTION

Dr. Silver then welcomed Judge Herold of Louisiana to the meeting, and pending the arrival of Dr. Goldmann, reported on the meeting of the Agency Executive as conveyed to him by Dr. Goldmann the previous evening. A Resolution, part of which had been made public and part of which had been kept for internal action which was adopted at that meeting, was read by Dr. Silver who stated that of the members of the Executive present, ten had voted in favor, one against and two had abstained. Dr. Silver indicated that it was not clear from the text that what was meant was that the Executive was prepared to discuss a proposal for partition, should such a proposal be made, or whether it meant that Dr. Goldmann should go to the State Department or to the Government with the proposal and say "this is what the Agency wants." He believed that the latter would be tactically inadvisable.

Dr. Goldmann, having arrived, he proceeded to supplement Dr. Silver's report. The Resolution had been the result of a lengthy debate over two and one-half days. It was concurred in by all three members of the Mizrahi and was a tragic decision taken in what was regarded as a desperate situation. Mr. Shmorak, who had been the sole member of the Executive to vote against the Resolution, indicated that he would prefer to negotiate on the basis of the Grady report rather than to support the division of Palestine into two separate states. In addition to the members of the Executive, there were present at the meeting the following non-members: Mrs. Gellman, Hayim Greenberg, Mr. Kirschner of South Africa, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mrs. Halprin and Mrs. Epstein. Of these all except Dr. Goldstein had voted in favor of the Resolution, Dr. Goldstein indicating that, as a representative of the Z.O.A. which had gone on record against partition, he was unable to support the Resolution.

Dr. Goldmann was asked whether this was to be conveyed to the Government. He replied "certainly," and that was the reason why he was sent to Washington. In answer to the question as to who decides when the time is ripe, Dr. Goldmann replied "everybody." He further defined the instructions of the Executive as being that we should inform the Government of the United States that the Grady proposal is no basis for discussion, and when being asked "what is your proposal?" the answer is "partition."

Dr. Goldmann also reported that it had been decided to call an international conference along the lines of last year's London Conference, towards the end of August. In addition, it was hoped to call the Congress earlier than at present arranged -- probably in November.

He then proceeded to review the political situation in London and the balance of forces within the Cabinet on the Zionist issue. He also reviewed the situation as it had developed in Palestine. The psychological reaction to the incidents of

June 29 had been terrific and Jews had come to feel that the continuation of British rule in Palestine was intolerable. At the same time, it was clear from the beginning that no military action was possible. Resistance by the Haganah would have meant destruction of the Yishuv. He said that a stalemate had now developed between the British and the American points of view on Palestine and that if we failed to break through that situation, either the British would adhere to the Grady plan and the American Government would give in, or else the American Government would, for perhaps the next six months, step out of the picture. He referred in this connection to a conversation which had taken place in Paris with Mr. Byrnes.

In London the Agency had received a written invitation from the Government for discussions on the Palestine issue and a second letter with regard to the early arrival of some eight thousand illegal refugees which, according to Mr. Hall, the Colonial Secretary, was creating an unbearable situation. The Colonial Secretary indicated that he expected the Agency, at least until the end of the conference, to put a stop to this immigration. In reply to the invitation to the conference, the Government was informed that the report of the Cabinet Committee did not constitute a basis for discussion; moreover, that the Agency could not attend such a conference as long as their leaders were under arrest. So far as illegal immigration was concerned, the Agency was not organizing the illegal immigration and had no responsibility in the matter. Furthermore, it was our view that every Jew had a right to come to Palestine and the Agency would certainly do nothing to discourage immigration.

The meeting of the Executive in Paris would probably last another ten days. There were important organizational and other matters still to be considered.

A discussion followed on the action to be taken here with reference to the Resolution of the Jewish Agency Executive. It was the view of several of those present that no action should be taken here to put forward the partition proposals. The opinion was also expressed that it would be desirable to inform our Administration of the Paris Resolution as a basis for negotiations.

Dr. Silver concluded the discussion by suggesting that it might be possible to come to an agreement without biting into the real issue at the moment. He was prepared to pay a large price for a real Jewish State in Palestine, but he did not think that we could get it at this time. Consequently, he would personally favor any scheme which would allow us to build up additional strength in Palestine towards such a time as we would be prepared to make final decisions. Following that very line, he had felt our first effort with our friends in Washington should be to press for the implementation of the short-range recommendations in the Report -- the 100,000 additional immigration, removal of land restrictions and to seek to carry on until we emerged from the terrible situation in which we found ourselves at the moment, in which all the cards seemed to be stacked against us.

At the same time, Dr. Silver continued, there was a World Zionist Executive which, while it did not have plenary powers, had been entrusted by the movement with some responsibility. This body met in Paris and deliberated very earnestly on this subject. He was sure all the arguments which we are likely to make here were made there. And they came to the conclusion, including our own American representatives there from all parties, members of this Emergency Council, that, as he interpreted the Resolution, the idea of partition is not excluded from consideration as a possible solution of the problem. Their action was a radical departure nor was it similar to what took place at the Zionist Congress in 1937. There the Zionist Congress was confronted by a proposal for partition on the part of the British Government, and the Congress was divided as to whether they should

consider it or not. And after a long fight, the Congress decided that we should take that as a basis for discussion, and not reject it.

At the moment, we are faced with no proposal for partition at all, and it was not very clear why this Resolution was adopted altogether at this juncture. He interpreted the Resolution to mean that if, as a result of negotiations now going on, such a proposal will emerge to us, that we will not out-of-hand reject it, but, on the contrary, the Executive is prepared to discuss a proposal for the establishment of a viable Jewish State in an adequate portion of Palestine. If his reasoning was correct, then we do not have to fight about it. We press for that for which we have been pressing all along. If there comes to us a proposal for partition, we will sit down with those people and discuss it, and if the proposal is satisfactory, we will take the proposal back to the Executive or to another competent body for action. This is not a mandate to Dr. Goldmann or to Dr. Silver or to the Council to go to the President of the United States or to Mr. Acheson or to anybody else and say that the Jewish Agency Executive is in favor of partition and we want to press for it.

This is the way he would interpret the statement. Now, if this line of reasoning is a correct one, and he could not say that it was because he was not in Paris -- that was what Dr. Goldmann would have tell us -- if that was correct, then we were all in agreement and we should wait and see what develops from these negotiations. If a proposal emanates Dr. Goldmann or he would be called in and asked whether we are prepared to consider the proposal of partition.

Dr. Goldmann said that he thought this summation of the situation at the moment was correct. We will have to wait and see what the Committee of nine will decide. The Committee had not yet finished. When they decide, at that time we may be called in and asked: "The Government wants to help you. What do you suggest that we do?" and therefore the situation at this moment, as Dr. Silver had summed it up, was correct for the situation as it presents itself. It may change in a day or two, or maybe a week or two when the Cabinet Committee will decide and when the President will be ready to make up his mind, and so on.

He would be in contact with the Executive anyhow and would convey to them the summing up of Dr. Silver and, if necessary, the Executive would decide what would have to be done. He had at once cabled to Dr. Silver when it was decided that he come here, that they meet in New York and Washington, and, naturally, everybody was interested to maintain as large a united front as possible.

At this moment he did not think that there is any need for a divergence of opinion because we have to wait for the first stage of discussions.

The Executive reserves the right to negotiate with all Governments including the American, but naturally the Executive would negotiate jointly with a member of the Council. In answer to a question, Dr. Goldmann added that no approaches were being made to the Government in London.

Dr. Silver concluded by saying that the statements that he had made and that Dr. Goldmann had made were both in agreement. In response to a suggestion that a small committee be appointed to take steps in accordance with the position now adopted by the body, Dr. Silver indicated that the Executive Committee would be on call at a few hours' notice, and if members could remain in Washington, so much the better.

Meeting adjourned at 8:00 P.M.

A.L.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

August 7, 1946

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

PRESENT

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Gedalia Bublick, Mrs. Hava Cohen, Philip Cruso, Mrs. Benjamin Gottesman, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Emanuel Neumann, Alexander Pekelis, Mrs. A. P. Schoolman, Louis Segal, Jacques Torczyner.

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Mr. Tuvim, Mr. Manson, Mr. Neumann and Mr. Lourie reported on political contacts and developments in Washington during the last few days (report on file).

Following further reports on action in regard to the threatened deportation of Jewish refugees now arriving in considerable numbers in Haifa, a discussion took place on the possibility of the Palestine issue coming before the United Nations. A reference was made to the article that appeared the previous day by Sumner Welles and which contained an excellent analysis of the problem, but which urged that the most hopeful way of solving it was by placing it before the United Nations. In the course of the discussion, however, the danger was stressed that the matter might go on for years before the United Nations until a decision was reached. The United Nations is divided into four blocs; the Russian bloc -- with whom nothing much could be done at present; the British bloc; the Arab bloc -- which could be regarded either as part of the British Empire or separately; and the American bloc -- America and the Latin American Republics. Our only chance lay in a friendly representation at least on the part of the American bloc, and it was therefore urged that we should take steps to secure the help of prominent counsel -- international lawyers who should begin to work up and document a case for the purpose of presentation, not to the United Nations as a whole, but to the American representatives in the United Nations.

Dr. Silver concluded the discussion by stating that his feeling had always been that the wider we extend the area of interest in our cause, the stronger will become our position. Up to a year ago, we had felt that our entire salvation lay exclusively with the British and that line had failed. During the last few years we have tried to make an effort to bring America more effectively into the picture, but our destiny was not entirely wrapped up with Great Britain and the United States. It was a world problem and would ultimately have to find a world solution. In building up greater strength on the world stage, it was necessary for us to secure a positive attitude on the part of the United States and also to get a substantial number of the small states of South America and other parts of the world to give us their support.

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Dr. Goldmann, having arrived, he proceeded to supplement Dr. Silver's report. The Resolution had been the result of a lengthy debate over two and one-half days. It was concurred in by all three members of the Mizrahi and was a tragic decision taken in what was regarded as a desperate situation. Mr. Shmorak, who had been the sole member of the Executive to vote against the Resolution, indicated that he would prefer to negotiate on the basis of the Grady report rather than to support the division of Palestine into two separate states. In addition to the members of the Executive, there were present at the meeting the following non-members: Mrs. Gellman, Hayim Greenberg, Mr. Kirschner of South Africa, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mrs. Halprin and Mrs. Epstein. Of these all except Dr. Goldstein had voted in favor of the Resolution, Dr. Goldstein indicating that, as a representative of the Z.O.A. which had gone on record against partition, he was unable to support the Resolution.

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Dr. Silver concluded the discussion by suggesting that it might be possible to come to an agreement without biting into the real issue at the moment. He was prepared to pay a large price for a real Jewish State in Palestine, but he did not think that we could get it at this time. Consequently, he would personally favor any scheme which would allow us to build up additional strength in Palestine towards such a time as we would be prepared to make final decisions. Following that very line, he had felt our first effort with our friends in Washington should be to press for the implementation of the short-range recommendations in the Report -- the 100,000 additional immigration, removal of land restrictions and to seek to carry on until we emerged from the terrible situation in which we found ourselves at the moment, in which all the cards seemed to be stacked against us.

At the same time, Dr. Silver continued, there was a World Zionist Executive which, while it did not have plenary powers, had been entrusted by the movement with some responsibility. This body met in Paris and deliberated very earnestly on this subject. He was sure all the arguments which we are likely to make here were made there. And they came to the conclusion, including our own American representatives there from all parties, members of this Emergency Council, that, as he interpreted the Resolution, the idea of partition is not excluded from consideration as a possible solution of the problem. Their action was a radical departure nor was it similar to what took place at the Zionist Congress in 1937. There the Zionist Congress was confronted by a proposal for partition on the part of the British Government, and the Congress was divided as to whether they should

consider it or not. And after a long fight, the Congress decided that we should take that as a basis for discussion, and not reject it.

At the moment, we are faced with no proposal for partition at all, and it was not very clear why this Resolution was adopted altogether at this juncture. He interpreted the Resolution to mean that if, as a result of negotiations now going on, such a proposal will emerge to us, that we will not out-of-hand reject it, but, on the contrary, the Executive is prepared to discuss a proposal for the establishment of a viable Jewish State in an adequate portion of Palestine. If his reasoning was correct, then we do not have to fight about it. We press for that for which we have been pressing all along. If there comes to us a proposal for partition, we will sit down with those people and discuss it, and if the proposal is satisfactory, we will take the proposal back to the Executive or to another competent body for action. This is not a mandate to Dr. Goldmann or to Dr. Silver or to the Council to go to the President of the United States or to Mr. Acheson or to anybody else and say that the Jewish Agency Executive is in favor of partition and we want to press for it.

This is the way he would interpret the statement. Now, if this line of reasoning is a correct one, and he could not say that it was because he was not in Paris -- that was what Dr. Goldmann would have tell us -- if that was correct, then we were all in agreement and we should wait and see what develops from these negotiations. If a proposal emanates Dr. Goldmann or he would be called in and asked whether we are prepared to consider the proposal of partition.

Dr. Goldmann said that he thought this summation of the situation at the moment was correct. We will have to wait and see what the Committee of nine will decide. The Committee had not yet finished. When they decide, at that time we may be called in and asked: "The Government wants to help you. What do you suggest that we do?" and therefore the situation at this moment, as Dr. Silver had summed it up, was correct for the situation as it presents itself. It may change in a day or two, or maybe a week or two when the Cabinet Committee will decide and when the President will be ready to make up his mind, and so on.

He would be in contact with the Executive anyhow and would convey to them the summing up of Dr. Silver and, if necessary, the Executive would decide what would have to be done. He had at once cabled to Dr. Silver when it was decided that he come here, that they meet in New York and Washington, and, naturally, everybody was interested to maintain as large a united front as possible.

At this moment he did not think that there is any need for a divergence of opinion because we have to wait for the first stage of discussions.

The Executive reserves the right to negotiate with all Governments including the American, but naturally the Executive would negotiate jointly with a member of the Council. In answer to a question, Dr. Goldmann added that no approaches were being made to the Government in London.

Dr. Silver concluded by saying that the statements that he had made and that Dr. Goldmann had made were both in agreement. In response to a suggestion that a small committee be appointed to take steps in accordance with the position now adopted by the body, Dr. Silver indicated that the Executive Committee would be on call at a few hours' notice, and if members could remain in Washington, so much the better.

Meeting adjourned at 8:00 P.M.

A.L.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

August 26, 1946

A special meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held on Monday, August 26, at 4:00 P. M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Gedalia Bublick, Philip Cruso, Mrs. Samuel W. Halprin, Herman Hollander, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Mrs. A. P. Schooman, Mrs. Herman Shulman, David Wertheim.

I. B. Berkson, Rabbi Leon I. Feuer, Daniel Frisch, Yale Goldberg, Rabbi Irving Miller, Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt, Leo Sack, Abraham Tulin.

Benjamin Akzin, Gerold Frank, Arnold K. Isreeli, Harold P. Manson, Moshe Perlmann, Harry L. Shapiro, Joseph P. Sternstein, Abraham Tuvim; Eliahu Epstein.

PURPOSE OF MEETING

Dr. Silver stated that the meeting had been called for the purpose of discussing several items which required action, and that a discussion of the entire political situation would be held this evening at the plenary meeting of the Emergency Council.

MEETINGS ON AUGUST 31, 1946

Judge Rosenblatt stated that while the original plan called for meetings on a national scale, it was, after discussion with Messrs. Shapiro and Tuvim, not found to be very practicable, and, therefore, it was decided to keep them on a local level. August 31 is the anniversary of the request made by President Truman for the admission of the 100,000 and the meetings will emphasize the obligations of the American Government in persuading the British to accede to its request. The record of the Administration will be reviewed and we will bring to the attention of the American people the need for the Administration to carry through the policies to which it is committed.

Mr. Tuvim reported that at present there are approximately thirty meetings set up to take place in various cities. The following directive has been sent by the Council to the Committees in these cities:

"RECENT DEVELOPMENTS INDICATED BY PRESS REPORTS MAKE IT IMPERATIVE THAT ADMINISTRATION BE BROUGHT BACK TO A REALIZATION OF ITS RESPONSIBILITY FOR MAINTAINING AMERICAN POLICY TOWARD PALESTINE AS ESTABLISHED BY CONGRESS RESOLUTION, POSITIVE RECOMMENDATIONS OF ANGLO-AMERICAN COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY AS PUBLICLY APPROVED BY THE PRESIDENT AND SUBSEQUENT STATEMENTS OF PRESIDENT RE 100,000.

"PRESENT INCLINATION TO LEAVE SOLUTION OF PALESTINE PROBLEM IN HANDS OF THE BRITISH INIMICAL TO OUR BEST INTERESTS AND AT VARIANCE WITH AMERICAN POLICY. THESE THINGS SHOULD BE POINTED OUT AT YOUR MEETING ON AUGUST 31. MATERIAL BEING SENT YOU TO BRIEF YOUR SPEAKERS. PLEASE DO ALL YOU CAN INSURE SUCCESSFUL MEETING AND IMPRESS UPON DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL LEADERS THAT WE CONTINUE TO LOOK TO THEM FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF THEIR SPOKEN AND WRITTEN PLEDGES WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO PLANK ON PALESTINE IN DEMOCRATIC PARTY PLATFORM."

It was decided, should money be available, that it would be advisable to publicize the meetings and to place a very impressive statement in a few of the very important newspapers.

In response to a question, Dr. Silver stated that it is very likely that we may hold a press conference, but that we will be in a better position to decide upon it after this evening's meeting.

EIGHTEEN CONDEMNED YOUTHS IN PALESTINE

Dr. Silver stated that he had received a cable from the parents of the eighteen condemned youths in which he was requested to exert all his efforts in seeing that the execution sentences are not carried out.

An effort was made to find out in what way we could be helpful. In view of that fact that there were many Jewish delegations going to Washington regarding the matter, it was Judge Rifkind's advice that a telegram to the President signed by prominent people would be more effective. Accordingly, the following wire, signed by Manchester Boddy, Rabbi David de Sola Pool, Prof. Albert Einstein, Dr. Alvin S. Johnson, Herbert H. Lehman, Dr. Francis E. McMahon, Henry Monsky, Senator Francis J. Myers, Judge Samuel Rifkind, Dr. Guy Emery Shipler, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, David I. Walsh, Senator Robert F. Wagner and Dr. Daniel Poling, was sent to the President on August 23:

"WE HAVE NOTED WITH DEEP APPREHENSION THE DEATH SENTENCES IMPOSED UPON YOUTHS IN PALESTINE BY A BRITISH MILITARY COURT FOR AN ATTACK ON THE HAIFA RAILWAY WORKSHOPS ON JUNE 17TH. THE MILITARY MEN WHO ACTED AS JUDGES IN THIS CASE UNDOUBTEDLY INTENDED TO ESTABLISH A PRECEDENT BY DEMONSTRATING TO THE JEWS OF PALESTINE THAT ACTS OF VIOLENCE WOULD BE PUNISHED BY MAXIMUM PENALTIES. WE ARE CONVINCED THAT THE REASONING OF THE COURT IS MISTAKEN AND THAT, RATHER THAN ACT AS A DETERRENT TO THE USE OF FORCE, THE EXECUTION OF THE DEATH PENALTY IN THE CASE OF THE 18 CONDEMNED YOUTHS WILL ACCENTUATE STRIFE BETWEEN BRITONS AND JEWS IN THE HOLY LAND. WE DO NOT SEE AN END TO VIOLENCE IN PALESTINE IN THE DEATH OF 18 YOUNG MEN WHO HAVE BEEN DRIVEN TO ACTS OF DESPERATION. WE SEE RATHER THE SEEDS OF NEW CONFLICTS AND NEW TENSIONS THAT WILL PRODUCE AN EVEN MORE EXPLOSIVE SITUATION. THE EXECUTION OF THESE YOUTHS WOULD INSURE THEIR MARTYRDOM AND THEIR MARTYRDOM WOULD RESULT IN INCREASED VIOLENCE. FOR THESE REASONS AND IN THE INTEREST OF THE RESTORATION OF PEACE AND TRANQUILITY TO A TROUBLED WORLD WE URGE YOU, MR. PRESIDENT, TO USE YOUR GOOD OFFICES TO BRING ABOUT THE COMMUTATION OF THESE DEATH SENTENCES. WE BELIEVE THAT WE VOICE THE SENTIMENTS OF THE MAJORITY OF AMERICANS IN MAKING THIS REQUEST. PEACE WILL COME TO PALESTINE, NOT BY THE EXECUTION OF SUCH YOUTHS, BUT BY THE REMOVAL OF THE INJUSTICES WHICH ARE CAUSING STRIFE IN THE HOLY LAND."

Mention was made of the fact that Hadassah and Mizrachi, who had also received cables from the parents of the condemned youth, are wiring Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt and the British High Commissioner, respectively.

APPLICATION OF UNITED ZIONISTS-REVISIONISTS OF AMERICA

A letter, dated August 1, from the United Zionists-Revisionists of America and addressed to Dr. Silver, was read (on file). It contained the request that inasmuch as the United Zionists-Revisionists of America is a part of the World Zionist Organization and had participated in the elections to the 22nd World Zionist Congress, it be appropriately represented on the Emergency Council.

After a general discussion, it was decided to advise the United Zionists-Revisionists of America that, in accordance with the By-Laws of the American Zionist Emergency Council, two weeks' notice must be given to present membership prior to accepting or rejecting the application and that the request will be acted upon at a meeting to be held two weeks from this date.

MRS. HERMAN SHULMAN

Dr. Silver welcomed Mrs. Shulman who has just returned from a visit in Palestine. Mrs. Shulman felt that it was a tremendous experience to have been in Palestine and she was quite enthused about the morale of the Yishuv. The young people in the frontier places are doing a heroic job in holding the front and are, at the same time, accomplishing the necessary daily work in advancing the progress of the Yishuv. Mrs. Shulman was further of the opinion that a fair partition proposal, encompassing a Jewish State, would be most heartily accepted by all the Yishuv.

POLITICAL SITUATION

In response to a question, Dr. Silver stated that rather than discuss the political situation at this meeting, it would be advisable to wait until this evening when we will receive a report on what has taken place in Paris and in Washington. We will then be in a position to crystallize any ideas that may be put forward tonight and take the necessary action. Enough has accumulated in the last few weeks for a plenum meeting. If we are unable to accomplish anything constructive this evening we will call another meeting of the Executive during the week in order to work out any necessary plans.

Meeting adjourned at 5:00 P.M.

H.L.S.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

September 10, 1946

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held on Tuesday, September 10, at 3:30 P.M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Gedalia Bublick, Philip Cruso, Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, Israel Goldstein, Mrs. Samuel W. Halprin, Herman Hollander, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Louis Lipsky, Emanuel Neumann, Mrs. David de Sola Pool, Mrs. A. P. Schoolman, Louis Segal, David Wertheim, Dr. Stephen S. Wise.

I. B. Berkson, Jacob Dostrovsky, Simon Federbush, Daniel Frisch, Paul J. Geiser, Milton Handler, Siegfried Hoofien, Isaiah L. Kenen, Sidney Marks, Rabbi Irving Miller, Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt, Abraham Tulin, Mrs. Stephen S. Wise.

Benjamin Akzin, Gerold Frank, Arnold K. Isreeli, Arthur Lourie, Harold P. Manson, Moshe Perlmann, Harry L. Shapiro, Joseph P. Sternstein, Abraham Tuvim.

APPLICATION OF UNITED ZIONISTS-REVISIONISTS OF AMERICA

Dr. Silver referred to the decision at the previous meeting to defer for two weeks action on the application of the United Zionists-Revisionists of America for membership in the Council. In the interim, a cable had arrived from Paris which had been transmitted to us by the Jewish Agency Office in New York, as follows:

"PLEASE TRANSMIT EMERGENCY COUNCIL AND OTHER PARTIES FOLLOWING DECISION TAKEN AT PARIS MEETING EXECUTIVE AUGUST SIXTEENTH QUOTE IT WAS RESOLVED THAT WHILE WELCOMING THE RETURN OF THE REVISIONISTS TO THE ZIONIST ORGANIZATION AND THEIR PARTICIPATION IN THE FORTHCOMING CONGRESS NO MEMBER OF OR BODY AFFILIATED TO THE SO CALLED NEW ZIONIST ORGANIZATION CAN AT THE SAME TIME BE MEMBER OF OR AFFILIATED TO ANY ZIONIST FEDERATION OR GROUP THROUGHOUT THE WORLD THE APPLICATION OF THE UNITED REVISIONIST PARTY FOR MEMBERSHIP OF THE ZIONIST ORGANIZATION CANNOT BE ACCEPTED UNLESS AND UNTIL THAT PARTY AND ITS MEMBERS INDIVIDUALLY WHO WERE CONNECTED WITH THE NEW ZIONIST ORGANIZATION DECLARE CLEARLY AND FORMALLY THAT THEY HAVE SEVERED THEIR CONNECTION WITH THAT ORGANIZATION AND HAVE DISCONTINUED TO SUPPORT ITS ACTIVITIES AND FUNDS UNQUOTE

BENGURION"

A discussion followed on the present constitutional relationship between the Revisionist Organization and the World Zionist Organization, and it was finally resolved that in the light of the instructions received from the Executive

of the Jewish Agency action on the request of the United Zionists-Revisionists of America be postponed until after the forthcoming meeting of the World Zionist Congress.

RESOLUTION VOTED BY THE EXECUTIVE OF THE JEWISH AGENCY AT ITS MEETING IN PARIS

A copy of a Resolution voted by the Executive of the Jewish Agency at its last meeting in Paris and transmitted to Dr. Silver by Mr. Eliahu Epstein was read and is as follows:

"It was decided to send a delegation of two or three members of the Executive to America with a view of bringing about closer cooperation between the Committee of Eight and the Emergency Council."

"The following directives were adopted for guidance of the delegation:

"In accordance with the decision adopted in London in August 1945, the Committee of Eight is charged with the carrying out in the United States of the policy of the Jewish Agency Executive, and is responsible for it. If in the course of activities an approach to the United States Government is necessary, both the Committee of Eight and the Emergency Council should participate in such talks. In case of disagreement between itself and the Emergency Council, the Committee of Eight has the right to decide.

"All Public Relations work, with regard to the American scene, is within the exclusive jurisdiction of the Emergency Council.

"All contacts with the UN and representatives in the United States of other governments, and all public relations work with regard to the UN is within the exclusive jurisdiction of the Committee of Eight.

"If the said delegation should not materialize, the above directives should remain binding on the Committee of Eight until the next Congress."

Mr. Shapiro stated that the Emergency Council had never received notice of this Resolution.

Dr. Silver said that certainly the Committee of Eight was appointed to look after the affairs of the Jewish Agency in America but what the affairs of the Jewish Agency should be was not defined. He felt that this body was being restricted to public relations and that was not originally intended. It had been organized to do all the work on the American scene for the Jewish Agency and for the Zionist Organizations. We would, however, have to wait until the Congress meets to bring up these matters. He personally found unacceptable the entire position on which this Resolution was based.

Mr. Lipsky felt that the matter could not be disposed of on the basis of these Resolutions though, at the same time, he pointed out, the statutes of the World Organization give the right to the Executive of the Jewish Agency to carry on political work throughout the world. He agreed that the matter would have to be given fundamental reconsideration at the next Congress.

The following Resolution, passed by the Zionist Organization of America at a meeting of the Executive Committee, was read for the information of the Council:

"The unfortunate incidents attendant upon recent negotiations conducted in Washington, as reported to this Executive Committee, render more urgent than ever an immediate reorganization to eliminate once and for all duplication and divergence of effort between the American Zionist Emergency Council and representatives of the Jewish Agency for Palestine.

"We therefore not only associate ourselves completely with the demand expressed by the Executive Committee of the Emergency Council for thoroughgoing consolidation and unification in the sphere of political action in this country, but we declare that such a reorganization must be carried out without further delay to avoid further embarrassment and jeopardy to the Zionist cause. Failing such a reorganization which will ensure unified and centralized direction of political action on the American scene, the Zionist Organization of America will have no choice but to relieve itself of any further responsibility for the existing dangerous and indefensible situation by withdrawing from the American Zionist Emergency Council."

Dr. Silver indicated that for the time being the Emergency Council had withdrawn from the Washington scene and had left the field to the Jewish Agency, and suggested that no good will come from further discussion of the issue, at this time.

REPORT BY MR. LIPSKY ON PARIS MEETING OF JEWISH AGENCY

Mr. Lipsky stated that prior to the Paris meeting some of them had visited Dr. Weizmann in London to clarify the situation with him as it was not possible for him to go to Paris. They had reached London at the time that the Grady Commission was still sitting there. In this connection, Mr. Lipsky paid a tribute to the help given by Colonel Bernstein. While they were there, the White Paper was issued, associating the Jewish Agency with the terrorism in Palestine. It had made a tremendous impression there and English Zionists found themselves subjected to a barrage of attacks in all the newspapers, blaming them for the terrorism.

In Paris a number of Palestinian members of the Executive -- Shmorak, Fishman, Dobkin, Sneh and Mrs. Myerson -- were present despite fears that they might not be able to get away. Mrs. Myerson, who is acting as Head of the Political Department in the absence of Shertok, had contributed greatly to the discussions.

Mr. Lipsky went on to say that over here we underestimate certain things. We are living in a free world, where the press is free and all currents of life can express themselves, whereas, over there, there is not exactly a feeling of freedom. He added that a good deal of hesitation has developed with regard to the whole question of the resistance.

The position of the Jewish Agency in relation to the Government -- the sense of exclusion, of having no dealings or status with the Government -- was an important one. There was a feeling on the part of everyone that some means must be found of access to the Government and of restoring the position of the Agency. The attack launched upon the Agency had left the British with the feeling that they could do anything they wanted. On the larger issue of British-Jewish relations, Dr. Weizmann and Mr. Ben-Gurion were in essence of agreement that a new chapter had been reached and the continuation of British rule over Jews in Palestine could

not continue. England had shown a capacity for ruthlessness which had never been expected, and from the point of view of Dr. Weizmann, Mr. Ben-Gurion and a large number of the Executive who were there a new situation had to be created, the only approach to which was the projection of the idea of a Jewish State in part of Palestine. The proposal had been that someone representing the Executive should go to Washington to see whether the American Government could not be induced to propose the Agency's plan. The impression was that Dr. Goldmann's instructions were that he should cooperate with Dr. Silver. How he was to cooperate was left to his own discretion.

Following Dr. Goldmann's return, he had seen Mr. Bevin with whom he had had a remarkably frank talk. Bevin seemed anxious to find a way out and had given the impression that he was open-minded with regard to the idea of a Jewish and an Arab State in Palestine. He apparently was not in favor of the proposed conference with Arabs and Jews which was insisted on, however, by the Colonial Office. At the same time, it was agreed that informal discussions should continue with the Jewish Agency in the hope of arriving at an understanding.

Mr. Lipsky referred to the exchange of letters between the Jewish Agency and the Colonial Secretary with reference to the conference (attached herewith). In discussing the Agency proposal he stated that this was not a voluntary act on the part of the Executive of the Jewish Agency -- we were under the pressure of Jewish needs and of politically unsatisfactory conditions, and we were therefore prepared to consider this question which involved the establishment of a viable Jewish State in an adequate portion of Palestine with the proviso that the hundred thousand be admitted into Palestine immediately and that we be given full autonomous authority in the territory assigned. The letter ended with the statement that unless these conditions were fulfilled, we could not attend the meeting -- a phrase which was changed in London to the more positive form, "if these conditions are met we are ready to go." Dr. Weizmann signed the letter and it was delivered. Hall then made the letters public.

Mr. Lipsky felt that the Jewish Agency had acted in the wisest way possible under the conditions. The effect of what has been done is already favorable in that the Jewish Agency now stands again as the unassailed and authoritative representative of the Jews of the world. It has restored the Jewish Agency to a position of respect and authority. The Agency appears, further, as being reasonable and practical, working, not in the air, but for something tangible.

During the entire proceedings there was the question as to what right the Executive had to make such a decision. The position is that if anything definite results before any ultimate decision is made by the Executive it must be submitted to the Actions Committee and finally to the Congress for final approval. There is not involved in this matter any usurpation of authority. By comparison with the gloom that prevailed at the beginning of the meeting in Paris, Mr. Lipsky added, we had the impression at the end that we had obtained a respite.

REPORT BY DR. STEPHEN S. WISE

The Executive had come together under the impact of grievous events. The impact of the King David tragedy was a very great one. It affected, not only England, but also our own people and raised anew the whole question with respect to non-cooperation with Britain -- a policy in favor of which there had been strong feeling. However, that was a matter of policy on which decision would be taken by the Actions Committee.

Dr. Wise referred to the early and necessary warning which had apparently been received in advance with regard to the character of the Grady plan, which had made possible timely action with the American Government. In this connection he also referred to two cables which he had sent to the President, urging rejection of the report.

Dr. Wise went on to say that it was one of the saddest moments of his life when the question of partition arose at the Paris meeting. There had been a full discussion and one of the most moving statements was made by Rabbi Fishman who, Dr. Wise has come to feel, is a very great spiritual person. He gave a clear statement of everything that could be said against partition -- then he spoke about the refugees. There were tears in the eyes of those present when he finally said, supporting the proposal, that "they must not be permitted to die in the European countries -- they must be free to come to Eretz Yisroel."

Dr. Wise then referred to his own statement at the meeting of the Executive. He said that he (and also Dr. Silver) had been one of those who were privileged to stand beside Ussishkin and oppose partition in 1937. It was conceivable, a tragic possibility, that if all of us had supported partition at that time we would have had a State and we could have permitted hundreds of thousands of Jews to enter into Palestine.

We are not free. The circumstances are such that he felt we must change our viewpoint and accept a viable State in an adequate area. Referring to the Negev, he said that the best informed among us felt that it had immense possibilities.

Mr. Hall was insistent in his desire to see Dr. Weizmann. Finally it was agreed that Dr. Weizmann should send a letter to Mr. Hall, suggesting that there be a meeting of a few of us with him. At that meeting there were present Mr. Hall and four of his assistants, Dr. Weizmann, Dr. Goldmann, Dr. Wise and Mr. Linton. Dr. Weizmann, who is still far from well, made a fine statement, but Mr. Hall was no help and the meeting was without result.

Dr. Goldmann, Dr. Wise and Mr. Locker subsequently saw Bevin (this was after Dr. Goldmann's initial conversation with him). At that meeting the Foreign Secretary opened by saying, in regard to the Agency letter, "Gentlemen, this letter of yours might have been written by a victorious nation to a defeated enemy." He said, further, that if he were to submit this letter to the House of Commons it would be rejected by a unanimous vote.

They met with Bevin again the following day and again four days later. Mr. Bevin seemed readier to go along with us on the three conditions than did Mr. Hall. Dr. Wise did not feel, of course, that Mr. Bevin wanted a solution which, so far as we are concerned, might be the solution. But whatever might be said about Mr. Bevin, he had no doubt that he was anxious to achieve a settlement and would go further than, for example, his experts, Mr. Beeley or Sir Douglas Harris.

Dr. Wise and others subsequently returned to London to see Dr. Weizmann again and to ensure a united reply to the British invitation. In this connection, Dr. Wise wished to state that the strongest kind of a plea was made by Dr. Goldmann to Dr. Weizmann. The reply which had been drafted in Paris was, with a few minor changes, accepted by Dr. Weizmann and signed.

Dr. Wise mentioned in connection with the conversations that profound resentment was expressed by British representatives against the attitude of the President.

Dr. Silver felt that the two reports delivered this evening and the two delivered at the last meeting had given us an excellent picture of what had transpired in Paris. No purpose would be served to go into any lengthy discussion at the moment. His own position has been made amply clear. He did not regard the Agency's action wise, and the manner in which it was carried out in Washington was most unfortunate. The important point on which we would like comments at this time from the body and helpful suggestions is on what we are to do now. It is clear that as of the moment the entire demarche of the Agency has been a failure. The American Government did not advance the partition proposal as its own, and the British Government has refused to accept it as a basis of discussion. As to our own position, whether we like it or not, we have to recognize it as a fact that the partition proposal has been put forward officially in the name of the movement and, once made, there is no way at the moment for us to go behind or around it. If we are to continue to carry on any political work in Washington we cannot ignore these official proposals made by the Jewish Agency. They are now the maximum that we can ask for and the minimum that we can accept. We must fight hard to make sure that we at least get that which has now been asked for, and it will not be easy.

To get that much now we have a very difficult fight ahead of us, both in England and in America. It is possible that the deciding factor in the situation will be the United States. If we can bring sufficient pressure on the American Government to put itself energetically and affirmatively behind the proposal which it is reported to have approved, we might get this minimum. The Government must press at least for that which it has endorsed. How are we going to bring pressure on our Government? He reminded the Committee that we could not get our Government to press for the hundred thousand in a serious way, and there is every indication that it will not exert itself in this instance either. There is one thing that can be done. Referring to the political situation, Dr. Silver indicated that the next weeks were critical, and that it was fundamental that the Jews in political action should be united, otherwise we will simply throw away the last weapon that we have and we will emerge from London even without a decent partition. If the Council thought the situation critical enough to justify this action, it must so decide. It must authorize its officers to carry on this activity throughout the country.

Mr. Tulin agreed that it was necessary to make clear at once to the State Department that the Jews were united in support of the Agency. He stated that at a meeting which he and Mr. Handler had had with Mr. Acheson, it was his impression that Mr. Acheson felt that the American Zionist Emergency Council was opposed to the scheme proposed by the Agency. It was also Mr. Tulin's impression that one of the reasons why the American Government forwarded this proposal as that of the Agency with a statement of the approval of the American Government, and did not put it in stronger form was because of the division which it was felt existed in the Zionist movement. He felt it to be essential now to take immediate further steps with the American Government to try to get that Government to do more than it has done with regard to this proposal. It is a matter of the utmost urgency and we should send our representatives to Washington immediately authorized to stand solidly behind the plan of the Jewish Agency and request that the American Government do more about it than it has done heretofore.

Mr. Handler felt that no doubt many of the suggestions that will be made for action will evoke a very natural difference of opinion. That urged by Mr. Tulin was not, however, inconsistent with any other action which the Council could take. We may not gain very much, but we should leave no stone unturned. Mr. Acheson was perfectly clear that they had gotten to the position where this was an insoluble problem — they had done everything they could and could do nothing now. However, the Agency proposal had interested them keenly and given a ray of hope.

Dr. Goldstein felt that there was a better chance of securing the agreement of the British Government to the Jewish State idea proposed by the Agency than to the recommendation for the entry of the 100,000 by itself; he was in agreement with Mr. Tulin in his view that what has been troubling the American Government is the rift that they feel there is in the Zionist movement. In fact, when Dr. Goldmann had conferred with Mr. Acheson, he was asked by him "what about the other groups?" And Dr. Goldmann had indicated that he believed it would have the approval of the Zionists of America. It is important that we have this agreement throughout the Zionist movement and that we back up the Jewish Agency proposal to the fullest extent. With reference to the suggestion about political action, Dr. Goldstein agreed with Dr. Silver that this cannot brook postponement. Our unanimous stand must be made clear to the Government and it is urgent that we commence as soon possible on the line of action suggested by Dr. Silver.

Judge Rosenblatt was concerned lest a bi-nationalist solution be projected at the London meetings. We must therefore back up the Agency at once. On the question of political action, he pointed out that the Palestine problem was an American problem -- President Truman had made it an American problem on August 31, 1945, quite apart from the Anglo-American Convention of 1924, etc. Our action is justified on the highest grounds and if we are determined we will be able to carry it through.

Mr. Bublick stated that this -- political pressure -- is the only weapon in our hands. It is more necessary than ever before. It is not a question of a Jew in office -- the question of Palestine is a bigger question for us. We must educate the Jewish public as to what is at stake, and make clear to them that the American Government did not keep its promise to Zionism.

Mr. Segal felt that we should go the full way -- make clear our policy in support of the Jewish State as proposed by the Agency and begin the organization of the masses in America for political action.

Mr. Neumann felt that he could not go on record with regard to the major Zionist political issue involved -- that of partition -- since at a meeting of the Executive of the Zionist Organization of America, that Organization had taken a certain position. The Chairman had suggested that the action taken by the Jewish Agency represents an act which was politically irrevocable and that full responsibility for this action rest with the Executive. There is nothing else, therefore, that we can do in Washington in relation to the Government except to press them to do more than they have done hitherto. The question is now, how do we step into the picture? Have we been asked to step into the picture now? Won't this be regarded as interference? We do not even know clearly what the position of the Government actually is. We should have some exploratory conversations before taking any action.

Rabbi Kirshblum felt that if we were opposed to that which occurred at the Paris meeting then we have no right to step into the picture and do anything. Most of those people with whom he was in touch in Palestine were very unhappy at the action of the Paris meeting. He did not see how the Mizrachi could allow the Emergency Council to go on record in favor of partition.

Dr. Wise stated that in view of the Executive decision in Paris, we had the right to take any action deemed advisable in its support.

Mrs. Schoolman had no great confidence in Great Britain. She criticized the notion that our action be based on getting what we can out of Britain at the moment. If we put ourselves on record in favor of partition and then get the kind

of partition comprising 1800 square miles that would be unwise. On the other hand, if we do not go on record as supporting the partition proposal we are still a potent force.

Mrs. Pool felt that while she was against endorsing the Paris Resolution, we should not stay away from Washington. At the same time, we must not suggest there is any difference between us and the Executive.

Mrs. Halprin indicated that the Hadassah members present were speaking each on her own behalf and not on behalf of Hadassah as a body. If people are sent down to Washington they must be told what is wanted. The Jewish Agency has made a proposal, and those going to Washington must push that proposal. She emphasized that the Agency Executive was at its lowest ebb in Paris. It is now back in full strength again and as a result of the action taken the Jewish and the non-Jewish world has once more recognized the responsibility of the Jewish Agency. On the question of political mobilization -- she felt that was a most dangerous idea. She herself would not vote for a Republican if she felt it was not wise to have Republican philosophy. It is a card which you may have up your sleeve to be used only as a last resort. The question of political action should go back to the organizations.

Dr. Silver stated that unless they go to Washington knowing that the whole proposition must be backed up with a technique that would mean success, they would be making fools of themselves and of the movement. If we do not go there with this minimum, then it is wisest to keep away from Washington. Only as they feel the pinch from their political henchmen throughout the country will they attempt to do any more about the proposal. We will have to say that the Agency, under certain pressures, was compelled to make a great sacrifice. The decision of the Agency is binding upon the movement. What is the American Government going to do to push it through?

Mr. Tulin interjected that, as he understood it, if certain steps should be authorized in regard to political action then Dr. Silver will go immediately to the American Government.

Dr. Silver was of the opinion that the Agency had made an error in urging partition, still we must get our Government to throw its resources behind it since it had approved of it. We are going to make the major effort of our career to see that the Government is prepared to back up the Agency's proposal by action. But, this body must be willing to use the political technique to demand of our Government that it carry out that which it has approved. Otherwise, we must forego the whole idea. It was proposed to have meetings organized like those on August 31.

Mr. Tuvim felt that many of our Jewish people are ready to go further than we would lead them. Mr. Tuvim had that day received fifteen telephone calls from various Zionists in the city asking what our plans are now and urging further action in the light of the August 31 meetings, which meetings were held to call to the attention of the Truman Administration the fact that nothing has been done on President Truman's request for the hundred thousand. We are not telling them not to vote the Democratic ticket; but are asking them to bring pressure to bear on their local political leaders so that the sentiment of the individual can go up the line. We were, in fact, not moving fast enough to suit the Jewish people.

Dr. Silver felt that these demonstrations and meetings all over the country have already registered and if carried on systematically for two or three weeks we will find ourselves invited and will not have to seek an invitation.

Mr. Lipsky stated that the Chairman had outlined a plan and he believed that on that plan there is no serious difference of opinion. If it is carried out in the fashion indicated by Mr. Tuvim there is no serious objection. It is not necessary that this body should take up a formal position in support of a Jewish State in a part of Palestine. It is supporting a proposal advanced by the Jewish Agency because we are loyal Zionists bound by the decision of the Jewish Agency.

Dr. Silver stated that we had also supported the 100,000, even though that was not our idea of what our policy should be.

Dr. Silver felt that we should agree on technique. We will do the best we can to implement the decision. But we must agree on a procedure and technique. Our agreement should be on a total program and if there is a general understanding that this is what we want to do -- to bring maximum pressure on the Administration to urge it to carry out that to which it stands committed -- we would use such instrumentality as we have here to bring that pressure on the Administration.

Mr. Hollander felt that it was not necessary officially to pin down any party as upholding the partition plan. Regarding political action, he felt that our negotiators should have the freedom of action to speak in the freest tones.

Mr. Neumann stated that he believed that if the British Government came forward with a decent partition proposal, the largest part of the movement would probably accept it. But what he was concerned about was the question of procedure. We are not concerned with the question of internal politics, but with what was likely to happen to the Zionist cause. Having put forward a compromise proposal we may be driven step by step to worse compromises. We could say to our Government that, in principle, a large part of the Zionist movement in America was opposed to partition, but the World Executive of the Zionist movement had made this great sacrifice and we feel we must abide by their decision. There can be no recession beyond this minimum and failing this, we must return to the position expressed by the Congress and the Presidents of the United States.

Dr. Silver stated that if there is disagreement regarding the second part of the proposition -- political action -- then he would be against the first part -- regarding the approach to Washington -- and could do nothing to carry it out. The Democratic Party must be warned and made to feel that the Jews of America are dissatisfied with the lack of action. We will do it through various ways. Through publicity, such as the statement that appeared in the Herald Tribune on August 31. We will try to get the Yiddish press to write appropriate editorials. The Administration has now come out in favor of partition -- but what is it doing? -- what did the Administration do effectively on the 100,000? The resentment of people on these issues must be made articulate. If this body is not prepared to do that then we should do nothing.

Mr. Handler stated that we are using our very last weapon and it is highly desirable that we know how far we are going to go and how much backing we are going to have rather than to meet with surprises later on. If what is suggested is unsuccessful then there will come a time for a decision. Is it proposed then to take action on these threats?

Dr. Silver stated that that will be decided upon the basis of the facts as they will appear in a month's time.

Dr. Wise asked the Chairman whether he did not feel that we should go to

the four parties and have an expression on the question of support of the decision of the Agency.

Dr. Silver stated that in the light of what he had said he felt that was not necessary and that some of the parties would not approve of the action of the Agency. He urged that we proceed along the lines indicated without asking for formal approval of the Agency's action.

Dr. Wise further suggested that with reference to the matter of political action, before we make a commitment which may bring grievous division in Jewish life in America, it would be desirable to go to the four parties and ask them how they feel. If the four parties say yes, he would go along and sacrifice his own convictions. This is a tremendous commitment and we should submit this matter of political action, with its imperilling involvement, to the four parties.

Dr. Silver stated that he had no objection to submitting this matter to the parties. He emphasized that what he was advocating was not that the Emergency Council should align itself with the Republican Party in the next campaign. He was urging that during the next few weeks we should organize Jews of America into a strong action of protest against the inaction of our Government vis-a-vis our case -- to bring home to the political leaders that the Jews are dissatisfied with the Administration. If, at this psychological moment, we cannot use this instrument of public relations then we should dissolve.

Dr. Wise stated that if we go into this campaign and fail, then it will be notice to the political leaders "don't bother with them."

Mr. Neumann stated that there are 850,000 Jewish voters in New York. In the past, the Democratic Party has had 95% of those votes. The Republicans know it but they do not expect that because of this issue of Palestine that all the Jews will flock to their banner. However, the shift of an appreciable percentage of votes will be an indication of a dangerous trend of which they will take note, even though it may not change their position immediately. All we have to do is for our leaders in the movement to withhold from the Democratic Party the public expressions of support which they have formerly come to count on from our people.

Dr. Silver stated that if this moral political pressure is effective during a period of three or four weeks, nothing more will be necessary. If not, then we will meet to discuss it again.

Meeting adjourned at 7:30 P.M.

(At Mrs. Schoolman's subsequent request, she is recorded as standing by the recommendation which she had made in her remarks above recorded.)

A. L.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

October 1, 1946

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held on Tuesday, October 1, at 4:00 P.M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Gedalia Bublick, Philip Cruso, Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, Mrs. Samuel W. Halprin, Herman Hollander, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Louis Lipsky, Emanuel Neumann, Mrs. David de Sola Pool, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Louis Segal, Mrs. Herman Shulman, Dr. Stephen S. Wise.

Rabbi Philip S. Bernstein, Milton Handler, Edmund I. Kaufmann, Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt, Leo Sack, Abraham Tulin.

Gerold Frank, Arthur Lourie, Harold P. Manson, Harry L. Shapiro, Benjamin Shwadran, Abraham Tuvim; Eliahu Epstein.

(Please note: roll call incomplete.)

BUDGET

Mr. Shapiro said that in the present circumstances, since he did not know what the situation was going to be with reference to the future of the organization, he was not in a position to prepare a budget and, instead, would ask the Executive to request of the Funds that until the World Zionist Congress, the Emergency Council should receive an allocation on a monthly basis at the same rate as it had received during the previous year. During that year, which ends on October 15, the budget had been \$623,038.000, but owing to the many exigencies that had arisen a further \$100,000 had been requested and granted. Out of a total budget of \$723,038.00, as of August 31, \$652,000 had been spent.

It was moved, seconded and approved that until after the Congress the Council continue to operate on a month-to-month budgetary basis at the same rate as during the previous year, that is to say, approximately \$60,000 per month.

INSTITUTE OF MIDDLE EASTERN STUDIES

A report was made on the Institute for Middle Eastern Studies which was in the process of being established in Washington. The Institute was to be under the direction of Dr. Halford Hoskins and it was clear from the names of those actively associated with him, as reported in the New York Times some months previously, that the Institute was likely to be a focal point for anti-Zionism.

It was moved and approved that a committee be appointed to look into the matter and to prepare recommendations for submission to the Council.

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY BICENTENARY CELEBRATIONS

It was reported that in connection with the Bicentenary celebrations of Princeton University, a number of important academic and scientific conferences

were to be held, including one on the Near East. This conference is to last three days, from March 25 to March 27, 1947, and is being organized by Professor Hitti. It was clear that Palestine, from a Jewish point of view, would have no place on the program and that the whole meeting would have a pro-Arab slant.

After discussion it was agreed that the Joint Chairmen write to the President of Princeton University, drawing his attention to the facts and urging that representation be given in the course of the Near East discussions to the Zionist point of view.

ZIONIST ACTIONS COMMITTEE (See also Political Action, page 3)

Judge Rosenblatt stated that a committee had been organized under the direction of Rabbi Kirshblum, Mr. Segal and himself for purposes of political action. A number of public meetings had been held, at which the line taken was that we had certain commitments from the Democratic Administration in Washington; that we hoped they would be fulfilled; we saw no reason for any delay, and they should be fulfilled now. The line of the committee had been to keep clear of alliances with either Democrats or Republicans; and so far as the three meetings which he had attended no one pursued a policy of bringing Republicans or Democrats as such into the forefront. He believed, however, that the action undertaken had had a healthy reverberation and, in particular, in Democratic headquarters. Inquiries had been addressed to him as to what the Administration could do to meet the Jews on the question of Palestine, and he had made it clear that if America would take a stand insisting -- perhaps, through a personal representative to be sent over to Europe -- that the moving of the 100,000 begin at once, that would provide a basis. He personally felt that it would be of the greatest consequence if, within the next few critical weeks, none of the prominent members of this Committee would participate actively in the political struggle one way or the other. There should be a united line of legitimate pressure upon the President on what was an American issue.

Rabbi Kirshblum and Mr. Segal supplemented with reports upon meetings that they had attended.

Mrs. Epstein inquired as to why representatives of Hadassah had not been invited to associate themselves with the group responsible for the advertisements which had appeared in the newspapers, and it was agreed that this matter be corrected for the future.

VISIT OF DR. WISE TO THE PRESIDENT

Dr. Wise stated that at the President's invitation he had seen Mr. Truman the previous week. He felt, however, that it was a matter which he would wish to report personally to Dr. Silver rather than to the entire body.

REPORT BY DR. BENJAMIN SHWADRAN

Dr. Shwadran had recently returned from Palestine. At the request of the Chairman he reported on the situation as he found it, including a graphic description of the destruction carried on in Dorothea and Ruhama during the searches. He concluded by stating that in spite of all that is going on in the country one could not notice in the street that there is anything wrong. Life flows on and economically there is continued growth and development (full report on file).

REPORT BY RABBI PHILIP S. BERNSTEIN

Rabbi Bernstein, who had been in Europe for the previous few months as Advisor on Jewish Affairs to the American Military Command, had returned home for a short visit and, at the request of the Chairman, made a brief report, in the course of which he pointed out that whereas when Judge Rifkind had laid down his responsibilities there were 100,000 Jewish displaced persons in Europe, that figure had now grown to substantially over 200,000. Rabbi Bernstein contrasted the attitude of the British and American armies, respectively, to the refugee problem and concluded by pointing out that there was not a single government in Europe with whom he had dealt that was ready to accept one Jew on a permanent basis. From his own experience he could assert that the basic Zionist case had been confirmed by everything that he saw (complete report on file).

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN LONDON AND PARIS

Mr. Lipsky reported on information which had reached the Jewish Agency with reference to the unofficial conversations which had been taking place with the British Government.

A discussion followed, in which criticism was expressed of the inadequacy of the information which was reaching the American Zionist leaders. It was agreed that the Joint Chairmen send a cable to the Executive abroad, indicating the imperative need for full reports on day-to-day developments.

POLITICAL ACTION

Dr. Silver said that the political situation in Washington at present was extremely black. The only way we can change the situation and persuade our Chief Executive and our State Department that something must be done during these critical weeks of negotiations now going on in London, is through the fortuitous and fortunate circumstances of the political situation which now prevails in the country; having taken that into consideration this body, it appeared to him, had adopted a position; we favor maximum political action to make the Administration aware of our disappointment, of our indignation and of our resentment. The advertisement which had appeared in the newspapers yesterday was a carrying out in one item of this program.

If the Committee did not approve of that then they ought to abandon the entire business of political action. If, within ten days or two weeks, some of our leaders were to come out and endorse this candidate or that candidate then, in justice to the rest of the Committee, they must let them know that and the Committee would have to abandon the line already adopted. That line did, however, offer a chance -- there was, of course, no guarantee -- that the Administration would bestir itself and do something real. As to what we are going to ask the Administration to do, that is also clear, and he was surprised that there had been confusion in the minds of some of those present. We are going to the Administration and saying to them: the Agency came to you some weeks ago with a proposal which you accepted as reasonable and fair and just; it was a proposal made by the Jewish Agency as a supreme sacrifice. Many of us didn't believe that that sacrifice was called for or should be made, still it was made and you believed that it was a fine, just and reasonable solution, Well, for goodness sake, push it! Make it your own!

The proof of the earnestness of the Administration would be whether before November 5 Jews begin to move into Palestine or whether by that date there would be an announcement that the partition proposal had been accepted by the British Government. The plan would be stymied and we would make ourselves a laughing

stock, however, if after we had gained momentum in building up pressures some of our leaders were to endorse this candidate or that candidate, leaving our following embarrassed, confused and indignant.

In the course of the discussion which followed, it was stated that the support which Dr. Silver had indicated must in the circumstances be given to the Agency's scheme, was not consistent with the attack launched against that scheme in a leading article in the last number of the "New Palestine."

Dr. Wise, in response to Dr. Silver's statement, expressed the view that the agreement which had previously been reached was that every effort should be made, quietly and confidentially, to bring pressure upon the Administration to induce it to take effective action. He felt that the advertisement which had appeared in the public press was contrary to that agreement.

It was pointed out, however, that Dr. Wise was mistaken in his view of the decision which had been taken at the previous meeting and that it had been specifically indicated that advertisements and public pressure were contemplated.

Dr. Wise went on to say that he felt that it was unwisdom and injustice to act as if the President of the United States were the Prime Minister or the Foreign Minister of Great Britain without any recognition of the fact there are limitations set upon the best of good-will and upon the most earnest of efforts by the President. He felt that the implication of the advertisement was that if he so wanted, the President could give us what we desire in Palestine. He also expressed anxiety as to the effect of a campaign of this kind on the Jewish position here.

Dr. Silver stressed that the action that had been taken by the Committee was in strictest compliance with the agreement which had been reached within the Committee, namely that for the next two or three weeks we launch a nation-wide, aggressive, political action campaign to make the Administration aware of the sentiments of American Jewry with reference to the lack of action on the part of the Administration on behalf of our cause. As to the point that ultimate judgment in the matter did not lay within the jurisdiction of the President of the United States, it was to be doubted that our Administration had exerted itself to the extent of even a fraction of what it might have done. He felt that, eliminating all heat and controversy, they were all interested in one thing; the decision of the body was a wise one and for the next period they should be prepared to work along those lines, during which time representations would be made in Washington. People were, in fact, being seen in Washington now. Dr. Wise had seen the President. Others would be seeing other people, backed by this force of public opinion that they would help to generate.

After further discussion, a motion was put and carried by eight votes to two that "resolved that in keeping with the policy of the American Zionist Emergency Council, members of the Executive Committee are urged to refrain from political partisan activities until the next meeting of the Executive Committee;" whereupon the session adjourned at 7:10 P.M.

A.L.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

October 14, 1946

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council, was held on Monday, October 14, at 3:30 P.M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Gedalia Bublick, Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, Leon Gellman, Israel Goldstein, Mrs. Samuel W. Halprin, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Louis Lipsky, Emanuel Neumann, Alexander Pekelis, Mrs. David de Sola Pool, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Louis Segal, Mrs. Herman Shulman, David Wertheim, Dr. Stephen S. Wise.

Daniel Frisch, Milton Handler, Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt, Abraham Tulin.

Benjamin Akzin, Gerold Frank, Arnold K. Isreeli, Arthur Lourie, Harold P. Manson, Harry L. Shapiro, Benjamin Shwadran, Abraham Tuvim.

(Please note: roll call incomplete).

MR. LEON GELLMAN

The Chairman welcomed Mr. Gellman on his return from Palestine. Mr. Gellman gave a brief report on his visit. He stressed the tremendous militarization of Palestine as compared with his visit a year ago and the disgraceful character of the searches in Yagur, Doroth, etc. It was an indisputable fact, nevertheless, that the difficulties confronting them had merely served to make the Jews of Palestine more united and more steadfast in their opposition to the policy of the administration. Mr. Gellman referred to the proposal for partition and gave it as his impression that the Yishuv was, for the most part, opposed to partition (complete report on file).

NEGOTIATIONS WITH BRITISH GOVERNMENT

A report from Jerusalem contained in the Jewish Telegraphic Agency bulletin, dated October 11, embodying an alleged nine-point proposal by the British for Jewish Agency participation in the London Conference was read to the meeting. It was agreed that consideration of these points be deferred until their authenticity was confirmed. Reference was again made to the lack of adequate information from the Executive in London and Paris regarding the details of the discussions which had taken place with the British Government. It was reported that a cable in this regard, signed by the Joint Chairmen, had been sent to the Executive, stressing the urgent need for regular and full information on what was going on.

SNEH VISA

Dr. Wise reported that he had been in communication with Washington in regard to the American visa for Dr. Sneh who had been refused permission to come to the States by the American Consul in Paris. It was pointed out that the

denial of a visa to a member of the Executive would constitute a very dangerous precedent and it was reported that the editors of the Yiddish newspapers had sent strong telegrams to Mr. Acheson, asking for his intervention (a telegram was subsequently received from the State Department, informing the Council that the visa had been granted).

ACTION IN SUPPORT OF JEWISH AGENCY PROPOSALS

Dr. Silver said that the question had arisen as to whether we had made clear to our Government that American Zionists stand behind the Jewish Agency in the proposal which it had advanced to the American Government, and concerning the wisdom of which some of us had had serious doubts.

The information that we did stand behind these proposals was conveyed to the Government in three or four different ways in the last two weeks. It was conveyed in a letter which reached the President; it was conveyed verbally through two or three different sources, and Dr. Silver had also taken occasion to request Senator Taft some two weeks ago to communicate with Senator Vandenberg in Paris and to request him to press upon Mr. Brynes and Mr. Bevin the program on immigration and also the Agency proposals.

On Wednesday, October 9, Senator Taft received the following teletyped message from Senator Vandenberg, via the State Department:

"The Secretary (Byrnes) says that the President has assumed personal control of all negotiations to which you refer. Understand in such circumstances the Secretary could not intervene without the President's direction. The Secretary will return to Washington next week and talk it over."

Senator Taft had indicated in his cable that Dr. Silver was prepared, if necessary, to fly to Paris. There was no doubt but that the Administration knew that if it were prepared to move aggressively in the direction of the proposals made to it by the Jewish Agency, then it would have the backing of the Zionists of America. Dr. Silver doubted, however, whether the Administration was going to move aggressively along those lines and he was rather inclined to believe that the proposals for partition were pretty well dead. Under these circumstances, the more we talked about our fundamental rights under the Mandate, etc., the better it would probably be for the ultimate outcome.

VISIT OF MR. BEVIN

Mr. Segal urged that action be taken in connection with the visit of Mr. Bevin to the United Nations meeting in America. He suggested as possibilities 1) a demonstration outside the UN building; 2) the dramatizing of our case in the public press; and 3) attempting to obtain from a number of City Councils, such as those of New York, Chicago and Los Angeles, the passage of Resolutions in behalf of the Zionist case and criticizing the actions of the British Government.

It was urged, on the other hand, that this was a matter which should first be clarified by the lawyers of the Council. Thus, it was suggested that there was some international agreement which would preclude demonstrations of this kind; otherwise, various interested groups might stage successive demonstrations and destroy the possibility of offering hospitality to the United Nations in this

country. The view was also expressed that the most careful consideration must be given to the effect such a demonstration would have on public opinion generally in this country. Reference was made in this connection to the bad impression created by the advertisement in the press addressed to Mr. Churchill by the Revisionists at the time that he was here during the war.

It was agreed to refer the matter to a committee to think through forms of proper action to be taken in connection with Mr. Bevin's visit.

UNITED NATIONS

In answer to an inquiry, Mr. Lipsky reported briefly on the work of the Jewish Agency in relation to the United Nations.

Mr. Shapiro drew attention to the international conference which it had been contemplated would be held under the auspices of the World Committee for Palestine during the time of the United Nations meeting. Considerable preparation had been made to go forward with the meeting, but as a result of recent advices from Dr. Goldmann, the meeting had been called off.

Mr. Lipsky indicated that the meeting had been called off merely for the time being and that it was likely that it would be revived.

There was a reference also to the possible help of Mr. Sumner Welles with whom Dr. Akzin was in touch.

Mr. Tulin drew attention to the conditions under which the Palestine issue might come before the United Nations: 1) some Government might bring it up before the Security Council as something that tended to disturb the peace of the world. In that case a vote for a discussion to take place would require the support of seven members of the Council, including five members each of whom had the right of a veto. 2) Great Britain might herself bring it up by proposing a new Trusteeship agreement. On the other hand it was possible for Britain simply to ignore the United Nations so far as the Palestine Mandate was concerned and there was nothing that could be done about it. It was thus entirely in the hands of the British themselves whether they would raise the Trusteeship issue and he interpreted the postponement of the Conference in London to December 16 as a means of by-passing the United Nations.

The Chairman indicated that further discussion of this matter lay within the province of the Jewish Agency.

PROPOSAL OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE FOR LABOR ZIONIST ORGANIZATION

Dr. Pekelis said that he had been instructed by his Central Committee to suggest certain concrete demands which might be formulated by American Zionism to the United States Government. The Permanent Mandates Commission had declared unanimously that the White Paper of 1939 was inconsistent with policies previously accepted by the League; further, by a majority vote, that the 1939 White Paper was a violation of the Mandate. There was no similar declaration having similar legal significance and formality on the part of the United States Government. It was time that the United States Government should make up its mind that as a matter of international law the State Department should declare the White Paper of 1939 a violation of international law and of the Mandate.

A further step would be for the Department to indicate that the White Paper was also a violation of the Anglo-American Agreement of 1924 (this would be a

reversal of a position already taken by the Department).

A third point in the declaration which should be sought would consist of the statement that the White Paper of 1922 being an interpretation of the Mandate which, in turn, was embodied in the Anglo-American Treaty of 1924, is part and parcel of that Treaty and that, therefore, the principle of economic absorptive capacity is part and parcel also, not only of international law at large, but of the Anglo-American Treaty as well.

Finally, the unanimous finding of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry to the effect that the economic absorptive capacity of Palestine at present enables 100,000 Jews to be settled in Palestine, is a conclusive finding in international law as to the extent of that capacity and that the Government of the United States accepts it as such. From this it would follow that the restriction on the emigration of the 100,000 Jews to Palestine is a violation of the criterion of the economic absorptive capacity and of the White Paper of 1922, and so implicitly, also, of the Anglo-American Convention of 1924.

This should be incorporated in a note to the British Government -- the demand of the United States Government being based on the existence of the Treaty. The degree of concurrence between the Presidential statements and the State Department policies and the willingness of the latter to do something which is within its power to do could be tested by such a proceeding.

In the course of the brief discussion that followed, it was suggested that it would be most unfortunate if occasion were now given to our Government of entering into a legalistic discussion with respect to the present situation. Moreover, there was the danger that the British might thereby be afforded the opportunity to propose submission under the Charter of the whole issue to the International Court of Justice, which was not yet even organized. A decision might be a matter of years and, in the meantime, we will be precluded from pressing the issue.

It was agreed, in the circumstances, not to take further action on Dr. Pekelis' proposal.

POLITICAL ACTION IN AMERICA

Dr. Wise raised the question of the public campaign which had been initiated to bring pressure on the Administration in regard to the Palestine issue. It was his impression (an impression which on reference to the Minutes it was subsequently indicated that he was mistaken) that what had been agreed upon was a campaign of private and not of public pressure.

Dr. Wise referred to his interview with the President, details of which he had given to Dr. Silver, following which a statement which had also been shown to Dr. Silver and which had received his approval had been transmitted to the President. The President had thereupon acted; he had taken certain measures which were embodied in the declaration that he had made. It was a result obtained through private rather than public pressure, although Dr. Wise granted that the public pressure which had preceded it had produced an impact which might well have had a part in bringing about the statement. There might be differences of opinion as to the importance of the statement, but it represented a continuing action of the President.

Dr. Wise considered the continuing public campaign as an increasing violation of the spirit of the agreement. In this connection he referred to a postcard

issued by the President of the Manhattan Zionist Region and also to a newspaper description of a meeting of the Manhattan Zionist Region in which the heading read "Manhattan Zionist Region rebukes Administration -- Lacks Faith in the Campaign Promises of the Democratic Party."

To clarify what had already been decided at meetings of the Committee, Dr. Silver read from the previous Minutes. He went on to say that the statement of the President came as a political move on the part of the Administration to counteract the great political pressure which had begun to develop in this country as a result of the work which was being done by this body. At the same time, it was his opinion that the issuance of the statement by the President was harmful and not advantageous. What we were aiming at was not another statement of President Truman. We had had such statements before. What we were seeking was that finally, under pressure of the approaching election, the President would use the diplomatic channels to bring pressure on Prime Minister Attlee to get results -- publicly to announce those results instead of issuing another statement. His statement was not going to bring the Jews out of the concentration camps. What was necessary was to get the President and the State Department to follow through. It was not conceivable that the President of the United States had not the power to bring pressure to bear on the British Government to do what the British Government stands committed to do and to what our own Government stands committed through its own official pronouncements. It was important, of course, that the ads which are issued by the New York City Zionist Actions Committee should be in the spirit of what we wanted to do, and he believed that the advertisements that had been published had been in that spirit. On the other hand, we could not be held responsible if a District of the Z.O.A. went off and said things on its own which were not in order. At the same time, he would bring the matter to the attention of the Z.O.A. Executive and ask them to bring order into their Districts.

In the course of the discussion which followed, Mrs. Epstein urged that the material issued in connection with the public campaign be passed on by a representative group -- possibly the Board of Officers.

The Chairman suggested that this point might be met by the presence of a representative of Hadassah on the Zionist Actions Committee. To have a larger body charged with responsibility would be to stymie all action at a time when we have very few days left in which to operate.

Upon a vote taken that the ads which appear in the public press shall, after they have been approved by the Zionist Actions Committee but before publication be submitted to the Board of Officers of this body, five were in favor and six were opposed. The motion was accordingly lost.

It was agreed, in conclusion, that there be a meeting of the Full Council the following Monday and that pending that meeting the decision taken at the previous meeting of the Executive Committee urging members of the Executive Committee to refrain from political partisan activities until the following meeting would continue to hold good.

Meeting adjourned at 5:50 P.M.

A. L.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

November 14, 1946

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held on Thursday, November 14, at 4:30 P.M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Gedalia Bublick, Philip Cruso, Leon Gellman, Israel Goldstein, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Louis Lipsky, Emanuel Neumann, Alexander Pekelis, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Louis Segal, David Wertheim, Dr. Stephen S. Wise.

I. B. Berkson, Simon Federbush, Isaiah L. Kenen, Ignacy Schwarzbart, Abraham Tulin, Meyer W. Weisgal, Mrs. Stephen S. Wise.

Benjamin Akzin, Gerold Frank, Arthur Lourie, Harold P. Manson, Harry L. Shapiro, Joseph Sternstein, Abraham Tuvim.

TELEGRAM FROM HADASSAH

Dr. Silver reported that a telegram had been received from Mrs. Judith Epstein, stating that the Hadassah representatives would not be back from their Convention in time for the meeting of the Executive Committee of that afternoon and asking that the meeting be deferred to the following day or to the early part of next week.

Dr. Silver said that unfortunately it would not be possible for him to remain over in New York as he had to return to Cleveland that evening. In the circumstances, he had indicated to Mrs. Epstein that the meeting would take place, but that no decisions involving a vote would be taken.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH PRESIDENT OF PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

Pursuant to a decision taken by the Council, a letter had been sent to the President of Princeton University with reference to the non-inclusion of a Zionist spokesman in the discussion on the Near East which was to take place as part of the centenary celebrations. Dr. Dodds had indicated that the subjects for discussion would have no relevance to the political problems of the area, but, in specifying those subjects, had omitted, presumably because of unawareness, the discussion which it had been learned was to take place on "The Arab Peoples in Their National and International Relationships."

An appropriate reply had been sent to Dr. Dodds, informing him of what was proposed.

PUBLICATION OF MUFTI'S PERSONAL FILES

It was reported that a letter had been sent to the Under Secretary of State, requesting the speedy release for publication of the files of the ex-Mufti of Jerusalem, which had been captured by the American forces in Germany and Italy and which were now in the possession of the State Department.

REPORT BY MR. BERL LOCKER

The Chairman welcomed Mr. Berl Locker, member of the Executive of the Jewish Agency directing the work of the London Office, who had come to America on a brief visit.

Mr. Locker expressed his pleasure at meeting for the first time the members of the Emergency Council. In reporting on the situation in London, he stated that, while there had been a slight improvement in the atmosphere in relation to the Government, the change did not justify any far-reaching conclusions. The appointment of Mr. Creech-Jones as Colonial Secretary was undoubtedly a gain because he was both more sympathetic and better informed than his predecessor. The Foreign Office, however, was today playing the dominant role in the Palestine situation, though the general line was laid down by the Cabinet. Mr. Locker attributed to Mr. Creech-Jones the release of the Jewish Agency leaders, and emphasized that no price had been exacted in exchange for this act on the part of the Government.

He referred to the various conversations which had taken place between Jewish Agency and Government representatives and indicated that the former had spoken in very direct and forthright terms. Among the matters raised by the Government had been a demand for assistance in putting down the terror and also action to reduce illegal immigration. So far as the latter was concerned, we had indicated that we neither could nor would do anything. As concerns the terror, we had emphasized that the Agency condemned the terror but was not in a position to take direct action against the terrorists.

The Government was most anxious that we should participate in the Conference, but we had made it clear that we could not even discuss this until the Jewish Agency leaders had been released. As Mr. Locker put it, those who were free regarded themselves as morally in Latrun and to participate in a conference with the Government it was necessary that we should be on the same level with them.

Mr. Locker referred to conversations which he had had not only with Mr. Creech-Jones, but also with other Ministers. He referred, in particular, to one member of the Cabinet who believed in partition and was of the opinion that the proper procedure would be for the British Government to lay down the principle, leaving it to the Conference to work out details. He was very friendly to the Zionist cause but was, nevertheless, very irritated by the American attitude. In dealing with this, Mr. Locker had said to him that fortunately or unfortunately it was a fact that there were elections in America every two years and that it was inevitable in this connection that the Zionists should press their point of view. Regarding the charge that America stands on the sidelines and talks but does not want to help in any way, Mr. Locker had pointed out that the American Government had made various offers with regard to finance and transport and he asked the Cabinet Minister in question whether Britain really wanted American military help. The reply to this had been that if America would merely

say that she was ready to assist militarily, this would be a tremendous gain in dealing with any possibility of an Arab rising.

Mr. Locker stated that a further element in the slight change of atmosphere to which he had referred was the fact that the Government had discovered that the policy initiated on June 29 did not justify itself. They seem to have thought that if they would arrest the Jewish Agency leaders there would be an immediate outcry but that this would subside and they would then be in a position to deal with "moderates." The fact was, as he had pointed out, that the only party which had been helped were the Revisionists, while that group on which the British presumably hoped to rely had, as the votes for Congress indicated, been reduced by 50%.

The British Government was certainly very uneasy about the situation in Palestine. This was due primarily, however, not to the terror but to resistance of a united Yishuv. They had not succeeded in getting any quislings.

In referring to the attitude of Mr. Attlee, Mr. Locker said that, according to reports, he apparently regarded the Jews in Palestine as "pro-Russian," though steps have been taken to disabuse his mind of that impression.

Replying to a question about the recent statements by Mr. Churchill that Great Britain should hand the Mandate over to the United Nations if she was unable to fulfill it, Mr. Locker warned of the dangers involved should the whole issue in fact be transferred to the United Nations.

As regards the significance to be attached to the "revolt" of the sixty members of the Labor Party on issues of British foreign policy, Mr. Locker pointed out that this group included some who are by no means friendly and that it was not to be inferred that the dissidents would be helpful to the Zionist point of view.

In answer to a further question as to whether the Agency would enter the London Conference if the British Government agreed that the basis need not be the Morrison-Grady plan, but at the same time refused to commit itself to any other specific basis, Mr. Locker said that a formula for Jewish participation in the discussions had been reached in September. Since then, however, the situation had changed. The London Conference had been postponed and the Zionist Congress would now take place before the talks were resumed. It was his personal opinion that in view of the somewhat changed atmosphere we should, while rejecting any suggestion that we discuss the Morrison plan, not be too rigid in our conditions.

Replying to a question as to whether it was true that the British "Imperial Defense Committee" had taken a strong position against us, Mr. Locker said that he could not confirm that that was so, but undoubtedly the military were unfriendly.

VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES OF MR. BEVIN

Proposals were made that Mr. Bevin should be seen by a small group of Senators representing both Parties and also that such a delegation should see Mr. Byrnes. It was reported in this connection that Senator Brewster had met with Mr. Byrnes on Wednesday, November 13, and had been surprised to find that

Mr. Byrnes still apparently held the view which was his six months ago, favoring the return of the Jews of Europe to their original homes.

Certain action had already been taken to enlist the active support of Republican leaders and Dr. Silver had been in touch both with Senators Taft and Vandenberg in that connection. Senator Vandenberg expected to meet with Mr. Bevin at dinner during the week-end.

It was also reported that Mr. Acheson and Lord Iverchapel had come to New York to participate in discussions with Mr. Bevin and Mr. Byrnes.

In the circumstances, it would not be advisable to organize delegations to meet with Mr. Bevin and Mr. Byrnes but, at the same time, it would be valuable if we could obtain favorable expressions of editorial opinion at this time in the press.

BERGSON GROUP

Approval was expressed of the report in that morning's press of the condemnation broadcast by the "Voice of Israel" of the Bergson group; it was suggested that further action be taken to show, in the clearest way, that the Yishuv repudiates this body.

It was agreed that the matter be referred to the Jewish Agency.

PROPOSAL FOR STATEMENT ON WHITE PAPER BY STATE DEPARTMENT

Dr. Pekelis raised again the question of the possibility of obtaining a declaration from the State Department regarding the legality of the White Paper.

After a brief discussion, it was resolved that no action be taken upon this matter.

CONGRESS DELEGATES

Mr. Cruso referred to two checks which had been submitted to him for signature for members of the Staff to go to the Congress.

He pointed out that one of these was in respect of a member of the Staff who was going as a delegate for the Z.O.A. and, in those circumstances, he felt that the Z.O.A. should bear the expenses. He also raised the question of principle as to whether such expenditures in general should not be approved by the Committee.

The Chairman suggested that with regard to the first point, the matter should be settled between the Z.O.A. and the Finance Committee of the Emergency Council; the Chairman said, further, that he had felt it appropriate that certain members of the staff who were interested and could render a service should be invited to attend the Congress. It should be left to the Finance Committee to consider the question of the expenditures involved.

Meeting adjourned at 6:10 P.M.

A. L.