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American Zionist Emergency Council, minutes, 1947-1948.

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AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

January 29, 1947

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held on Wednesday, January 29, at 4:30 P.M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Gedalia Bublick, Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, Prof. Hayim Fineman, Rabbi Wolf Gold, Israel Goldstein, Mrs. David B. Greenberg, Mrs. Samuel W. Halprin, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Rabbi Irving Miller, Mrs. David de Sola Pool, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Louis Segal.

Daniel Frisch, Isaiah L. Kenen, Arthur Lourie, Sidney Marks, Ignacy Schwarzbart, Abraham Tulin.

Benjamin Akzin, Gerold Frank, Eliahu Ben Horin, Arnold K. Isreeli, William Kaufman, Leo R. Sack, Harry L. Shapiro, Benjamin Shwadran, Joseph Sternstein, Abe Tuvim.

DR. ALEXANDER H. PEKELIS AND JACOB FISHMAN

Dr. Silver paid tribute to the memories of two very valued members of our body, Mr. Jacob Fishman who passed away in Basle and Dr. Alexander H. Pekelis who was killed in a tragic airplane crash over Eire.

RESIGNATION OF MR. ARTHUR LOURIE, APPOINTMENT OF DR. AKZIN

A letter from Mr. Lourie of resignation as Political Secretary of the American Zionist Emergency Council was read by Mr. Shapiro. Mr. Lourie had been requested to assume the directorship of the New York Office of the Jewish Agency. A motion was made, seconded and passed that his resignation be accepted, whereupon Dr. Silver commended the excellent work done by Mr. Lourie and wished him success in his new office. Dr. Silver stated that he had requested Dr. Benjamin Akzin, director of the Council's Washington Bureau, to fill the vacancy created by Mr. Lourie's resignation. A motion was made, seconded and passed to approve the appointment of Dr. Akzin to the post of Political Secretary of the Council.

REPORT BY HARRY L. SHAPIRO

A report was rendered by Mr. Shapiro on the present program of the Emergency Council: to stimulate expressions of American public opinion at this crucial period. Some of the staff members are going to various cities throughout the country to talk to editors, columnists, commentators, etc. for the purpose of obtaining favorable editorial comment in newspapers. Simultaneously with this campaign, it is planned to have several Senators and Representatives speak up on the floor of Congress. In addition, we are contemplating some newspaper advertisements in conjunction with this program, all of which are designed to bring the pressure of public opinion on the British Government.

DR. SILVER'S VISITS WITH SECRETARY OF STATE BYRNES AND AMBASSADOR INVERCHAPEL

Dr. Silver stated that soon after his return from Basle he called upon the Secretary of State, and the British Ambassador. He reported to the Ambassador on what had taken place at the Congress, and the reasons for the resolutions adopted there. He told them that the resolution not to go to the London Conference was a conditional resolution predicated on existing conditions, and that if conditions would change the movement would stand ready to go to the Conference. He pointed out that the next move was up to Great Britain who could indicate a change in conditions either by word -- by promising to establish a Jewish State or to revoke the White Paper -- or by deed -- by starting to move the 100,000. The Ambassador believed the first unlikely since it would prevent the Arabs from coming into the Conference, but he thought well of the second suggestion and said that he would forward the idea to Foreign Secretary Bevin.

Dr. Silver's interview with Secretary Byrnes was friendly throughout, was along similar lines, and Mr. Byrnes appeared much impressed with the possibility of the second suggestion, that of moving the 100,000. He told Dr. Silver that he would request Lord Inverchapel to transmit to Mr. Bevin his own approval of this suggestion. A few days later Dr. Silver received word from Mr. Byrnes that this had been done.

MR. SHERTOK'S VISITS WITH LOY HENDERSON, DEAN ACHESON AND LORD INVERCHAPEL

Mr. Lourie reported that Mr. Shertok's interview with Mr. Acheson was rather disconcerting. He received the very clear impression that the State Department was proposing to take no further action at this point, but would watch matters for the time being, feeling that it had done what it was called upon to do.

Mr. Acheson was apparently aware of the cold impression he had given Mr. Shertok because the following day when Mr. Shertok saw Loy Henderson, the latter went out of his way to be cordial to Mr. Shertok and to indicate that the State Department was watching the situation in London very closely and was receiving a daily report on matters there.

Lord Inverchapel referred in his meeting with Mr. Shertok to his earlier talk with Dr. Silver. He stressed two points: the importance of maintaining the partnership between the Jews and the British, and the possibility that Great Britain might abandon her trusteeship over Palestine altogether. When Mr. Shertok appeared skeptical of such a possibility, Lord Inverchapel insisted that under the present circumstances when the British Army is a conscript army, if British soldiers were killed in Palestine the reaction at home would be very strong, and a decision would be widely popular. The Ambassador was desirous that we should do everything possible to induce the American Government to lift its immigration quotas here, stating that this would facilitate British pressure on the Arabs and American pressure on the British. Mr. Shertok replied that he was not acquainted with the attitude of the American Congress on this matter.

MR. HERBERT HOOVER

Dr. Silver reported on his talk with Mr. Hoover who was leaving in a few days for Germany to make a study of the German relief problem for the American Government. Mr. Hoover was very much of the opinion that all efforts to settle Jews outside of Palestine would be unsuccessful. Dr. Silver suggested to

Mr. Hoover that, after he had seen and talked to these people, he could be very helpful if he would raise his voice at that time and demand their immediate transfer to Palestine. Mr. Hoover was very friendly to our cause, Dr. Silver stated.

APPRECIATION OF MR. TUVIM'S ACTIVITIES

Dr. Silver thanked Mr. Abe Tuvim for having taken complete charge of the work of the Emergency Council during the members' absence at Basle, and for having handled it so competently.

CONGRATULATIONS TO NEW MEMBERS OF THE AGENCY EXECUTIVE

Dr. Silver expressed satisfaction that two members of the Council had been newly elected to the Executive of the Jewish Agency, Rabbi Wolf Gold and Mrs. Samuel Halprin, and wished them success in their new posts.

JEWISH WAR VETERANS

Dr. Akzin reported on the annual courtesy call paid the President by the National Commander of the Jewish War Veterans, Colonel Richman. While veterans' problems were under discussion, the President was in a very relaxed frame of mind. However, as soon as Palestine was mentioned the President's mien changed. The President told Colonel Richman that each time he thinks a solution of the Palestine problem is in view the British bring up something, and there still is no solution. The President said, however, that he continued to be hopeful.

REPORT ON THE LONDON CONFERENCE

Dr. Silver had just received a telephoned report of the proceedings in London. The 2½ hour informal meeting of the Jewish Agency leaders with the representatives of the British Government -- the first of an expected series -- concerned itself exclusively with the long-term problem and did not touch at all on the present disturbances in Palestine.

Our people presented our full program, Dr. Silver reported, as agreed upon at Basle -- our great need for immigration and our rights under the Mandate. They indicated that if any other proposals would be made they would be prepared to submit them to the competent bodies for consideration. The general attitude of the British in this first meeting was negative to the idea of partition and leaned more to a federalization scheme, a modified, liberalized Grady-Morrison Plan.

One of the Englishmen had asked if a viable Jewish state did not preclude a viable Arab state. It was expressed by one or two Englishmen that they could not go back to the Mandate, that new situations had developed which made it difficult to go back to the original intent and purpose of the Mandate. The question of immediate immigration was raised by our people. The answer was given that the Government may consider interim measures.

Dr. Silver expressed the opinion that the British had not yet closed their minds to the subject of partition, but were maneuvering to make the Jews accept a cantonization scheme which would be an improved Grady-Morrison Plan. He reiterated his conviction that in these negotiations it would be the last five minutes that would count, and that we should not be in too great a hurry.

DEBATE ON SENATE FLOOR

Mr. Segal suggested that a full-dress debate on the floor of the Senate would bring the pressure of American public opinion to bear on Great Britain.

Mr. Tulin thought it would be a mistake to have members of the Senate get up at this time and advocate a Jewish state. He felt that it would be better if they spoke about immigration, DPs, and our general rights under the Mandate without specifically coming out for a Jewish state, because a final solution at this time would be to our disadvantage. If we could get immigration on a large scale now, perhaps it would be wiser to wait a year or two from now, when the whole international situation could be expected to be more stabilized, and a more favorable final solution might come into view.

Mrs. Epstein, while expressing doubt as to the wisdom of a debate in the Senate at this time, felt that if such a debate were to take place it must deal with the ultimate solution of Palestine, just as the Conference itself deals with a final solution.

Judge Rothenberg pointed out that the entire mood of the Zionist Congress had been in favor of presenting our maximum demands. Furthermore, he felt that some other step, such as getting Secretary of State Marshall to take action to influence the London Conference, might be more effective than getting Congress to speak up.

Mrs. Halprin also disapproved of Mr. Tulin's suggestion. If the Senators now spoke and completely reversed their prior stand in favor of statehood it would appear that the United States had reversed its position.

Mrs. Greenberg thought that a Senate debate at this time would be a distinct disadvantage for us since Congress is beset with domestic difficulties. Since Congress had already spoken by passing a resolution last year, she felt that we should let well enough alone and concentrate on other matters, particularly the problem of combatting the recent rise of anti-Zionist propaganda.

Mr. Segal stated that it would not be necessary for the debate in the Senate to go into the question of partition vs. a state in all of Palestine. Senators could talk about: 1) the Jewish plight; 2) displaced persons; 3) Jewish homelessness; and 4) Jewish independence, and request our Government to do everything in its power to persuade Great Britain to alleviate the situation. The press and radio would comment on this and Great Britain would get nervous.

Mr. Bublick felt that our friends should not talk about a viable Jewish state, but only about the rights under the Mandate and the illegality of the White Paper. That the Mandate is unworkable should not be the position of our country or of any Senator who speaks on our behalf. A "viable Jewish state" means nothing politically and is not fortified by any documents. England must give us not a "viable Jewish state," but what the Mandate says.

Dr. Akzin stated that, if it should be decided to have a debate in the Senate, the speeches need not be too rigid, and the Senators don't have to be too specific in advocating solutions. Some of them will probably talk about the Congressional Resolution of last year, others about partition on the basis of the President's statement, a Jewish state in all of Palestine, the displaced persons, etc. The central idea that should be common to all of the speeches should be the timing of the debate so as to exercise pressure on the British

prior to a decision of the London Cabinet.

Mr. Sack said that a full dress debate now would be a very dangerous thing for us. A debate cannot take place unless two sides of a question are presented, and though many could make favorable speeches, very few in the Senate can answer questions which will inevitably be raised, such as that of terrorism, Russia, etc. Furthermore, there are many new Senators and Representatives in the present Congress who are not quite as convinced about Palestine as the last Congress was. Washington is of the opinion that England is making an honest effort to solve our problem and there are people who may say we are interfering with these efforts. Therefore, it might be wiser to have two or three people in each house make worthwhile speeches and forego a full dress debate.

Summarizing the discussion, Dr. Silver said a few important Senators and Representatives -- people to whom London listens and watches -- would be asked to speak up on the floor of Congress or on the radio or in the newspapers, within a week or ten days. As for the type of speech that should be delivered, our Congress adopted a resolution a year ago and ought to press for that Resolution. To talk about partition would be out of the question.

Dr. Silver pointed out that we had lost much ground in Washington in the last two or three months because of international events and because we have been less active. The opposition has been taking advantage of this and has been gaining momentum. The tempo of our work must be speeded up all along the line -- in Congress, in our contacts with the Government, with the public press, radio, articles in magazines, meetings, etc. At this time when the fate of our movement is being decided we must work at maximum speed and intensity. American public opinion must be marshalled quickly and dramatically.

DR. SILVER'S ATTITUDE TOWARD LONDON TALKS

Mr. Bublick asked the chairman whether he was satisfied that the talks now going on between the Agency and the British Government are completely in line with the Congress Resolution.

Dr. Silver replied that he thought the London talks a mistake and a back-door method of getting into the Conference. He had sent several cables to London and Jerusalem to that effect. He thought we were too impatient and that we should have permitted the spirit of the Congress Resolution to percolate and to influence the general situation.

DELEGATION TO THE PRESIDENT

Dr. Goldstein was of the opinion that it was time to see the President again and that he should be approached by a different type of delegation than in the past. Instead of the "political" people, we should attempt to get men like Bernard Baruch or David Lilienthal to evoke some action on the part of the President. Dr. Silver agreed and suggested that the delegation be arranged under the auspices of some other organization, possibly the American Jewish Conference, rather than the Zionist movement.

BRITAIN'S REFUGEE PROPOSAL

Judge Rothenberg called attention to a report that the British Government is proposing to bring 500,000 refugees into England, 80,000 of whom would be Jews, and expressed his fear that this was a new trick by the British to counteract our demands for immigration on the basis of the displaced persons' situation.

Dr. Silver also voiced his concern over this report. He stated that this is part of a maneuver which has been gaining momentum over a period of months. Up until a few months ago the British argument was the military one. They have softened that because everyone knows they have 100,000 troops in Palestine. Now they say: "You take some refugees, we will take some and there will be no more problem." Dr. Silver pointed out that that was the very danger he had warned about when everyone was stressing refugees -- that refugeeism would ruin our movement. This line of propaganda would be most difficult to counteract.

OIL CONFERENCE

It had been suggested that a conference should be called on the question of oil, similar to the one held in St. Louis last April. Dr. Silver suggested that Mr. Ben-Horin arrange this immediately.

ANTI-ZIONIST PROPAGANDA

Mrs. Greenberg called attention to the increasing amount of anti-Zionist propaganda that has been appearing in leading magazines throughout the country. In this connection, Mr. Ben-Horin stressed the importance of making contacts which would have the long-range effect of political education rather than merely obtaining signatures of various people for statements or articles. Furthermore, the anti-Zionist forces in the State Department continue to work against us.

It was decided that the Chairman should appoint a committee to study means of counteracting the rise of Arab and other anti-Zionist propaganda in this country.

NATIONAL EMERGENCY CONFERENCE

After a brief discussion it was decided to call another Washington conference of our Emergency Councils for the purpose of bringing pressure to bear on the London Conference.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN JEWISH AGENCY AND EMERGENCY COUNCIL

It was decided that the chairman should appoint a committee for the purpose of working out the relationship between the Jewish Agency and the Emergency Council.

Meeting adjourned at 6:50 P.M.

B.A.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

February 24, 1947

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held on Monday, February 24th, at 3:00 P.M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Gedalia Bublick, Philip Cruso, Rabbi Simon Federbush, Daniel Frisch, Rabbi Wolf Gold, Mrs. David B. Greenberg, Mrs. Samuel W. Halprin, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Mrs. David de Sola Pool, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Dr. Ignacy Schwarzbart, Louis Segal, Mrs. Raphael Tourover, Abraham Tulin, David Wertheim, B. Zuckerman.

Mendel Fischer, Dr. Sidney Marks, William Z. Spiegelman.

Benjamin Akzin, Gerold Frank, Eliahu Ben-Horin, Arnold K. Isreeli, William Kaufman, Harold P. Manson, Harry L. Shapiro, Benjamin Shwadran, Joseph Sternstein.

REPORT BY DR. SILVER ON THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE

Dr. Silver reviewed the progress made at the Extraordinary Zionist Emergency Conference held in Washington on February 17th. The purpose of the meeting was to rally our own people at this critical time, and to get members of Congress alerted again to the Palestine problem. All the groups were represented and many of the delegates called on their respective Congressmen or Senators during the day, singly or in groups. We requested them to submit to us reports of their meetings, and many of these reports have been coming in to us, some containing very helpful suggestions.

Dr. Silver added that it was hoped that the matter of Palestine would be brought up again on the floor of the House and Senate by a number of Senators and Representatives.

CONTACTS WITH NEWSPAPERS

Mr. Ben-Horin reported on his visits to Pittsburgh, Chicago, Kansas City, Minneapolis and Boston, where he interviewed editors and some radio commentators. In Chicago and Minneapolis press conferences were arranged, and in other instances individual appointments led to long talks clarifying the Palestine issue. Kansas City Star published a favorable editorial. The Chicago Tribune which had taken in the past an anti-Zionist stand, published a favorable editorial.

Mrs. de Sola Pool related her experience in Atlanta at Hadassah Conference where newspaper contacts yielded favorable results for the Zionist cause.

Mr. Shapiro said that Mr. Ben-Horin's trip, as well as Dr. Akzin's and Mr. Sack's visits to newspaper editors, were the beginnings of a campaign to enlighten editorial writers on the current situation. Every day three to five editorials reach the office.

Dr. Silver thought that the work among the newspapers all over the country ought to be accelerated.

MAGAZINES

Dr. Silver stated that the magazines did not adequately present the Palestine problem. After a discussion with the participation of Messrs. Shapiro, Manson, Ben-Horin, and Mrs. Tourover, it was decided to increase our efforts in this respect.

SPEAKERS' BUREAU

Following a question by Dr. Silver, Mr. Shapiro pointed out that the Speakers' Bureau had more than 200 speakers, mostly non-Jewish, available. Frequent calls were made on about twenty of these. Mr. Shapiro stated that it was desirable to have a few more Palestinians speak before University gatherings of students and members of the faculty.

Dr. Silver asked that Mrs. Shepard, Director of the Speakers' Bureau, report to the next meeting on the progress made in universities, etc., and that Dr. LeSourd and Dr. Voss be invited to sit in at some meeting for a discussion of the situation with regard to enlightening public opinion.

SCHOOL OF ASIATIC STUDIES

Mrs. de Sola Pool raised the question of Hebrew studies at the School of Asiatic Studies.

Mr. Ben-Horin replied that this question was discussed by him with Eliahu Epstein, Mr. Shapiro and a potential lecturer. There are also some alternative schemes for cooperation with academic bodies.

DR. SILVER'S REPORT ON GOVERNMENTAL CONTACTS

Dr. Silver reported that we were concentrating on obtaining some temporary arrangement with the view to raising immigration, and many contacts in Washington have been made with responsible people and important Senators.

Before Mr. Hoover left for Germany, Dr. Silver requested him to see the DPs, and an arrangement was made to have Rabbi Bernstein meet with him in Germany. Dr. Silver hopes to see Mr. Hoover shortly again.

The State Department is favorably inclined toward increased immigration into Palestine. Dean Acheson who spoke to Dr. Silver last week in Washington went into the subject. It was on the very day that Bevin issued his statement referring the whole matter to UN. Discussion ensued as to what would happen if Great Britain would refer the matter to UN. Mr. Acheson stated that it was inconceivable to him that there won't be increased immigration between the present and the time UN hands down a decision. That the Government continues to favor immediate and continued Jewish immigration to Palestine was also confirmed in the course of a conversation which Dr. Silver had with Secretary Marshall.

Both the Executive and Legislative branches of our Government appear to favor increased immigration. But this stand was taken 18 months ago without results. Whether the Government is now ready for action or whether it is reconciled to refusal, remains to be seen. No decision has been reached by

the British Cabinet as far as we know and it is not likely to be made for a week or ten days. Heaven and earth must be moved to see that maximum pressure is exerted on the British in the meantime. (Detailed report on file).

SUGGESTIONS FOR IMMEDIATE ACTION

A number of suggestions with a view to immediate action were made by Mrs. Greenberg, Mr. Segal, Mrs. Halprin, Mr. Frisch, Dr. Silver, Rabbi Gold, Mr. Ben-Horin, and Mr. Tulin. (Details of discussion on file).

UJA DELEGATION'S VISIT WITH MR. TRUMAN

Dr. Silver read a telegram received from Rabbi Israel Goldstein giving the gist of President Truman's statement to a group of UJA leaders:

".....STATEMENT TO GROUP PESSIMISTIC ALIYAH AS WELL AS
IMMIGRATION HERE THOUGH HE TRIED HARD."

FINANCES

Mr. Shapiro recalled that at the beginning of the year a request was made that monthly funds be allotted to the Council for the first three months on the basis of last year's budget. This morning the final installment was received from JNF. Mr. Shapiro now recommended that this arrangement be continued for the next six months. At the expiration of six months, our needs for the balance of the year will be determined and a budget presented. If there is a surplus, additional funds will not be requested.

Mrs. Halprin suggested that an estimate of current needs be made by a small committee to estimate the financial needs.

It was decided that the Finance Committee prepare a budget for further consideration.

COMMITTEE TO COUNTERACT ARAB PROIAGANDA

Mr. Shapiro reported that a committee had been appointed to counteract Arab and anti-Zionist propaganda. It will start working as soon as Mr. E. Epstein can join in its work.

RELATION OF COUNCIL AND JEWISH AGENCY

Judge Rothenberg raised the question of the relations between the Council and the Agency.

Dr. Silver suggested that we wait until the Agency has thought through the problem. Since three or four members of the Agency are present at the Council, there is no danger of discrepancy between the two bodies.

Mr. Shapiro stated that a meeting of a preparatory committee of staff members appointed to deal with the question, will be called as soon as Mr. Epstein is available. The Committee consists of Messrs. Epstein and Lourie for the Agency, Akzin and Shapiro for the Council.

THREE OUTSIDE BODIES INVITED TO WASHINGTON MEETING FEBRUARY 17th

Mrs. Halprin expressed the view that the Executive Committee should have been consulted prior to inviting three non-member groups (Achdut Avodah, Hashomer Hatzair, Zionists-Revisionists) to the Washington Conference.

Dr. Silver said all three groups were informed of the purpose of the meeting. With one exception, they adhered to the limitations necessarily imposed on them and refrained from all discussion of controversial matters.

PARTICIPATION OF UNITED ZIONISTS-REVISIONISTS IN THE COUNCIL

The Revisionist application to join the Council was considered. It was decided that the Revisionists be represented on the Emergency Council and be accorded one vote at Executive Committee meetings and two votes at full Council meetings.

Meeting adjourned at 5:25 P.M.

B.A.



AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

March 10, 1947

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held on Monday, March 10th, at 3:00 P.M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Philip Cruso, Prof. Hayim Fineman, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mrs. David B. Greenberg, Mr. B. Netanyahu, Dr. Emanuel Neumann, Louis Segal, Mrs. Raphael Tourover, David Wertheim.

Mendel Fischer, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Dr. Ignazy Schwarzbart, Abraham Tulin.

Benjamin Akzin, Gerold Frank, Eliahu Ben-Horin, Arnold K. Isreeli, William Kaufman, Harold P. Manson, Leo R. Sack, Harry L. Shapiro, Mrs. Blanche Shepard, Benjamin Shwadran, Joseph Sternstein.

SPEAKERS' BUREAU

Mrs. Blanche Shepard reported on the Speakers' Bureau. Up to until 2½ years ago, Zionists meetings were attended by and large by Zionists, and the only contact with Christians was through speakers from the platform, and invariably we had Jewish audiences and Christian spokesmen. All the while hostile groups were presenting their case against us on the platforms of clubs, churches and colleges. Now a fair presentation of our case is often heard in non-Jewish gatherings all over the country. (Detailed report on file.)

AMERICAN CHRISTIAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE

Mr. Tuvim reported concerning the Children's Memorial Forest project, launched by the American Christian Palestine Committee. It has created a feeling of good will in the Christian communities. Inquiries are rapidly coming in and requests made for brochures and other material so that Christian children may buy trees for Jewish children.

Mr. Tuvim further reported on the formation of the "Arts Committee for Palestine". This project originated on the West Coast and includes a great many distinguished artists.

Mr. Tuvim told of seminars and meetings arranged in the last three months in 30 or 40 cities. Further seminars are scheduled in a number of other cities. The scheme has the backing of the ministers, professors of colleges, directors in the social service fields, and other professional groups.

COMMITTEE TO COMBAT ARAB PROPAGANDA

Prof. Fineman reported that the Committee was endeavoring to trace all media through which Arabs conduct propaganda in colleges and elsewhere in this

country. The Committee suggested that a conference of Jewish University teachers be arranged so that their advice and guidance may be obtained, and that visiting professors of the Hebrew University and other Palestinian visitors be asked to present a fair picture of the Palestine situation before suitable groups in America.

Mrs. Greenberg drew attention in this connection to the presence in America of a number of physicians from Palestine.

Mrs. Tourover urged that the assistance of well-informed students be enlisted in the different universities.

Dr. Shwadran reported on the presence and activities of Palestinian students in various American universities.

UNITED ZIONISTS-REVISIONISTS

Dr. Akzin read a letter from the United Zionists-Revisionists in which they designated as their representatives on the Council: Mr. B. Netanyahu and Dr. Joseph Schechtman; alternates: Leo Wolfson and B. Epstein. Mr. Netanyahu will serve as representative on the Executive Committee. Alternates on the Executive will be designated later.

Dr. Silver welcomed Mr. Netanyahu to the meeting.

DR. SILVER'S REPORT ON GOVERNMENTAL CONTACTS

Dr. Silver said that the full implications of the referral to the United Nations and of the American Government's reaction to it are not yet clear, and a clarification should be sought. In that connection a number of people in Washington were seen or will be seen in the next few days. The basic question of our attitude before the United Nations will have to await a decision by the forthcoming Jerusalem meetings of the Jewish Agency Executive and the Actions Committee. In the meantime, the Emergency Council sent a telegram to the State Department protesting the imposition of the martial law with the resultant economic strangulation of the Yishuv.

CYPRUS

Mr. Wertheim expressed his concern over reports that Cyprus has reached its fullest absorptive capacity and that Britain may choose other areas for detention purposes. He urged that vigorous action be taken.

EGYPTIAN VISAS

Mr. Wertheim, Mrs. Tourover and Mrs. Greenberg brought up the matter of the refusal of the Egyptian Government to issue visas to American Jews going to Palestine.

Mr. Manson stated that when this matter was referred to the American Jewish Conference some time ago, an easing off resulted temporarily.

Dr. Silver thought that the matter should again be taken up vigorously in cooperation with American Jewish Conference.

SITUATION IN PALESTINE

Mr. Segal read the text of a cable received from the Vaad Hapoel of the Histadruth in Palestine, asking for support in view of the deteriorating situation in the Yishuv. He suggested that a number of large public meetings beginning with New York be arranged, with a view toward stimulating editorial comments, appeals to the American Government and legislators, all directed toward protesting martial law. Specifically, he proposed a meeting in the Armory in New York.

Mr. Sack suggested that meetings be arranged in the key cities of Boston, Detroit, St. Louis and Kansas City.

Mr. Tuvim said that mass meetings are no longer an effective expression of our policy. Of late, they have been largely ignored.

It was decided that a mass meeting be held at the Armory, subject to securing adequate support from the constituent organizations, and that meetings be held in other key cities.

A discussion then ensued regarding Jewish resistance in Palestine, with the participation of Mr. Cruso, Dr. Akzin, Dr. Silver and Dr. Neumann.

PALESTINE AND AMERICAN POLICY IN THE NEAR EAST

A discussion took place regarding the effect on Palestine of the newly announced policy of the American Government in the Near East. Participating in the discussion were Dr. Silver, Mr. Tulin, Mr. Netanyahu, Mrs. Greenberg, and Dr. Neumann. Dr. Silver summarized the views expressed as denoting that the United States should deal with the Near Eastern problem as a whole, not piecemeal, and that no commitments should be assumed regarding Greece without, at the same time, moving toward a satisfactory solution of the Palestine problem.

It was decided that a memorandum explaining our stand be sent to our friends, and that newspaper ads on the same topic be drafted, both texts to be cleared with a committee which the chair would appoint. (Details of the discussion on file).

Meeting adjourned at 6:40 P.M.

B.A.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

April 7, 1947

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held on Monday, April 7th, at 4:00 P.M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Philip Cruso, Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, Daniel Frisch, Mrs. David B. Greenberg, Mrs. Samuel W. Halprin, Mr. B. Netanyahu, Dr. Emanuel Neumann, Louis Segal.

Mendel Fisher, Arthur Lourie, Dr. Sidney Marks, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Dr. Ignazy Schwarzbart, Abraham Tulin, S. J. Zacks.

Benjamin Akzin, Eliahu Ben-Horin, Gerold Frank, Arnold K. Isreeli, William Kaufman, Harold P. Manson, Leo R. Sack, Harry L. Shapiro, Dr. Benjamin Shwadran, Joseph Sternstein, Abe Tuvim.

REPORT OF MR. BEN-HORIN ON OIL DEVELOPMENTS

Mr. Ben-Horin reported on the meeting of the Oil Committee held in Dallas last March, at which the situation was reviewed in the light of the forthcoming association of Standard Oil of New Jersey and the Socony-Vacuum Oil Company with the American-Arabian Oil Company. The Committee members will continue their efforts to obtain a more favorable attitude on the part of the oil groups concerned, and two of the members will soon come to New York for the purpose. It was proposed that an oil conference be convened again at the beginning of May to review the situation.

Mr. Ben-Horin then reported that interesting information regarding the interests of the oil companies in the Middle East cropped up at the first meeting of the Brewster Committee and further light may be thrown on the subject at its subsequent meetings.

An exchange of views took place on the oil situation, with the participation of Messrs. Cruso, Ben-Horin, Dr. Neumann, Dr. Silver, Mr. Tuvim, Mrs. Greenberg, Messrs. Frisch, Sack, Netanyahu, Tulin, Akzin, (details of report and discussion on file).

"BEHIND THE SILKEN CURTAIN"

Mr. Gerold Frank reported on the magnificent reception accorded to Bartley Crum's book.

AMERICAN CHRISTIAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE

Mr. Tuvim outlined the ACPC schedule for seminars to be held in the South in the immediate future. Beginning with the 14th of April a 2-day seminar was

to be held in Memphis, followed by the 17th and 18th in Birmingham, 20th and 21st in New Orleans, and 23rd and 24th in Dallas. The events provoked a great deal of interest in the Christian communities concerned.

Dr. Silver asked whether the ACPC planned to come east for their regional conferences this year and Mr. Tuvim replied that so far they had only the four scheduled.

JUNIOR HADASSAH OBSERVER AT COUNCIL MEETINGS

Dr. Akzin reported a request from Mrs. Epstein that Miss Zelda Funk, President of Junior Hadassah, be admitted as observer to the Emergency Council. It was decided, in view of the fact that this might create a precedent for too many observers (there being 9 national Zionist youth groups), to let the matter rest.

BERGSON GROUP

Mrs. Greenberg informed the meeting of the increased activities of the Bergson group, a development which she attributed in part to the tendency of the Zionist groups to avoid debating with its representatives on the same platform. In the course of a lengthy discussion, Mrs. Halprin and Messrs. Frisch, Cruso, Segal, Netanyahu, Tuvim, Neumann, Zacks, Silver, and Rothenberg exchanged views regarding the activities of the Bergson group as well as regarding Jewish immigration to and resistance in Palestine. Dr. Silver stated that there is no decision against debating with representatives of the Bergson groups (details on file).

PALESTINE AND AMERICAN POLICY IN THE NEAR EAST

Messrs. Shapiro and Manson reported that a memorandum regarding American policy toward Palestine and the Near East was widely circulated in accordance with the decision of a prior meeting. It was not found possible, however, to formulate a newspaper ad, since we desired to avoid getting involved in the current controversy with regard to American policy in the Near East.

Mrs. Greenberg confirmed the difficulties of composing a worthwhile ad and questioned the wisdom of distributing the confidential memorandum to as large a group of people as did receive it.

Dr. Neumann described the wide distribution of the memorandum, which was necessary to familiarize our friends in Congress and elsewhere with the opportunity to utilize the present international situation so as to bring about a solution of the Palestine issue in line with President Truman's official policy.

Dr. Silver stated that our memorandum evidently reached the people in Washington; it was reflected in the questions in the State Department; answers were given; the State Department, as we expected, replied that the two problems should not be tied together because one was very urgent and the other required a long-range solution. Nevertheless, the link between them was forcefully brought to the attention of official circles, and our activity was not fruitless.

ACTIVITY OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Mr. Segal expressed the feeling that for the past few months, since December 1946, the Executive Committee had not been functioning as vigorously as before. He thought it useful for the Executive Committee to go into the question and to

find the reasons for this change.

Dr. Silver said that he had made mention of that same fact to the staff of the Emergency Council once or twice. However, it should be remembered that since December many active members of the Executive had been out of the country. A second, less important reason, was that we were not clear as to what line to take; the political situation in the last few months had changed so rapidly, almost from week to week, that we here did not actually have a clear target at which to shoot. We still didn't have it. At the time of the London Conference we had a definite feeling that our Government's attitude was favorable, and this was reflected in our own attitude. Since that time a major development had occurred: Great Britain had decided to bring the matter up before the UN. For a time, the British move left us as much in the dark as it had left our own State Department. We asked ourselves what line to take. Should we oppose referring it to the UN? Should we favor it? Then the announcement from the British Government that the matter hadn't really been referred to the UN at all; Great Britain really had no intention of giving up the Mandate. Now, we are still waiting to see what line the Agency in Jerusalem will adopt. In addition, American policy in the Near East has become more closely linked with British policy in connection with the program of aid to Greece and Turkey. This made our position vis-a-vis Washington very delicate.

All this seriously handicaps our work. If mass meetings are to be called, ads to be placed in the newspapers, it must be clear what they aim at. However, from here on we must get into high gear. The next 4-5 months will be crucial and will call for the most intensive activity.

Judge Rothenberg thought the reduced activity of the AZEC was due to yet another reason: major policy was now being decided upon by the Jewish Agency in this country as well as in Jerusalem. This left the AZEC with a much reduced scope of work and without a real knowledge of the situation. It was true that some of us sat on the Agency, but the majority of members didn't know exactly the state of mind of the Agency. He felt, therefore, that consideration should be given to the question he had brought up at the last meeting -- whether there should be some kind of joint meeting between the two bodies.

Mrs. Epstein defined the Emergency Council as a public relations body which mobilizes public opinion, and saw no contradiction between its functions and those of the Agency.

Dr. Silver said that even the Jewish Agency officials had not been so active because they, too, had been out of the country. The country which will be decisive in UN proceedings on Palestine is the United States. Neither the President nor the State Department were very intent on our cause and had cooled off considerably in the last few weeks as the result of a new foreign relations policy which had developed and taken hold of the State Department in the last few weeks. Our task was to convince the President and the State Department that they should champion our cause. This was exclusively the function of the AZEC, and it was a very major function.

Public relations work at a speeded-up tempo would have to be done in the next few months by the Emergency Council. The Agency's work would be the preparation of the Palestine case before the United Nations. Ours was the job on the American scene, and on that we didn't have to take any instructions. Matters of policy were not within our scope but within the scope of the world movement. On the other hand, to follow the interplay of American oil and Palestine was definitely our job.

PARTICIPATION OF HASHOMER HATZAIR IN THE EXECUTIVE AND THE COUNCIL

Dr. Akzin informed the Executive of the request of Hashomer Hatzair for full representation in the Council and the Executive. Notice was given at the meeting, in accordance with the by-laws of the Emergency Council, that the request will be taken up for action after two weeks.

Meeting adjourned at 6:45 P.M.

B.A.



AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

May 19, 1947

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held on Monday, May 19th, at 4:00 P.M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Philip Cruso, Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, Nathan Friedel, Daniel Frisch, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mrs. Benjamin Gottesman, Mrs. Samuel W. Halprin, B. Netanyahu, Dr. Emanuel Neumann, Judge Morris Rothenberg, David Wertheim.

Ernest E. Barbarash, Gedalia Bublick, Simon Federbush, Isaiah L. Kenen, Dr. Sidney Marks, Dr. Joseph Schechtman, Dr. Ignacy Schwarzbart, Moshe Shapiro, Yonah Yanai.

Benjamin Akzin, Gerold Frank, Arnold K. Isreeli, William Kaufman, Harold P. Manson, Leo R. Sack, Harry L. Shapiro, Dr. Benjamin Shwadran, Joseph Sternstein, Abe Tuvim.

MEMORIAL RESOLUTION FOR THE LATE MR. MONSKY

Dr. Silver paid tribute to the memory of the late Henry Monsky. It was decided to send to his widow an expression of the deep-felt sympathy of the Council.

PARTICIPATION OF ACHDUT HAVODAH-POALE ZION

Action was taken on the request of Achdut Havodah-Poale Zion for full participation in the Executive Committee and the Council. It was decided to accord to this group one vote on the Executive and two votes on the Council.

REPORT ON "ACTION FOR PALESTINE WEEK"

Mr. Shapiro reported on the activities of the Emergency Council in connection with "Action for Palestine Week", which had originally been set for May 11-18. When the meeting of the UN was advanced, our program had to be moved ahead to May 4-11. The response of the communities was magnificent, and they cooperated in all suggested activities. The situation kept changing all the time, and it was important that we keep the communities advised of all these changes. The activities involved newspaper ads in many cities, radio programs both of an editorial and of a news character, public meetings,

resolutions by City Councils, civic organizations and various Jewish groups. Letters were written to the President by 18 State Governors, and it is understood that more such letters will be written. Letters and telegrams to the President, the Secretary of State, and members of Congress arrived in Washington literally by the hour. Letter writers were people of all ranks, from leaders of the communities to schoolchildren. Only 132 communities sent us what we would call full reports. Of these, we found that 44 were running local programs on the radio; 31 had contacted their newspapers; 57 were running mass meetings. Reports continued to come in.

Full cooperation was given to the entire program by the parties, especially by the ZOA, the Hadassah, and the Poale-Zion.

Dr. Silver thanked Mr. Shapiro for his report and expressed his conviction that the work done by the Emergency Council in stimulating American public opinion during the decisive days of the UN sessions was the major cause for the reversal of the U.S. delegation's position on the subject of the appearance of the Jewish Agency before the Political Committee of the UN.

AZEC CIRCULAR OF MAY 15TH

Mrs. Epstein shared the feeling of gratification over the AZEC's activities but took issue with the memorandum of the Emergency Council dated May 15th. She thought that the memorandum was too hastily issued and contained some questionable material. She questioned the wisdom of the language used therein about the attitude of the American Government and of the reference to the Gromyko speech. She further deplored its criticism of "Jewish leaders" on the basis of a newspaper report. The memorandum went on to take issue strongly with partition, and she considered this to be irresponsible at a time when Zionist representatives sought to obtain American action on the basis of the President's statement of last October, i.e., on the basis of partition.

Mrs. Halprin said the Bigart article on which the memorandum was relying spoke mainly of "Jews", not of "Jewish leaders", or the "Jewish Agency".

Mr. Shapiro said the reference to the Gromyko speech was necessary to explain that the argument that a pro-Jewish stand would drive the Arabs into Russia's lap was groundless. As for the Bigart article, we could only go by the decision of the Congress.

Mr. Manson quoted from the Bigart article, noting that it referred to both "Jews" and "Jewish leaders". The memorandum itself merely reaffirmed the position stated by the Zionist movement at the Congress and more recently by a meeting of the Jewish Agency Executive in Jerusalem. Mr. Manson maintained that if any Zionist official was working for partition in Washington, then he was contravening the wishes of the Zionist movement. Our people throughout the country were becoming very confused and wanted to know what the

Zionist movement was doing when it adopted a resolution and then proceeded to imply that we were for partition but couldn't say so publicly. Such action only inhibited them. We were receiving letters asking us for a clear line. They looked to us for guidance, and we were giving them guidance.

Mr. Frisch said that he had heard Mrs. Epstein repeat twice at this meeting that someone in Washington was working for partition. He wanted to know more about this.

Mrs. Epstein said that at a recent meeting of the American members of the Actions Committee a statement was made to the effect that, "We are encouraged by the fact that.....General Marshall stands by the statement of October 4th".

Dr. Silver said that was quite a different matter. The question was whether the United States had receded from its former position, and Mr. Marshall's answer was that he stood by that position.

Mr. Wertheim thought Mr. Manson should have known that, though Congress made no decision favoring partition, there was no decision against partition, and that it was in the air. We were against raising the question, but the trend was not against partition as such; it was felt that the Zionists should not take the initiative in proposing it. Therefore, it was out of place for the Council, in its circular letters to the Chairmen, to come out against our "Jewish leaders". We should have waited to see if the press story was a mistake.

Mr. Tuvim said he agreed that the staff's function was not to make but to carry out policy. We were in the midst of a campaign in the country to keep our people aware of what the situation was and what they had to do to change that situation.

Mrs. Halprin said that the Emergency Council consisted of several bodies and nobody really had the right to send out an interpretation such as that contained in the memorandum without taking this fact into consideration. The staff of the Emergency Council had done a lot more than carry out directions. There was such haste in this matter as had never been shown before. The article appeared in the morning, and in the afternoon this memorandum was already dispatched. The attack on the Jewish Agency contained therein was out of place.

Dr. Silver asked Mrs. Halprin why she identified "Jews" or "Jewish leaders" with the Jewish Agency. The memorandum contained no criticism of the Jewish Agency, and he felt that hers was a hasty conclusion.

Mrs. Halprin said that we had won the battle to represent the Jews before the United Nations; therefore, any reference to "Jewish leaders" in connection with Palestine was interpreted as denoting the Jewish Agency.

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Mr. Cruso thought that much was gained during the UN session. But the UN Committee, it seemed, would inquire regarding the views of the State Department. It was necessary to see to it that in its reply, the Department should stress again the demand for 100,000. Secondly, shouldn't the Emergency Council request compliance with the appeal of the UN Assembly for the cessation of terror in Palestine?

Mr. Bublick expressed regret over the profound division as to views and aims existing within the Zionist movement. Homer Bigart's story in the HERALD TRIBUNE, discussed at this meeting, was a case in point. Statements were issued on partition without consultation or agreement. It was decided in Basle that we would demand the whole of Palestine. Our case was presented this way before the UN. The Arabs came before the UN and said Palestine was theirs. The question before the UN was, therefore: to whom does Palestine -- the whole of Palestine -- belong? If some people let it be understood that if we were given partition we would be satisfied, this was done without authority.

Dr. Neumann remarked that the hour was late and work on the American scene remained to be discussed.

Mr. Bublick replied that public relations in America could not be properly conducted unless we knew our stand on partition.

Dr. Silver said that our official position was given at the UN. What he had said to 55 nations collectively he would not find it difficult to say to each of the 55 nations individually. Certainly there was nothing to do but to submit our full case to them. This was no longer quite so simple because our people had gone to certain governments and intimated that they would accept partition. This, of course, worked against us.

Dr. Schechtman believed it necessary to take an aggressive attitude toward those who were trying to maneuver the U.S. Government away from a pro-Jewish policy. These people should be made to realize that they will be constantly attacked unless they start acting in accordance with the traditional policy of the U.S. The same applied to Great Britain. The British were certainly going to instigate a very vicious, anti-Zionist, anti-Jewish program here. There was only one way to counter-attack this: by a relentless attack against the British policy in Palestine. A few weeks ago, he had raised the question of a "Black Book" about British policy in Palestine. The Chairman had told us that the Jewish Agency was preparing such a book. However, this document of the Jewish Agency would be a highly official one, and would hardly present the material in the style suitable for a black book. He believed that in this country, where the real battle would take place, our response and our counter-attack should be conducted under the auspices of this body.

Dr. Schechtman further asked for additional information with regard to Mrs. Epstein's statement that Zionist work in Washington was being conducted with an eye toward partition. Despite Dr. Silver's explanation, there were indications of a dangerous trend. The press had a story that the majority of members of the Executive of the Jewish

Agency in this country had favored Dr. Weizmann's invitation as the spokesman of the Jewish people before the UN. Dr. Weizmann had refused, but intimated it was possible he would come in September. Dr. Schechtman had the impression that the partition proposal and a general appeasement policy with regard to Britain, for which Dr. Weizmann was responsible, were very much alive.

He agreed with Mr. Cruso that the American Zionist Emergency Council should call for a truce in Palestine, but a truce could not be one-sided. Therefore, since everybody agreed that the present trouble in Palestine originated in British policy, our resolution should state that we wholeheartedly support the appeal for a truce and we believe that the Mandatory Power must show a good example by suspending its policies contrary to the Mandate. We should avoid repeating the blunders of the past when the blame for the trouble was put on Jews only.

Dr. Goldstein stated that there may be need for assurances that all members of the Jewish Agency Executive would be kept in line. If there was ever a time which spelled the need for collective responsibility, which meant collective discipline, this certainly was the time. With regard to Judge Rothenberg's observation, he thought that it was clearly the duty of the UN to implement its recommendations and the decisions made, and that if the question did arise, we should state quite clearly that this implementation was the responsibility of the UN. With regard to the American Government, Dr. Goldstein felt that our experience led us to the conclusion that only when we press, and not when we extol, do we get results, and he felt, therefore, that that should be our line. He felt wary about emphasizing the American political interest in a Jewish Palestine. Such reasoning might cause us to lose the ground that we had gained, which consisted chiefly of Soviet Russia's pronouncement.

Mr. Frisch said that we should pursue our claim on the basis of our historic rights, without stressing any arguments which would involve conflicts between major Powers. He expressed grave concern over the "spokesmen" for the Jewish Agency who apparently disregarded the decisions reached in Basle. Mr. Frisch did not agree that we should inject ourselves into the question of truce in Palestine.

Mrs. Halprin said that as far as she knew, no member of the Agency Executive had engaged in talk about partition. She felt, however, that unless we began to face the practical realities of the movement, we destroyed any chance at all of finding an acceptable solution. To say that all of Palestine is ours was to ignore everything that had happened of late. It was necessary to be more practical in approach. We had all been talking here about the fact that we want the American Government to help us. Now the latter had made its position clear: that it could not support a Jewish State in all of Palestine; that it was ready to speak about a viable state in Palestine. Nobody could challenge that this was the position of the American Government. Therefore, when our people asked the American Government to stand by its position, this was, in effect, what they were asking for. If we analyzed all of the statements made by any nation within the UN we would see that no one suggested more than partition. As for the Arab

intransigence, there is that difference that the Arabs in Palestine are twice as numerous as the Jews.

(Dr. Silver interjected that they were ten-to-one when the Balfour Declaration was issued.)

As for the U.S. Government, we were trying to act publicly and diplomatically at the same time. Now, was it wise to attack the people whom we were asking for support?

Dr. Silver took issue with Mrs. Halprin's conclusion that because no member of the UN would come out for a Jewish State in all of Palestine, we shouldn't ask for anything but partition. That was faulty reasoning and would not even lead to partition.

Mrs. Halprin said that the two practical alternatives today were trusteeship and partition.

Dr. Silver said there seemed to be general agreement that the Emergency Council, through its staff, should work out a program of public relations activities now and for the near future, looking to the effective presentation of our case to the American public, so as to induce the Government to press for its traditional Palestine policy rather than stay on the fence and seek refuge in neutrality.

Dr. Neumann said we must not be maneuvered into a false position of proteges of the Kremlin. It was necessary, therefore, to explain to the press that Russia in this matter, instead of pursuing its usual tactics, had come nearer to the American position. Ambassador Austin had said a few words to the same effect. This helped to take the issue out of Big Power rivalry. Now is the moment, therefore, for the U.S. to take full advantage of the situation.

Dr. Neumann also suggested another meeting shortly, to be devoted entirely to the practical questions of the form which our action should take.

Mr. Netanyahu suggested a meeting to discuss the basic differences between us.

Dr. Silver said that that was really a job for the Actions Committee. Reverting to the previous discussion, Dr. Silver said that partition was on the record; nations had discussed it; Gromyko had proposed it. The business for us was to insist on all our rights to Palestine; the various proposals would be considered.

Mr. Netanyahu said that American traditional policy was not clear. President Roosevelt had once issued a statement for a Jewish State in Palestine; then came a statement against a Jewish State; then a statement for partition. Why rely, in particular, on this last statement? We must go ahead with the full Zionist program. As for the USSR, her major proposal was not partition at all, but bi-nationalism. By her recent statement, Russia had demonstrated that she did not consider the Arabs a

factor and, therefore, British fears that the Arabs would fall in the Soviet sphere were pure fiction. He agreed with Mrs. Epstein that the compatibility of American interests and a Jewish Palestine should be stressed in private talks.

Judge Rothenberg cautioned against interpreting the Russian position.

Dr. Silver said it was perfectly proper to suggest that, due to the Russian suggestion, the problem of Palestine seems to have been lifted out of the realm of power politics.

Mr. Friedel said the only positive result of the UN session had been the Russian pronouncement. We should not feel, however, that we already had Russia backing us. Russia was interested in getting England out of Palestine. All the talk about partition was really a discussion of tactics. From the UN deliberations there did not seem to be any hope that they would at this moment agree to a Jewish State in all of Palestine; therefore, the only solutions which really existed were those mentioned by Gromyko: either a dual state, or partition.

Mrs. Epstein said that it seemed clear that we were not ready for a policy directive. She denied the implication that she wanted us to push partition. She agreed that partition would come up anyhow. As for the Government officials, we should be firm, but polite.

Meeting adjourned at 6:45 P.M.

B.A.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

June 4, 1947

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held on Wednesday, June 4th, at 2:30 P.M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Gedalia Bublick, Mrs. Chava Cohen, Prof. Hayim Fineman, Leon Gellman, Mrs. Benjamin Gottesman, Dr. Joseph Schechtman, Louis Segal, Charles Sherman, David Wertheim, Yonah Yanai.

Ernest E. Barbarash, Paul L. Goldman, Dr. Ignacy Schwarzbart.

Benjamin Akzin, Eliahu Ben-Horin, Gerold Frank, Arnold K. Isreeli, William Kaufman, Harold P. Manson, Dr. Benjamin Shwadran, Joseph Sternstein, Abe Tuvim.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH STATE DEPARTMENT ON PUBLICATION OF MUFTI MATERIAL

Dr. Akzin reported on the letter sent to the Secretary of State, on request of the Jewish Agency, to remind him of the urgent need to publish material available in the State Department regarding the ex-Mufti's pro-Nazi activities.

AMERICAN CHRISTIAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE

Mr. Tuvim reported on a highly successful National Seminar on Palestine held by the ACPC in Highland Park, Illinois, on May 29-31, 1947. There were present Christian communal leaders from 68 communities in 27 states. The discussion was on a high level, and the interest manifested was more intense than at a Jewish meeting. Mrs. Blanche Shepard had done an excellent piece of organizing in connection with this seminar, in association with Dean H. M. LeSourd and Dr. C. H. Voss.

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY CONFERENCE

Messrs. Tuvim and Ben-Horin reported that a Conference on the Middle East will be held this week under the auspices of New York University. Among the speakers will be Senator Brewster, Mr. Ben-Horin, Mr. Buxton, Mr. Mowrer, and Mr. Fohs.

Mr. Ben-Horin and Mrs. Shepard contributed in great measure to the holding of this conference.

Mrs. Gottesman expressed the desire that the constituent groups be informed in advance of conferences such as the one in New York University.

TRADE UNION CONFERENCE ON PALESTINE

Mr. Louis Segal informed the meeting of the highly successful Conference of Trade Unions for Palestine held at Atlantic City about ten days ago. The conference was very gratifying and showed that the Palestine cause enjoys a great deal of support in trade union circles.

REPORT BY DR. SILVER ON THE GENERAL SITUATION

Dr. Silver reported that, despite some opposition, the Jewish Agency had been able to secure the agreement of the UN Special Committee on Palestine to have a Liaison Officer of the Agency attached to the Committee. A great deal of material had been prepared by the American Section for submission to the Committee. It was understood that no decision had been reached by the Committee as yet regarding the question of visits to the DP camps, but that this question would be taken up in the course of the Committee's stay in Palestine. The details of the Jewish appearance before the Committee in Palestine would be settled by the Jewish Agency in Jerusalem. The American Section had proposed that the parties not represented in the present Coalition Executive be consulted regarding the character of this appearance. The Actions Committee meeting would seemingly be postponed till July. A plenary meeting of the Executive of the Jewish Agency had been called for June 15th.

Mr. Bublick asked for information on the reported invitation to Dr. Weizmann to appear before the UN Committee on behalf of the Yishuv.

In reply, Dr. Silver stated that his knowledge of this matter was limited to the items which appeared in the press. He had not been consulted by anyone regarding such appearance.

Dr. Schechtman thought that Dr. Weizmann's appearance had major political implications and that both this body and the American Section of the Agency Executive ought to take a stand on it.

Messrs. Segal and Wertheim questioned the right of the Emergency Council to interject itself in the question of Dr. Weizmann's testimony on behalf of the Vaad Leumi, since this was a matter which did not concern the American scene. The point of order raised in this connection by Mr. Segal was upheld by the Chairman.

Mr. Sherman raised the question of Mr. Ben-Gurion's public statements advocating a Jewish State in part of Palestine and the continuation of the Mandate in the rest of the country; he said that the Achdut Havodah issued a public statement denouncing Mr. Ben-Gurion's position, and he believed that the Emergency Council should also take a stand in this matter.

Dr. Schechtman asked, in the light of the discussion, what was the scope of the activities of the Emergency Council. He thought that every Zionist body in any country may express its views on any question affecting the world Zionist movement and press for the acceptance of these views.

Dr. Silver explained that the proper scope of the Emergency Council was to conduct political and public relations work in America. The body often debated other questions as well, but refrained from voting on them. Individuals and individual parties may, of course, issue public statements on such other

questions, and he, personally, had issued a statement with regard to Mr. Ben-Gurion's recent speeches.

Mr. Ben-Horin questioned the wisdom of the appointment of Mr. Eban, a major in the British Army, with British connections, as Liaison Officer of the Jewish Agency with an international committee. He emphasized that the non-British members of the Committee would tend to consider him as representing British as well as Jewish interests, and would, therefore, be reluctant to enter with him into free, informal exchange of views. Independently of his personal qualities and ability, his usefulness as liaison officer would, therefore, be minimized.

Dr. Silver stated in reply that the news stories to the effect that Major Eban had been appointed as Agency liaison with the Committee were premature and unauthorized.

Mr. Tuvim expressed his concern over the prevalence of British subjects and people with a definite pro-British Empire outlook among those who conduct the United Nations work of the Jewish Agency.

Dr. Silver stated in reply that the number of such people is not large, and that provision has been made for many non-British subjects to be associated with this work.

Dr. Schechtman stated that the parties which do not participate in the present Coalition Executive have, among their members, many people with political ability and knowledge who could contribute greatly to the political work of the Jewish Agency. This was certainly the case within his own party. He suggested that steps be taken to ensure the cooperation of such people in the Agency's work.

Dr. Silver said that this seemed to be a legitimate suggestion which should be taken up with the proper authorities.

DR. SILVER'S REPORT ON THE WASHINGTON SITUATION

Dr. Silver reported on his recent consultations in Washington which showed that officials of our Government have now taken the line that nothing should be done to prejudice or to influence the findings of the United Nations Special Committee, and that therefore any expression of American policy at this point would be premature. In a general way they asserted that, "they stood by the American policy", but when asked to define that policy, they invariably were quite vague. This attitude was extremely dangerous in that it meant that our Government was continuing an utterly passive policy and was doing nothing to indicate to those other governments which were watching Washington that the United States would like to bring about a fair, pro-Jewish solution. The efforts now being made in Washington were aimed at explaining the dangerous implications of this attitude, both to high Executive officials and to legislative leaders of both parties. A great many people belonging to both categories were seen, and it was hoped that more would be seen in the immediate future.

Mrs. Gottesman thought that, since American officials hesitated to make a public statement regarding their pro-Zionist stand but assured us that their stand remained unchanged, they could make their views known informally and quietly to those other governments which would like to have an indication of American policy.

In reply, Dr. Silver said that the principal difficulty with the Executive officials was that they did not take us into their confidence regarding either the details of their policy or the steps which they were prepared to take in order to have this policy carried out.

RESISTANCE IN PALESTINE

An exchange of views took place on questions connected with the Jewish resistance in Palestine, with the participation of Prof. Fineman, Dr. Silver, Mr. Sherman, Dr. Schechtman, Mr. Wertheim, Mrs. Gottesman, Mr. Ben-Horin, Mr. Yanai and Mr. Goldman. It was decided to continue this exchange of views at the next meeting of the Executive Committee.

SITUATION IN CYPRUS

Dr. Schechtman read a cable received that afternoon by the United Zionists-Revisionists from Cyprus, as follows:

"LEFT SHLICHIM ORGANIZED POGROM ON BETARIM. MANY WOUNDED.
BETAR ROOMS DESTROYED. THE SHLICHIM ANNOUNCED BROTHER
STRIFE. EVERYDAY NEW OUTRAGES. S.O.S."

Dr. Schechtman suggested that, without inquiring into the identity of those responsible for the clashes, the Emergency Council should send an appeal for truce, and should take such other measures as might ensure the immediate stopping of inter-party clashes in the DP camps in Cyprus.

Dr. Silver suggested waiting for twenty-four hours until the report could be substantiated; should it appear that violent clashes did take place, a suitable appeal for truce would be sent by the Emergency Council, after consultation with the leaders of the constituent groups.

Meeting adjourned at 5:00 P.M.

B.A.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

July 14, 1947

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

PRESENT

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Gedalia Bublick, Philip Cruso, Natan Friedel, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mrs. Samuel W. Halprin, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Judge Louis Levinthal, Rabbi Irving Miller, Dr. B. Netanyahu, Louis Segal, Charles Sherman, David Wertheim.

Mendel Fisher, Dr. Sidney Marks, Judge Bernard Rosenblatt, Dr. Joseph Schechtman, Dr. Ignacy Schwarzbart, Numa Torczyner, Abraham Tulin.

Dr. Benjamin Akzin, Arnold K. Isreeli, William Kaufman, Dr. Benjamin Shwadran, Harry L. Shapiro, Joseph Sternstein, Abe Tuvim.

REPORT ON ACTIVITIES OF ACPC

Mr. Tuvim reported on the activities of the American Christian Palestine Committee and its plans for the fall and the coming winter. He informed the meeting that Dean LeSourd was resigning as Director of the Committee to return to full-time teaching. The ACPC had not yet decided on a successor. Dean LeSourd's last significant activity as Director was a trip to the Coast, where he spent about two weeks doing a magnificent job. In San Francisco, for example, there were 11 meetings in 3 days; he also had 2 or 3 radio interviews. The work on the Coast begun with this visit was now being followed up.

During the summer there were going to be 10 or 12 Fellowship meetings, Christian Youth Conferences, and Summer Sessions of Christian Ministers. It was understood that at several of them, ACPC speakers would participate. In addition, 3 ACPC seminars were planned for the fall in Toledo, Chicago, and Minneapolis.

Special attention was being devoted by the ACPC to the colleges, and an Intercollegiate Christian Committee for Palestine was being sponsored at this time, with the participation of various Christian educational groups. It was hoped that Hillel and IZFA would cooperate, wherever possible acting as the liaison between the Christian and the Jewish student bodies on each campus.

Mr. Shapiro and Mr. Tuvim, in reply to a question by Mrs. Halprin, gave information regarding the position on the faculties.

REPORT ON PETITION OF GOVERNORS

Mr. Shapiro reported that 18 State governors had signed a uniform letter to the President; 6 had sent individual letters. It was hoped that more signatures would be forthcoming within the next few weeks.

ACTION BY 30 REPUBLICAN CONGRESSMEN

Dr. Akzin reported on Congressman Javitz' initiative with regard to the Palestine question. Together with 29 other Republican Congressmen interested in the question, he addressed an important communication to the Department of State. A second letter to Messrs. Marshall and Austin was being contemplated by the group at this time, asking whether the Government intended to announce to the UN its firm adherence to declared American policy on Palestine and its willingness to participate in a solution along the lines of that policy. The Congressmen also thought of introducing a formal Resolution calling upon the Executive to assert American policy as defined by Congress. When consulted, we took the view that such a resolution should have bi-partisan rather than purely Republican backing.

REQUEST TO THE STATE DEPARTMENT FOR PUBLICATION OF DOCUMENTS RE MUFTI

Dr. Akzin stated that, following our exchange of letters with the State Department at the end of 1946, asking it to speed up publication of the material which it had regarding the Mufti's collaboration with the enemy, we had now received a reply stating that the analysis of the material is still unfinished, and adding:

"In view of the fact that this work is still in progress, the Department considers that it would be impracticable to consider the matter of publication at this time."

In reply to the query of Mr. Segal whether the material could not be published by some outstanding publisher, it was explained that presumably the same material had already been published in a very effective form by the Nation Associates and submitted to the UN together with their Memorandum to that body, as well as by the ACPC.

FAREWELL TO JUDGE LEVINTHAL AND DR. GOLDSTEIN

Dr. Silver, on behalf of the American Zionist Emergency Council, bid God speed to Judge Levinthal and Dr. Goldstein, wishing them success in their missions to Europe and Palestine, respectively.

In reply, Judge Levinthal said he knew that Dr. Goldstein's visit to Palestine would be more delightful than his. He realized that the position of the DP's in Europe was becoming more desperate from day to day. He was grateful to the American Section of the Jewish Agency for having joined with the other 4 cooperating agencies endorsing his appointment to this very important assignment. He believed that on

the highest level -- especially the War Department -- there was great sympathy for the DP's and he felt that they really wanted to make the lot of the Jewish DP's more comfortable. He was particularly pleased to note that Secretary of War, Patterson, without any leading questions from himself, seemed to realize that the real solution was resettlement, and resettlement in Palestine.

REPORT BY DR. SILVER ON THE POLITICAL SITUATION

Dr. Silver reported that the Government was unwilling to reveal its position any more than it had already done. It was unwilling to make any further public statements. If pressed, Government officials will say, as they did say to the Senators who called on Mr. Marshall and to others, that the American Government has not deviated from its position on the subject of Palestine; that it was fully aware of the commitments which it had made; but that it did not regard it as opportune to make any public declarations at this time in further amplification of its position, lest it be interpreted as an effort by our Government to exercise undue pressure on the UN Committee of inquiry.

Mr. Cruso asked whether the UN Committee had consulted the American Government prior to its departure.

Dr. Silver said there was no indication of this and he doubted it very much. Continuing his report, he said that if one were to try to analyze the present thinking of the Government, one might draw the conclusion that our Government, as of the moment, had no crystalized policy but that it was leaning increasingly toward the British position. If anything, thought was being given to some form of Trusteeship, with a certain amount of Jewish immigration, and a lessening of the rigors of the land restrictions. Certainly there was no affirmative attitude toward a pro-Jewish solution, or there would have been a greater readiness, on the part of public officials, to take us into their confidence, instead of the stand-offishness displayed at present.

The Government might be relying on the UN Committee bringing in more than one recommendation, and might be hoping that the solution could be found within the framework of that report. At the same time, it should be pointed out that no statement had come forth from the Government brushing off its commitments previously made on the subject of Palestine.

Dr. Silver suspected that the Administration's eagerness regarding the Stratton Bill sprang partly from the hope that passage of the bill would remove the pressure in connection with Palestine. This was also why the American Council for Judaism was so very active in sponsoring the bill. Dr. Silver feared that our Government, instead of regarding Palestine as a great American cause, regarded it merely as a great embarrassment.

In reply to Mr. Segal, Dr. Silver informed the meeting about the contact maintained with leading Republican Senators, notably with the Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee. It was fully realized that Republicans were now in control of Congress. He outlined certain further steps that were intended in order to bring the seriousness of the situation

to the attention of the Executive and of members of Congress.

Mr. Cruso asked whether the American Branch of the Jewish Agency had decided on any directives to the Emergency Council.

Dr. Silver said it had not; this was an American problem, to be decided by the Emergency Council.

Mr. Segal said that in the coming two months, everything possible had to be done to mobilize public support. To that end, he offered a number of suggestions. (Details on file).

Mr. Wertheim noted the lack of clarity in the situation. We did not know whether we wanted our Government to support or to reject the findings of the UN Committee. Hence, we would not know what to ask of our friends. He wondered whether we had any information or advice from the Jewish Agency on this score.

Dr. Silver replied that the Agency had received no information from Jerusalem, but that, judging by press reports and other sources, three blocs were seemingly developing in the Committee -- a pro-Arab bloc, whose spokesman was the Indian; a bloc of those somewhat more favorable to us, the nucleus of which was among the Latin Americans; and the remainder, whose attitude it was too early to foretell. In the circumstances, we were in no position to say that we were prepared to accept whatever the Committee would recommend. The likelihood was that there would not be one recommendation, but a number of alternative recommendations. The feeling now was that the Committee was not inclined to favor either partition or the full Zionist demands. They were probably leaning towards some kind of cantonization.

But what we were concerned with at present was not the attitude of the UN Committee, but rather the attitude of our Government.

Mr. Torczyner felt that public pressure at this moment would be out of place.

Mr. Tuvim thought that our activities should revolve around our indisputable right to ask our Government to stand by American policy vis-à-vis the Committee and visa-à-vis the UN. In addition to the discreet work along these lines, we could develop two types of mass-action: a petition campaign throughout the whole country; and, as part of that campaign, at least 10 State Conferences of all Zionist parties in 10 States east of the Mississippi, at which our program should be clearly voiced. At these 10 conferences, the top leaders of our movement should be assigned as the speakers. Conferences in Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York and Missouri would be especially important. He did not think street demonstrations advisable at this time.

Dr. Akzin said that governmental opinion was not much moved of late by expressions of platonic public sympathy. The international situation was too acute for such expressions of sympathy to count. The one argument that still counted with the Administration was the political argument.

The Administration was becoming very election-conscious, and the time had come for us to show our resentment at its equivocal policy by appropriate means.

Dr. Goldstein thought that favorable editorial comments ought to be stimulated to a larger extent than recently. As for Mr. Wertheim's query regarding our precise demands, he thought that we should ask of the Administration that it declare itself. He did not think it safe to wait until some time close to September 1st. He would rather assume that the American delegation to the UN, and probably the Latin-American countries, were getting advice formally or informally from the State Department even now. This meant that the Government's point of view was already being crystallized.

Dr. Silver drew attention to the editorial in this week's COLLIER'S.

Mr. Cruso felt that parlor conferences with political figures were inadequate. He was prepared to support Mr. Segal's proposals; he agreed with Dr. Goldstein. Through a petition on the one hand, state conferences on the other, we should let the Administration feel the mood of the Jewish and non-Jewish public in the United States.

Mrs. Halprin cautioned against acting unwisely or prematurely. Public demonstrations at this time were both premature and unwise. Before we tried to get the Government to express its opinion we must try to see to it that the opinion should be a favorable one. The emergence of two mutually opposed blocs in the world complicated the picture. Military, political and economic considerations affecting U.S. interests counted for the moment more than covenants. We must try to ascertain whether the military and some of the oil circles could be made to see that Jewish Palestine would coincide with American interests. The purely political approach had led to disagreements in the past. The present was certainly premature for this. Public demonstrations should be held in abeyance until there is evidence of crystallization of Governmental policy.

Judge Levinthal agreed with Mr. Torczyner and Mrs. Halprin with regard to public pressure at this time. On the other hand, he agreed with Dr. Akzin's proposal of unofficial private meetings with representative political figures. Leading Zionists who counted in their communities could discuss the grave situation with editors, radio commentators, members of Congress and others.

Mr. Sherman felt it was too late to do something before the Committee issued its report, simply because we had no rallying point for our action. Before the Actions Committee meets and shapes Zionist policy there was no new proposition we could present. The UN Committee would probably bring in more than one recommendation; some of them undoubtedly favorable to us. That would be the time for which we should reserve all of our demonstrations and mass actions -- the time between September 1-15. In the meantime, we should crystallize our own thinking.

Judge Rosenblatt informed the meeting of the land case and emphasized that our Government will have to take a stand on it very soon.

He was going to ask the State Department to bring the matter up before the International Court of Justice.

Mr. Segal said we could not afford to wait for the UN Committee to issue its report before approaching the Government. Hence, his proposals for immediate action. He thought, moreover, that this Committee was not functioning as well as it should, or else it would have met earlier, without an interval of several weeks.

Dr. Silver announced that this Committee was going to meet regularly from here on -- every 10 days or two weeks. He thought that it was much later than it seemed; it might be almost too late. The UN Committee would be completing its work in Palestine by the 20th of this month; it was going to Geneva and ^{would} write its report ^{there}. He doubted very much whether our Government would wait until the beginning of September, when the report is officially presented, before making up its mind; it was presumably making up its mind now. Therefore, the time to approach it was now. That being so, some of the techniques suggested would take too long; for example, the petition, which would take a month to get organized. We had to use more direct and quicker methods. Mr. Segal's first proposal sounded promising and we should ascertain its feasibility. Other promising avenues were the letter of the governors and the clergymen's petition signed by thousands of the American Christian community. This had been going on for several weeks, and should be accelerated. Another project which he favored was the one mentioned by Dr. Akzin. We had a Political Actions Committee in 1946 which did a very good job. To use a similar approach was still more important now, when everybody was already planning strategy for 1948. Consequently, within the next two weeks the local and national committeemen of both parties, particularly of the Democratic Party, should be seen, and be told how much the Jewish community is perturbed by the Government's attitude.

Mr. Segal moved to proceed along the line which Dr. Silver had just outlined. The motion was carried unanimously.

ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL FINANCES

Mr. Shapiro reported on the budget of the Council for the period October 15, 1946 to June 30, 1947, giving the expenditures for the 8½-month period, month by month, as:

October 15 - October 31, 1946:	\$12,767.95
November 1946:	56,139.68
December 1946:	34,828.04
January 1947:	48,350.84
February 1947:	47,291.41
March 1947:	65,062.78
April 1947:	85,760.58
May 1947:	64,725.89
June 1947:	46,446.80

or a total of \$461,373.97 spent to date. The total for the year, at the expenditure rate of the first 8½ months, would be \$651,351.48. However, anticipating that September and October would be heavy expenditure months,

Mr. Shapiro asked this body to approve the following expenditures for the remaining 3½-month period:

July 1 - 15,	1947:	approximately \$25,000
July 15 - August 15,	1947:	50,000
August 15 - September 15,	1947:	75,000
September 15-October 15,	1947:	75,000
(end of the fiscal year)		

or a total of approximately \$225,000 for the balance of the year. This would bring the total up to \$686,373.97, as against a total of \$710,859.27 spent the previous year.

These figures had already been discussed by Mr. Shapiro with Mr. Frisch. There was some discussion of the budget and it was moved that, subject to the checkup and approval of the Finance Committee, the budget be approved. The motion was unanimously carried.

STUDY OF ACTIVITIES AND FINANCE OF AZEC FOR COMING YEAR

Mr. Segal moved that opportunity be given to the Executive Committee in September to study the functions and activities of this body for the coming year, as well as next year's budget. Motion unanimously carried.

"AMERICANS FOR HAGANAH"

Rabbi Kirshblum brought up the question of the organization,

"Americans for Haganah". (Details on file)

Meeting adjourned at 5:25 P.M.

B. A.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING OF (INTERIM) EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

August 25, 1947

CONFIDENTIAL NO. 114

A meeting of the (Interim) Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held on Monday, August 25th, at 5:00 P.M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Beinush Epstein, Berl Frymer, Mrs. Elliott Glassberg, Mrs. Benjamin Gottesman, Yechiel Greenberg, Jacob Marrus, Charles Sherman, Jacques Torczyner, Henry Weissman.

Ernest Barbarash, Eliahu Epstein.

Eliahu Ben-Horin, Arnold K. Isreeli, Harold P. Manson, Harry L. Shapiro, Joseph P. Sternstein.

Mr. Shapiro called the meeting to order explaining that it was an interim meeting called in the absence of most members of the Executive Committee in order to deal with the emergency created by the Exodus incident. He proposed the election of a temporary chairman, but since no nominations were made, Mr. Shapiro presided over the meeting.

Mr. Shapiro reported about the steps taken when the British Government announced that the Exodus passengers would be returned to Germany. At our request Mr. Swope got in touch with Mr. Baruch who requested Secretary Snyder to intervene. Mr. Sack was in touch with the Department of State, and it appeared that several urgent communications were dispatched to the American Ambassador in London instructing him to intervene with the British Government. Mr. Buxton contacted Mr. Hutcheson with the view to intervening with the President. Senator O'Mahoney called on the State Department to urge action. Public demonstrations and picketing of British Consulates took place in various cities. A large number of telegrams from different cities were sent to the Department of State. There were some good editorials in the New York and Washington press and in papers throughout the country; the Emergency Council received many demands from our friends all over the country asking for a boycott of British goods.

A discussion developed regarding the advisability of a boycott. It was suggested that the meeting should request the Actions Committee now sitting in Zurich to give special consideration to the question of a boycott. The suggestion was supported by Messrs. B. Epstein and Manson. Messrs. Marrus, Frymer, Torczyner, Sherman, and Mrs. Gottesman and Mrs. Glassberg doubted whether such a recommendation could be made by this meeting without further study by the Emergency Council and by its constituent parties regarding the advisability and feasibility of a boycott. They thought that special attention should also be given in any study of a boycott to the

possibility of British economic reprisals against the Yishuv.

Mr. Marrus suggested a large delegation representing many Jewish organizations going to Washington and presenting themselves at the White House. Mr. Torczyner thought that the main action should be reserved for the near future when the United Nations Report will be published. Mr. Sherman favored an official delegation of the American labor movement proceeding to London to discuss the Palestine issue with the head of the British labor movement. Mr. Frymer was in favor of extending the picketing of British Consulates throughout the country. Mr. Weissman thought that the forthcoming negotiations for a new British loan would offer a better opportunity for demonstrating the intensity of Jewish feeling against Britain than a boycott of British goods at this time. Mr. Barbarash thought that the many British subjects in this country who are importers of British goods might inform British authorities of the damage which British policy in Palestine is doing to their economic interests in America.

It was decided to cable Dr. Silver that the question of the boycott was discussed by the Emergency Council, that opinion was divided, that the need for further study of the subject was felt, and that the Actions Committee was asked to give the matter some thought and to advise the Emergency Council.

The meeting terminated at 6:45 P.M.



AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

September 17, 1947

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held on Wednesday, September 17, 1947, at 4:30 P.M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Gedalia Bublick, Philip Cruso, Beinesh Epstein, Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, Prof. Hayim Fineman, Nathan Friedel, Paul Goldman, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mrs. Samuel W. Halprin, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Rabbi Irving Miller, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Charles Sherman, Mrs. Herman Shulman, Numa Torczyner, Jacques Torczyner.

Ernest E. Barbarash, Dr. Simon Federbush, Mendel Fisher, Rabbi Wolf Gold, Judge Bernard Rosenblatt, Abe Tulin, Dr. Ignacy Schwarzbart.

Benjamin Akzin, Eliahu Ben-Horin, William Kaufman, Harold P. Manson, Harry L. Shapiro, Dr. Benjamin Shwadran.

REPORT BY DR. SILVER ON THE POLITICAL SITUATION

Dr. Silver stated that the next few weeks or few months would probably be the most critical in the history of our movement. He commented on Secretary Marshall's statement made before the UN Assembly that morning, declaring that while it was not as clear as we would have liked, it nevertheless included two important statements:

(1) A strong affirmative position seemed to be indicated in the statement that the American Government "intends to do everything within its power at this session of the General Assembly to assist in finding a solution for this difficult problem." This permitted us to hope that America will not sit on the sidelines but would take a leading part.

(2) His closing sentence, "While the final decision of this Assembly must properly await the detailed consideration of the report, the Government of the United States gives great weight not only to the recommendations which have met with the unanimous approval of the Special Committee, but also to those which have been approved by the majority of that Committee", was a fairly strong statement. It remained to be seen how this would be followed up. There were many forces at work to try to shift the American position somewhere between the majority and the minority reports. Undoubtedly Great Britain would attempt that; her position was a powerful one in the Assembly because the majority report charged her with implementing it.

Dr. Silver stated that he was hoping to see Mr. Marshall within the next few days. He was in touch with the members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, including the Chairman, as well as with the Leader of the Minority, John W. McCormack. Every member of the U.S. Delegation to the UN had been seen.

In reply to a question by Dr. Goldstein as to when the matter might come up for decision, Dr. Silver stated that Mr. Shertok had had a talk with Trygve Lie but did not get a final reply. The road would not be smooth; and we must prepare ourselves for a few unpleasant surprises before a decision was made.

In reply to a question with regard to Russia's attitude, Dr. Silver said there was no indication that the Russian attitude had changed. Some of the informed circles felt that the Russian delegation had not yet made up its mind, though the Czechoslovakian, Yugoslav and Polish delegates had made up theirs.

Mr. Tulin said he understood that the Russian delegation will come out in favor of the Majority Report at the last minute and not before.

REVISIONIST ADVERTISEMENT; ATTITUDE TOWARD UNSCOP REPORT

Mrs. Halprin felt that the most important thing we could do at the present time was to present a united front. Separatist steps such as the recent Revisionist ad destroyed this unity. She thought this Committee should exert pressure and discipline the Revisionists.

Dr. Silver reported that the matter had been taken up at that morning's meeting of the Jewish Agency. What was more serious than the ads which had appeared was the information conveyed to us that a spokesman of the Revisionist Party had called upon the State Department and made representations against the Majority Report. The Agency decided that a communication should be sent to the Revisionist Party in this country, advising it of the resolution of the Actions Committee, and that such conduct by them was a violation of Zionist discipline. A communication was also being sent to the other parties, advising them that all political action should be reserved to the Jewish Agency.

Dr. Goldstein asked whether the insertion of an ad could be considered a breach of discipline. Dr. Silver replied that it could not; parties were free to carry on the advocacy of their positions; but they had no authority to go to government to place their position.

Mrs. Halprin said that it had been felt by the Agency that it was definitely a disservice to give the impression that we were not united as regards the Majority Report. Washington evidently wanted to do what the majority of Jews wanted; the ad merely showed that the Jews themselves were not united in wanting the Majority Report.

Dr. Silver said that, whatever our opinion of the merits of the ad, we could not stop any Zionist party from carrying on propaganda for its views, but we could stop it from making representations to governments.

In reply to a question by Mr. B. Epstein, concerning the official Zionist attitude towards the report, Dr. Silver read the resolution adopted by the Actions Committee.

Mr. Epstein said that according to Dr. Silver's statement, the Actions Committee had not as yet accepted that report. Dr. Silver confirmed that it hadn't. Proposals would be made to change the unsatisfactory

features of the Majority Report. What would come out of the UN as the final action of the UN we could not foretell. When it emerged, then our movement would take definitive action. As of the moment, we were backing the Majority Report.

Mr. Ben-Horin referred to the presence of unsatisfactory features in the Majority Report and thought that in the circumstances no Zionist spokesman should express too much satisfaction with the report. Moreover, it might be helpful to have a group within the Zionist movement take a stand against partition.

Dr. Silver agreed that it was desirable to show that there was considerable dissatisfaction with the report. On the other hand, it was dangerous to carry this impression too far.

Mrs. Halprin insisted that the Revisionist attitude implied an unequivocal rejection of the whole idea rather than the desire for improvements. Therefore it was harmful.

Dr. Goldstein recalled that during the discussion of the Political Committee of the Actions Committee, a distinction was drawn between approaches to governments and governmental officials -- a field reserved to the Agency -- and the right of every party to express its views on the problem. Therefore, technically the Revisionists were within their rights. Dr. Goldstein took issue with the threat of irredentism in the Revisionist ad but thought that their opposition to partition in principle would not harm its chances because by this time our Government knows pretty well how to evaluate the relative strength of various Jewish bodies.

Mr. Tulin said we were faced with the problem of getting our Government solidly behind the Majority Report. Even if they knew that the Revisionist Party represents only a minority group, Government officials could use its opposition as an excuse. All Zionist bodies in America are subject to the decisions of the Emergency Council, and the Emergency Council, in his opinion, ought to insist on a united front on this question backing the Agency. If any reservations were to be made, let the Agency make them. He also criticized the ad for repeatedly calling the Negev a desert.

Dr. Silver suggested that the Revisionists be persuaded to act in such a way as not to harm our work within the next few weeks.

Mr. Bublick stated that, although he had voted in the Actions Committee with the majority because he felt that any other course would harm our cause, he did not thereby surrender his conviction as a member of the minority, and he would continue to stand for his opinion. He agreed that no one had a right to take up the matter with the State Department, but he refused to be bound further than that. In addition, he was convinced that expressions of dissatisfaction with the Majority Report would be helpful.

Concluding the discussion, Dr. Silver said there are some who are opposed to partition under any and all conditions; there are others who are opposed to the Zionist movement advocating partition as a solution.

He, personally, had been among the latter from the very beginning. He felt that we should present to the world a statement of our full rights. Anything else was politically undesirable. And if we insisted on our full program, sooner or later certain proposals would be made to us from others that might become the basis for discussion. When the UN Committee finally brought in proposals, and brought in partition as one of the two possible solutions, and, after studying the report, most of us felt that this might be the basis for discussion, the only logical thing for us was to say so. We could have taken the position of those opposed to partition in principle and said that, inasmuch as this report suggests partition, we reject the report. The movement was not prepared to take that position, nor was he personally prepared to take that position. Consequently, we took the position that this Majority Report may serve as a basis for solution. As for the Revisionists, they are opposed to partition in principle; they voted against it in Zurich -- that was perfectly proper. Still, we have a right to turn to them as responsible Zionists and say that, inasmuch as the matter was voted upon and was now coming up for decision, they should not do anything at this moment to scuttle it.

Mr. Cruso asked whether the effort to persuade the Revisionists would deal with their negotiations with the Government or with propaganda activities. Dr. Silver replied that the position on negotiations was clear. At Zurich another party was subject to severe criticism because it, too, went to a government without authority.

REPORT OF MR. SHAPIRO ON CURRENT ACTIVITIES

Mr. Shapiro reported that a pamphlet was being prepared on the Mufti which would be ready by the 25th. It was hoped that the press would use it as a basis for stories. It would also stimulate the demand that the State Department publish its documents on the Mufti. Drew Pearson, in his column on September 14th, had stated that since the State Department would not publish this material, he would do so, and proceeded to give what he called the "most pertinent of them". Of course, it would be much more effective if the State Department published these documents.

PRESS REACTION TO MAJORITY REPORT

In reply to a question by Mr. Bublick, Mr. Manson said that the Zionist reaction to the UNSCOP Report was sent out to the local Emergency Council Chairmen, with instructions to stimulate favorable press comment. A large number of editorials had appeared in the press. We were preparing a pamphlet, to present a cross-record of the American press on the report. An overwhelming majority of the press had emphasized the compromise character of the Majority Report which, while not entirely satisfactory to anyone, represented the best possible solution.

In addition, the Council had been in daily contact with newspaper columnists and radio commentators. For the most part, this had been reflected in the comment.

In reply to a question by Dr. Silver, Mr. Manson said that in every principal city in the country there had been at least one newspaper editorial favorable to the Majority Report. It was necessary, though, to

furnish the press with material pegged to the latest developments.

Mr. Manson further explained that efforts were made to emphasize the significance of the Exodus affair, namely, that it occurred after the UN report had been made public, and that this represented an affront to the United Nations.

POLITICAL DISCUSSION

Dr. Silver stated that the action of the American Jewish Committee had been helpful and that we were hoping to get some other organizations to take similar action.

Mr. Numa Torczyner asked whether there was any information with regard to the British position. Dr. Silver replied in the negative and added that subterraneously the British had begun to obstruct the Report.

Mr. Sherman reported that the Workmen's Circle had taken a positive step with regard to Palestine and had recommended the acceptance of the Majority Report, therefore for the first time favoring a Jewish State. Furthermore, the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union had adopted a resolution favoring the Majority Report. The Executive of the Jewish Labor Committee was to meet this weekend at Asbury Park; the Achdut Havodah-Poale Zion was an affiliate of this Committee, and Mr. Sherman suggested that his organization attempt to obtain favorable action by that body.

Mrs. Halprin said a suggestion had been made to have some Jewish firms put ads in the papers backing the Majority Report. Dr. Silver wondered whether such a campaign might not be interpreted by members of the UN as an effort to stampede them.

Dr. Silver suggested the desirability of having a chain of newspapers publish a serial story on the Mufti, his Nazi activities, etc. He also suggested that efforts be made to obtain the signatures of State Governors for a collective telegram to the President and the Secretary of State.

Judge Rosenblatt asked whether, in view of the possibility that Britain might refuse to implement a UN decision, the Jewish War Veterans in America should come forward and provide the necessary manpower on a volunteer basis. Mr. Cruso mentioned that in an open letter to the Secretary of State, the Jewish War Veterans had already put forth this idea.

Mr. Numa Torczyner, Dr. Goldstein, Mr. Sherman, Judge Rothenberg, Dr. Akzin and Dr. Silver expressed grave doubts as to the advisability of this course.

Dr. Akzin, in this connection, suggested that we back a brief interim period, with neutral nations providing commissioners and a small retinue of officers and non-commissioned officers, but with the bulk of the men recruited among Jews and Arabs, who would serve in their respective areas. This solution was preferable, from our point of view, since Great Powers, once they get into a country, prefer to stay there. The shorter

the interim, the easier it would be to obtain the consent of the neutral countries. A two-year period was unnecessary -- the machinery for establishing new states was the electoral machinery for a constituent assembly and a provisional government; this usually consumed a few months. This plan would reduce American fear of the Soviets taking undue advantage of the interim, and it would eliminate the whip which Britain now holds over the State Department through its threat to withdraw.

Dr. Goldstein asked what were the chances for improvements in the geographical parts of the Majority Report.

Dr. Akzin said that in trying to get new Jerusalem incorporated in the Jewish State, we would have a better chance if we tied it up with those holy places that had been neglected in the Majority Report: Nazareth and Hebron. We should suggest that all the bona fide holy places should be provided for, but only those. Geographical contiguity was not important for a special regime of holy places.

AMERICAN FRIENDS OF THE HAGANAH

Mr. Sherman brought up the question of the activities of the "American Friends of Haganah". (Details on file).

ROSENBLATT LAND CASE

Judge Rosenblatt reported that the Jewish National Fund had now agreed to assist in bringing the case before the Privy Council in London. There was a hearing scheduled for the beginning of October, asking for leave to appeal to the Privy Council. After consultation with competent persons, it was decided not to submit the case formally to the Department of State before the UN Report is in and the Privy Council hearing has been held.

LAWYERS' MEMORANDUM

Dr. Silver referred to the memorandum on "The Basic Equities of the Palestine Problem", which had been prepared by a group of eminent judges and lawyers on the initiative and with the active cooperation of Mr. Tulin, and congratulated Mr. Tulin on this excellent document.

Mr. Tulin stated that the people who signed this memorandum had been deluged with requests for copies by a great many important people -- judges, etc. They all said this was extremely useful; that they had never known these facts. Therefore, he felt that many more copies should be printed and circulated. The cost was not very great. Dr. Silver agreed to have this done.

Meeting adjourned at 6:30 P.M.

B.A.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

October 13, 1947

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held on Monday, October 13, 1947, at 3:30 P.M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Gedalia Bublick, Pinchas Cruso, Beinesh Epstein, Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, Leon Gellman, Paul Goldman, Mrs. David B. Greenberg, Mrs. Samuel W. Halprin, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Louis Segal, Charles Sherman, David Wertheim, Yonah Yanai.

Dr. Simon Federbush, Zvi Herman, Dr. Bernard Joseph, Dr. Leo Lauterbach, Dr. Sidney Marks, Dr. Mordecai Nurock, Dr. Ignacy Schwarzbart, Abe Tulin, Rabbi Jerome Unger.

Benjamin Akzin, Eliahu Ben-Horin, Arnold K. Isreeli, William Kaufman, Harold P. Manson, Leo R. Sack, Harry L. Shapiro, Dr. Benjamin Shwadran, Joseph Sternstein, Abe Tuvim.

REPORT BY DR. SILVER ON THE POLITICAL SITUATION

Dr. Silver spoke of our hopes during these historic days for our people. Despite our well-founded fears as to the attitude of USA and USSR and despite the tension between them, these two world powers who disagreed on everything else agreed on a Jewish State in Palestine. He expressed the hope that this would be the forerunner of similar favorable action from now on.

Dr. Silver then reported on his interview with the Foreign Minister of China from which he had just emerged. China's position, as originally formulated, was negative. After hectic efforts on our part at the last minute, the Chinese statement was revised, but it was still far from good. It now seemed that China might even adopt a favorable attitude to the Majority Report. France was also an uncertain element in the situation.

Success was, as yet, far from assured. Many attempts would be made to sabotage and to entangle the issue in red tape. Great Britain's position was not crystallized yet. It remained to be seen what forces in Great Britain would ultimately triumph on this issue; whether statesmanship and far-visioned diplomacy, or vindictiveness and a desire to perpetuate a bankrupt policy. These two forces may be personified in the two persons, Creech-Jones and Beeley; the two are working at cross-purposes.

In Palestine the Administration, according to reports which had reached us, was taking a very surly and resentful attitude and was preparing to evacuate the country like an invading army which has suffered defeat. But there, too, the thing was far from having been permanently decided.

The Arabs hadn't played their last trick yet. They would do everything to create an impression of the imminence of war. This they had already started, by bombing the American Consulate in Jerusalem. Certainly they were not through playing for a panic propaganda on the UN. They would also speak again and again before the United Nations in an attempt to drag the thing out to a point of utter weariness.

On the other hand, there were bright spots in the picture. Those responsible for the statement of the American Government were now eager to speed action. The Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee, Mr. Evatt, in Dr. Silver's opinion, was friendly and anxious to get action as quickly as possible. And certainly with the two Major Powers in the world coming out for the Report, we had the best fighting chance we had ever had.

Dr. Silver then extended a welcome to the guests who were present at a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Emergency Council for the first time.

REPORT OF MR. SHAPIRO ON EMERGENCY COUNCIL ACTIVITIES

The work which the Emergency Council did during the weeks prior to the U.S. statement goes back to the time when the UN Special Committee on Palestine made its report. Shortly before the publication of that report, we alerted our local Emergency Committees for the action which would be required in the weeks and months ahead. Just before its publication, we sent out a memorandum asking our people and the parties to refrain from making any comment on the report when published and to be guided by the official attitude of our movement, which we would rush as soon as formulated. On September 2nd last, we circulated a Summary of the UNSCOP Report. On the following day we informed our Committees of the Resolution adopted by the Actions Committee in Zurich, indicating Zionist policy in the new situation.

Following the Actions Committee Resolution, our task was to enlist the support of leaders of American public opinion and induce them to urge the U.S. Government to take a strong stand in favor of the Majority Report in the UN as a compromise.

Meanwhile, the Exodus affair was still in the spotlight, and in addition to our public relations efforts to make the Exodus story a paramount issue of public interest, we also drew attention to the special political significance of the affair. Thus, on September 8th we published an advertisement emphasizing that the British Government was carrying out the Exodus operation seemingly oblivious to the fact that UNSCOP had already published its findings, and describing the Exodus affair as a blow against the international structure upon which the peace of the world is to be built.

During the first three weeks of September, we concentrated on press relations. Hundreds of editorials endorsing the UNSCOP report were published, largely due to the efforts of the Council and of local Emergency Committees. Newspapers which had heretofore been neutral or even somewhat hostile, voiced support of the majority recommendations as an equitable compromise solution. In our work with the newspapers our main point was, that the Majority Report is a compromise and an irreducible minimum so far as we are concerned.

We then concentrated on exposing the character of the Arab spokesmen and the hollowness of the Arab threats. The widest possible distribution

was given to Drew Pearson's exposé of the Mufti in his column of September 14th, published in the NEW YORK DAILY MIRROR on September 15th; and on September 26th we distributed what has proved to be a most effective memorandum, prepared by Mr. Ben-Horin, dealing with the Arab threats of a "break with the West". In addition to sending this to all the writers, columnists, radio commentators, editors and others with whom our office had been in contact over the years, we ensured its nation-wide distribution to moulders of public opinion, the radio and the press, through our local Emergency Committees. Many of the editorials that had come into our office had borrowed liberally from the text of this memorandum.

Special attention was concentrated on the Administration through the good offices of leaders of local communities. Particular attention was, of course, paid to the local political leaders of the Democratic Party, and Democratic leaders in all key cities were made aware of the seriousness of the situation.

Our Washington office had worked ceaselessly throughout this entire critical period, and our gratitude was due to Mr. Leo Sack, who was in constant communication with the White House, the State Department, and with leaders of Congress in Washington and, via telephone, with those now in their home States. He succeeded in bringing about the intervention of numerous people in the first rank of Congress, of the Democratic leadership, and of the President's immediate environment, all of whom visited, telephoned or wrote to the President.

After Secretary of State Marshall's first statement before the UN and his subsequent meeting with the Arab delegates at Fort Totten, the situation was discussed anew with the press, resulting in editorials in important newspapers which expressed grave concern over these developments and warned that no "deals" must be made with the Arabs at the expense of the Jews. Of particular importance was the editorial in the NEW YORK POST of October 6th. Public attention was also drawn to the role of Mr. George Wadsworth as State Department adviser to the U.S. Delegation. A number of wires from leading organizations were sent to the President and the Secretary of State, expressing concern over his role.

On September 28th, following Drew Pearson's broadcast, when it was felt that the situation had deteriorated, the Emergency Council was called upon to carry out an all-out campaign: our local Chairmen were apprised of the state of affairs and were asked to take appropriate action. The Rabbis of the country were asked to call upon the members of their congregations, who would be assembling in synagogues on the following day to celebrate Succoth, to take similar action. At the same time, we continued to concentrate upon leaders of public opinion, and in most of our communities the Mayor, the City Councilmen, the local labor leaders, the service club heads, the Manufacturers' Association heads, the ministers, and many others made strong appeals to the White House. Needless to say, the work among leaders of the Democratic Party was intensified. Mayor O'Dwyer had done a splendid job; so had such leaders as Flynn, Fitzpatrick and Hague. Mr. Maximilian Moss, President of the Jewish Community Council of Brooklyn, was extremely helpful in this connection. The Council of Jewish Organizations had been very active in this campaign: our thanks were due to Mr. Isreeli, who was responsible for this aspect, and who had done a splendid job.

The response to this appeal on the part of our people had been truly unprecedented. Not only did we hear from Washington that wires and letters had flooded the White House, but we heard the same thing from the U.S. Delegation to the UN. Local Western Union depots have confirmed the reports of our Emergency Committee Chairmen: to give just one example -- one telegraph station in Brooklyn recorded more than 25,000 wires to Secretary Marshall.

Cities throughout the country had done splendid jobs of bringing to the attention of our Government the weight of public opinion.

Of course, all of this activity was reflected in both the news and editorial columns of the nation's press. We were deeply grateful to Mr. Manson, who had done and was continuing to do a splendid job; he had worked day and night without stint, and his work was reflected in the numerous editorials which appeared throughout the country.

Our Christian friends again proved most helpful. Spearheaded by Dr. Henry Atkinson and Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, a joint appeal was sent to the President and the Secretary of State by 25 of the most prominent Christian religious leaders in America. This was prominently reported throughout the country. The local chapter of the American Christian Palestine Committee, under Dean Alfange, vigorously cooperated with us on all of our projects, as did the many other chapters throughout the country.

During these critical days it was fortunate that the A.C.P.C. had scheduled a number of Christian conferences on Palestine for South Bend, Toledo, Chicago, and Minneapolis-St. Paul. These meetings, held during the days preceding the U.S. declaration, proved very successful, were widely publicized, won influential friends for our cause, and stimulated our own people.

On October 6th, we released to the press the action of 35 State Governors who called for a vigorous U.S. stand in support of Jewish rights. This was the result of many weeks' work. In this work, Mr. Charles Auerbach of Cleveland and Dr. Benjamin Akzin were especially active.

Mr. Shapiro went on to say that a recording had been made of Dr. Silver's speech before the UN Committee; this was being widely distributed through the efforts of the local Committee chairmen for rebroadcast over many local radio stations.

The reaction to this morning's full-page advertisement, "SHALL WE SUBMIT TO BLACKMAIL DIPLOMACY", appeared to be first-rate. Along the same lines, a wire had gone out to leading newspaper editors and columnists signed by Middle East experts including James G. MacDonald, Frank Buxton, Bartley Crum, Frank Gervasi, Edgar Ansel Mowrer, George L. Cassidy, and Eliahu Ben-Horin, suggesting that the American press explode the Arab bluff. A similar wire went out over a week ago from Frank Buxton to the editors of the nation's leading newspapers, calling for editorial comment in support of vigorous U.S. backing of the Majority Report.

Important work was done in connection with the conventions which were scheduled to take place within the next week. Of special significance would be the forthcoming conventions of the American Federation of Labor and of the Jewish War Veterans of the United States, which was to begin its sessions this evening. Mr. Manson had been most helpful in this connection.

We were now engaged in a nation-wide effort to make our Government aware of the dangers still ahead, in respect of attempts to modify and whittle down the area of the proposed Jewish State. No doubt those present had seen the memorandum and telegram which we sent out last Saturday night. Letters from community leaders were now going forward to President Truman and Secretary Marshall, at our request, expressing satisfaction with the U.S. action to date, but cautioning them against attempts at whittling down. The same idea was being transmitted to the press.

All in all, this campaign was very gratifying. It resulted in the U.S. taking the action that it did at the UN. This was the result of building a machine over a period of the past four years, geared to action at every turn of events. There was no sacrifice too great for the members of this staff; most of this work was done on a staff level. Our thanks were due to them as well as to the heads of all the Zionist organizations, who cooperated with us 100 per cent.

Dr. Silver stated that the staff had really done an amazing job under terrific pressure in these last few weeks, with gratifying results.

SUPPLEMENTARY REPORTS AND DISCUSSION

Mr. Sack said he was grateful to Mr. Shapiro for his gracious references to the work he had been doing. Never in a long, active life in Washington had he done anything that had given him greater satisfaction. We had won a great victory, but under no circumstances should any of us believe or think that we had won because of the devotion of the American Government to our cause. We had won because of the sheer pressure of political logistics that was applied by the Jewish leadership in the United States.

On the day following publication of the preliminary report of the U.N. Committee, the Washington office went into action. Mr. Shapiro had that day sent down mimeographed copies of the Summary of the Majority Report. The following day Mr. Sack received from the New York office a digest of the resolution passed at Zurich by the Actions Committee. In the newspapers that morning there was a quotation from Dr. Silver's comment on the preliminary report. Mr. Sack thereupon wrote personal letters to practically every U.S. Senator and Congressman who had ever been at all friendly to our cause. Each of those letters contained a brief review of the Majority Report, Dr. Silver's comment, the Zurich resolution, and a plea to please write and telegraph to the President immediately to support the Majority Report and to urge that it should not be whittled down. At that time (September 12th), Mr. Truman was still in Rio de Janeiro; Mr. Vandenberg was just flying back. When Mr. Truman returned from Rio de Janeiro, he found awaiting him about 40 or 50 letters from U.S. Senators and Members of Congress, urging that the American Government support and implement the Majority Report. Letters had been sent, among others, to Senators Vandenberg, Capper, White, Wiley, Smith (N.J.), Hickenlooper, Lodge, Brewster, Hawkes (N.J.), McGrath (R.I.), Cooper (Ky.), Knowland (Cal.), Ives (N.Y.), Taft (Ohio), Martin (Pa.), Connally (Texas), Barkley, George, Wagner, Thomas (Utah), Hatch, Murray (Montana), Magnuson, Myers (Pa.), McMahon, Lister Hill; Speaker Martin; Democratic Leader McCormack; Rep. Sabath and many others; to Leslie Biffle, Secretary of the Democratic Minority and Mr. Truman's closest friend in Washington; to Mr. Gael Sullivan.

Speaker Martin had issued a statement published in the newspapers; Gael Sullivan had been heroic in support of our cause; Mr. McGrath, two weeks before he became Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, made an appointment to see the President because he was going to Europe later. The day he was appointed Chairman, Mr. Sack telephoned to congratulate him on his new appointment and asked him to get in touch with the President by phone and let him know how upset we were over the Wadsworth appointment. Mr. McGrath did so immediately. The following Monday, Mr. Sack talked with Senator Brian McMahon, telling him that our Jewish people were very upset. So the work continued. On October 1st, when McGrath went to see the President, Mr. Sack wrote him, reviewing the political situation in the country and analyzing past elections. As diplomatically as he could, he pointed out the implication of the Jewish community being aroused as never before. He had information that within the hour, that letter and that cable were on the President's desk.

Mrs. Halprin, commenting on the reports, said that they speak for themselves; an excellent job was done. She felt, however, that this morning's ad was inadvisable. When we put in ads which involve major policy, the constituent groups should be consulted beforehand, particularly when they appear on the day a meeting is scheduled to take place. In her opinion, a great deal of harm was done by that ad, and if it was contemplated repeating it throughout the country, the procedure suggested by her should be followed.

Dr. Silver, in reply, said that many things had had to be done in the last few weeks without meetings; we had all been too busy working, and the staff had to use their best judgment. This particular ad had been mulled over by quite a few people for a period of two weeks. Experts of the Agency thought it was a good ad and that it should be put in. A leading political and industrial figure had called him up that morning to say that it was a wonderful ad.

Mr. Manson stated that the reaction to this ad had been unprecedented; the greatest reaction we had yet had. A well-known leader in the radio field had called him up that morning and said, "After that ad, put me to work".

Mr. Sherman said that we were falling into the Arab trap when we spoke of Arabs in general, as was done in the ad. Instead, we should expose the social and economic conditions in the Arab countries. We could have said in the ad, by way of showing that the threats were a bluff, that the Arab leaders were not at all sure that the Arab masses, exploited by them and held in poverty, would follow them. We should try to draw a line between the Arab leaders and the Arab masses, showing that usury was practised in the Arab countries, where two dozen Arab families owned as much land as 200,000 Arab fellaheen. This would appeal to public opinion and, at the same time, bring over the Arab masses to our side.

Mr. Segal felt that the question raised by Mr. Sherman was a separate problem which had nothing to do with this particular ad. There was great need to counteract the atmosphere of blackmail which the Arabs have created. In doing this, the ad has served a very useful purpose. He understood that this ad had been planned for at least 10 days or two weeks and that it was accidental that it had appeared this very day.

Mr. Ben-Horin reported that, according to reliable sources, the Board of Standard Oil of New Jersey had decided to approve the Majority Report, with a proviso not to make this decision public, but to disclose it if asked by the Government. Information received from a close Lebanese friend confirmed that the Arab military threat is a bluff for political purposes. It seems that Ibn Saud's son refused to make any statement on this matter. There is reason to believe, therefore, that Ibn Saud himself opposes any such threats.

With reference to the ad and the memorandum on which it was based, Mr. Ben-Horin noted that the memorandum had been exceptionally well received by the press and its influence was noticeable in a good many editorials. There were favorable comments by James G. MacDonald; Edgar Ansel Mowrer; Charles Gratke, Foreign Editor of the "Christian Science Monitor"; George L. Cassidy, chief editorial writer of "The New York Post", and many others. Mr. Frank Buxton thought the material in the memorandum ought to be brought to the attention of the public.

The two telegrams sent to the press, one by Frank Buxton and the other signed by Buxton, MacDonald, Crum, Mowrer, Gervasi, Cassidy and himself, debunking the military threats of the Arab States, were possible only because of the long-range enlightenment work undertaken by the Emergency Council over a period of years. It was this which made it possible, at a critical moment, for a statement to be gotten out in a matter of hours, signed by 6 non-Jews out of 7.

Mr. Tulin, in connection with Mr. Ben-Horin's information re Socony, remarked that the Chairman of Socony had written the other day asking him to lunch and a discussion of the Palestine question.

Mr. Tuvim recalled that the work among the oil men went back a few years, when Dr. Silver met with some oil men, and special gratitude for the achievements in this respect was due to Mr. Sidney Herold.

Mr. Tuvim saw some of the work of recent weeks in the field. In Chicago, 12,000 members of Hadassah were contacted by telephone; the ZOA organized flying squadrons; and within 48 hours about 100,000 letters and telegrams came out of Chicago. In Minnesota, after 48 hours, the Governor, Lt. Governor, 2 Mayors, 3 members of the State Supreme Court, etc., sent telegrams to Washington. In South Bend, Toledo, Chicago and Minneapolis, in addition to the letters and telegrams, there was an average of 3 radio broadcasts supporting our cause.

The A.C.P.C. seminars were constantly improving. This was due largely to the type and quality of the speakers, such as Aliza Eskol, John Stanley Grauel and Frank Gervasi.

Dr. Silver, supplementing his previous report, said that following the statement of the U.S. delegation, considerable difference of opinion arose among Arab delegates regarding their next step. Jamal Husseini held that should the Committee of the UN approve the Majority Report, the representatives of the Arab League should announce their opposition and withdraw; Syria asked that not a single Arab should participate in any sub-committee which might be appointed to work out the details of the Majority Report; Lebanon said Arabs should participate in such a sub-committee and introduce

so many modifications and revisions that the Jews would be forced to reject the result; Egypt demanded that no step be taken which might be interpreted as an attempt to intimidate the UN; Saudi Arabia supported the position of Egypt; Iraq asked that the decision should be postponed until after the Soviet Union and Great Britain had spoken. At the end, it was resolved to send a special emissary to take the matter up with the Arab League.

VOLUNTEER FORCE FOR INTERIM PERIOD

Mr. Segal said that, while he had no definite suggestion to offer, he felt it was time to start thinking about preparations in the United States for a volunteer force in keeping with the suggestion made by Herschel Johnson. He thought that between 25,000 and 50,000 young Jewish men in the United States, the largest majority veterans, would volunteer.

Mrs. Greenberg asked whether Dr. Silver could throw any light on what Herschel Johnson meant when he mentioned a volunteer force. Dr. Silver said that he could not, but that efforts were being made to explore what he meant.

Mr. Leo Sack said that our position in Washington would be easier than it had been before; for the first time since Woodrow Wilson, we had the Executive branch of the Government on our side. The press, as evidenced by the editorials in the WASHINGTON POST, the PHILADELPHIA ENQUIRER, and the NEW YORK TIMES, also supported us. Congress would help us as much as possible, even to the extent of making available to us surplus material stored in Cairo and of permitting American troops, if necessary, to go to Palestine to protect the Jewish State.

Mr. Beinesh Epstein said that while it might be expedient to minimize the Arab threat, we shouldn't be over-confident. While the Arabs alone might be weak, the Arabs backed by the British constituted a menace. He had information to the effect that the British were arming and organizing the Arabs for riots. Brigadier Clayton in Cairo had offered the Mufti support with arms and leaders. Now Clayton was in Syria and the Lebanon. O'Sullivan, Assistant Deputy Commissioner of the C.I.D. in Jerusalem, had recently distributed arms to the Arabs in Jenin. A captain in the British C.I.D. in Palestine had recently distributed arms of the latest models to the Bedouins in the desert; the latter, in turn, sold the arms to Jews. Major Farran, with a staff of 12 people, was reported in Nablus, organizing the Arabs and distributing arms. The British apparently planned to see to it that, when the Arabs attacked isolated settlements, the Jews would not be able to come to their aid. The search for Jewish arms had been intensified lately. Even if we could afford to minimize the threats of Syria and the Lebanon, we could not minimize the efforts of the C.I.D. The attention of the U.S. Government and of public opinion should be called to this situation. Mr. Epstein voiced his support of the idea that American-Jewish youth should be called upon to help in the defence of Jewish Palestine.

Dr. Silver said the Executive of the Jewish Agency was meeting the following day and would go into this question. He asked Mr. Epstein for a memorandum detailing all his information. Dr. Silver went on to say that the Yishuv was alert to all these facts and would not be caught unaware. Now that our Government had taken a favorable position, we were able to go to our Government, indicate to them all these facts, and ask for their cooperation.

Mr. Tulin suggested that we should first sound out the possibilities with regard to a volunteer force.

Mrs. Halprin drew attention to the legal and practical questions involved with regard to a volunteer movement, and thought that no definite action should be taken until we found out from the American delegation what was intended by Mr. Johnson's statement.

Dr. Silver felt that we could offer the U.S. delegation some helpful suggestions in this respect.

Mr. Wertheim thought that a small conference of top leaders of the Zionist organizations should discuss this matter. Dr. Silver said such a meeting could be better arranged once we had a clear idea as to what was meant by the U.S. reference.

Mr. Segal asked that the Emergency Council meet shortly to receive a report on this question.

Dr. Silver agreed that if more information was available within the next week or ten days a meeting of the Council should be held at which this should be the first point taken up.

BUDGET OF AZEC

Mr. Shapiro stated that our fiscal year ends on October 15th. A budget had been drawn up but because of the pressure of work, there had not been time to discuss it with the Committee. In view of the present situation, he asked the Executive of the Emergency Council to approve payments for the next three months in the same amounts as last year. AGREED.

MINUTES OF LAST MEETING

Mr. Beinesh Epstein challenged the accuracy of last meeting's minutes regarding the reply given by Dr. Silver to his question with respect to the official Zionist attitude towards the Majority Report. In reply, Dr. Silver explained that the Actions Committee had not accepted that report; that it did adopt a Resolution on the UNSCOP Report approving the idea of statehood, indicating there would be certain revisions and authorizing the Executive to prepare the line of argument to be submitted to the UN, which the Executive had since done. Naturally, the final decision on the Report after it has been revised, will have to be referred either to the Actions Committee or to a Congress.

AMERICAN FRIENDS OF THE HAGANAH

Rabbi Kirshblum brought up a question relating to that organization's activities. Mrs. Halprin, Mr. Sherman and Dr. Silver participated in the discussion. (Details on file).

Meeting adjourned at 5:35 p.m.

B.A.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

December 11, 1947

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held on Thursday, December 11, 1947, at 3:00 P.M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Pinchas Cruso, Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, Natan Friedel, Daniel Frisch, Dr. Raphael Gold, Mrs. Benjamin Gottesman, Dr. B. Netanyahu, Charles Sherman, Rabbi S. M. Zambrowsky.

Ernest E. Barbarash, Paul L. Goldman, Dr. Mordecai Nurock, Charles Ress, Dr. Joseph Schechtman, Dr. Ignacy Schwarzbart, Rabbi Jerome Unger, Samuel J. Zacks.

Benjamin Akzin, Miss Beatrice Cohen, Elishu Ben-Horin, Gerald Frank, William Kaufman, Harold P. Manson, Leo R. Sack, Harry L. Shapiro, Benjamin Shwadrán, Joseph Sternstein, Abe Tuvim.

REPORT BY DR. SILVER ON THE POLITICAL SITUATION

Dr. Silver said that since our last meeting, held a considerable time ago due to the pressure of work in which all of us had been engaged, many great and important things had happened. The greatest of these was the decision taken on November 29th by the Assembly of the United Nations. We are still too close to the event to appraise it adequately. The immediate actions which led to the decision were too numerous and too involved to be reviewed at this meeting. But what took place in the United Nations represented the consummation of what we had striven to achieve all through these years: a realization of the basic program of the Zionist movement.

We did not get, as a result of the decision, all that we had hoped to get. A partitioned Palestine was not the objective of the Zionist movement; it certainly was never the objective towards which the American Zionist Emergency Council had striven. Nevertheless, it represented all that the authorities of our movement believed could be achieved at this time; it represented all that a committee representing the nations of the world was prepared to give us; and it represented for us two tremendous gains: Statehood, recognition of the Jewish nation as a nation on earth, and this marked the end of galuth for our people. With this comes the great opportunity for us to ingather all the dispersed of our people, those who need a new home and have been waiting for it so desperately, and the possibility in a very short time of emptying the DP camps of Europe and giving a home at last to hundreds of thousands of our people. The UN decision is, therefore, of incalculable significance for our people and for the history of mankind. Dr. Silver expressed his belief that the Jewish people could build something very great in that little country, as it did a long time ago.

Many people of our own generation share the credit that goes with this achievement, as do the faithful generations which preceded ours. There is

enough praise and credit and glory to go round for everyone. Credit is due to those who built the Yishuv in Palestine throughout the years, because without their concrete achievements in setting up a de facto nation in Palestine, formal recognition probably would not have been forthcoming. But the immediate achievement is traceable to the work of the American Zionist Emergency Council. It is now clear that the UN decision would not have been taken but for the position which the American Government took, and this U.S. stand was, in turn, a direct result of the organized activities of the Zionists of America. Our work throughout America -- in building public opinion, in canalizing this mass sentiment towards Washington, in bringing it into play quickly and effectively -- finally produced the historic American stand in the United Nations, which won the day for our cause.

The result was in doubt to the last. Due to the absence of a strong affirmative attitude on the part of the State Department, the impression prevailed among foreign delegations that the creation of the Jewish State was not of vital diplomatic concern to the American Government. When the Philippines, Haiti and Greece fell away on the same day, this served notice to many wavering delegations that the American Government was not really concerned about the outcome. Fortunately, we were given a breathing-spell of 36 hours. During this time, we marshalled our forces. Jewish and non-Jewish opinion, leaders and masses alike, converged on the Government and induced the President to assert the authority of his Administration to overcome the negative attitude of the State Department which persisted to the end, and persists today. The result was that our Government made its intense desire for the adoption of the partition plan known to the wavering governments.

Dr. Silver felt it necessary to make these observations because we had just closed an historic chapter, and the Zionists of America should have a sense of deep satisfaction in the knowledge that their labors had proved decisive in the achievement of our victory.

FUTURE OF THE EMERGENCY COUNCIL

Continuing, Dr. Silver said that the question which confronted us now, and the purpose of this meeting, was to begin considering this problem: had the Emergency Council completed its work and should it now be liquidated; had it still work to do, and if so, what was its work, and for how long was it to continue?

Dr. Silver's personal opinion was that, since the Jewish State had only been decreed by the United Nations but was not yet established in fact, the period between the present and October 1, 1948, would be highly critical. Neither the Arabs of Palestine nor those of the neighboring countries were reconciled to the decision of the United Nations. Each delegate of the Arab States arose and repudiated the action of the United Nations and said that his country would not be bound by it. What was happening in Palestine and the Arab world today was indicative of this non-acceptance of partition. Furthermore, they were organizing to fight that decision with every weapon available to them -- legal, propagandistic, and physical.

The legal weapons they had already begun to use in the Security Council this week. Egypt and Syria were maneuvering in an effort to keep the UN from assuming the responsibility which the Assembly placed on the Council. They even objected yesterday to having the Security Council acknowledge that it is "seized of the decision of the UN Assembly" which was officially transmitted to it by the UN Secretariat. They were using propaganda weapons by filling the press of the world with such sensational reports of their opposition to the plan as to give the impression that the plan was unworkable. Coupled with that, they hoped to institute so much physical violence as to persuade the world that the work of

the UN Commission will be impossible and that the whole subject should be reconsidered by the UN. In brief, we were confronted with an attempt to sabotage the decision of the nations of the world. On the other hand, those forces in America in and out of the Government, which had never been friendly to us, were still persisting in their attitude. Only today, an important article in "Newsweek" again indicates that the leaders of the State Department are still opposed to the Jewish State. In addition, it might be necessary before long to turn to our Government for economic support, either in connection with the transportation of hundreds of thousands of refugees to Palestine, or perhaps for a loan, not to speak of getting defense equipment for the Jews of Palestine. It was imperative for these purposes to be fully prepared to reach the ear of the President and of Congress.

It was, therefore, Dr. Silver's considered judgment that the Emergency Council should carry on fully until October 1, 1948 and, in the meantime, to study the question of what should happen after October 1st, and after the World Zionist Congress will have reconsidered what the function of the World Zionist Movement in general, and of American Zionism in particular, should be in the future.

Dr. Silver invited the members of the Committee to state their views on the question.

Mr. Cruso fully shared the views of the Chairman regarding the role played by the Emergency Council during the past years, and he felt that there was a definite need to continue its existence. He was surprised, therefore, to have read the news item in the NEW YORK TIMES of December 11th, of the demands upon the U.S. Government formulated by the ZOA: according to the news item, the ZOA urged the U.S. Government to make available the necessary ships for transporting the refugees to Palestine, adequate military equipment, etc.

Dr. Silver said he understood that there had been no such approach by the ZOA to the Government.

Mr. Barbarash explained that the news item merely reported a resolution adopted by the ZOA Administrative Council, but no independent approach had been made to the Government.

Mr. Cruso said that if such an approach had been made, this would have infringed on the jurisdiction of the Emergency Council. In the light of present conditions it was especially important to define the functions of the Emergency Council vis-à-vis the Agency. The Agency will be the body that will negotiate with the U.S. Government in connection with the implementation of the UN decision. Yet there will be need for supporting action on the American scene. He therefore recommended that a Committee of the Emergency Council meet with representatives of the Jewish Agency with the view to reaching a clearer understanding on the functions of the Council and on budgetary requirements in connection with the Council's activities.

Dr. Raphael Gold said it was essential that the Jewish public be made aware that the state of emergency still exists. In this connection, he voiced his opinion that administration by mere majority was a luxury, and that in time of continued emergency a coalition of all groups was something without which no civilized people could do. There were many precedents in the history of the Western Powers, in time of war or of great economic crisis, for the government to be handed over from a ruling party to a coalition. This applied to Eretz Israel as well.

Mrs. Epstein expressed full agreement with Dr. Silver's presentation. One of

the reasons the Council should not go out of existence at this point was that this might be interpreted by the Jewish public as though the issue were already settled. There was a serious danger of a let-down, and the dangers ahead did not permit of this. In addition, the news item in today's NEW YORK TIMES was an example of what might happen once the Council ceased to exist. That was another reason for keeping this body intact, certainly until October 1st.

Mr. Frisch, who was congratulated by Dr. Silver on a very successful mission to South America, said that the resolution adopted by the meeting of the Administrative Council of the ZOA was intended to supplement, and not supplant, the activities of the Emergency Council. There was no objection to a meeting of representatives of this body and the Executive of the Agency, provided a decision could be reached at this time by the Agency Executive. But they, themselves, do not know now what lies ahead during the transition period between the time when a Jewish State is declared as of right and a Jewish State will take over. He suggested, therefore, to await the meeting of the Actions Committee, which will probably crystallize many of these problems. With regard to Dr. Gold's suggestion, he felt that there was some danger in stressing the difficulties, because in doing this we would be doing what the Arabs and anti-Zionists are trying to get us to do.

Rabbi Zambrowsky stated he felt the impression created by the TIMES news item was that there was a decision to do away with the Emergency Council. He made the same criticism in connection with the fact that the Emergency Council did not take the initiative to bring about a joint celebration of all Zionist parties.

Mr. Shapiro explained that the Council had planned a big meeting to which the President, leaders of the Republican and Democratic Parties, members of various UN delegations, etc., would be invited. This affair was postponed in deference to the wishes of the President of the United States. Outside of New York, joint celebrations had been held in many communities.

Rabbi Zambrowsky was not entirely satisfied with this explanation. The first large public meeting celebrating the UN decision should have been a joint affair sponsored by the Emergency Council. Another task on which the Emergency Council should concentrate now is to conduct a public educational campaign to put an end to all the different Bergson groups in this country still putting ads in the name of this, that and the other thing. At this time people are inclined to listen to the responsible Jewish leadership. It would, perhaps, also be advisable to appeal to some of the non-Jewish supporters of the Bergson committees who may mean well, and explain to them the confusion and disservice resulting from these activities.

Mr. Goldman agreed with Rabbi Zambrowsky's criticism of the failure of AZEC to organize a joint celebration. Some form could have been found whereby the Emergency Council could have been the first to give some expression of joy with reference to the decision. He felt, also, that attention should be paid to some new organizations appealing for funds in connection with the UN decision. He felt that, although until now we had not taken a stand against certain groups, now it was our duty to make clear the need for discipline on the fund level as well as on the political level.

Dr. Netanyahu said his party favored the continuation of the AZEC. The Revisionists were not particularly happy about partition and did not feel in a celebrating mood, but partition was, of course, recognized by them as a historic fact. Whatever the value of this fact, when the Chairman spoke of the cumulative effect of all those forces which worked on behalf of Zionism, he conspicuously omitted a number of factors. He did not wish to deny the excellent work done by

the Emergency Council and, particularly, the value of its work in achieving the partition decision. But besides the campaign conducted in the U. S. and especially by this body, a major factor which was responsible for the final decision was the physical fight waged in Palestine.

With regard to the question of the continuation of the Emergency Council, Dr. Netanyahu believed that not only has the state of emergency not passed, but that we are approaching the real emergency. He believed that the Arab States will exercise their maximum strength to show that they are not just talkers, as Jewish leaders have claimed for so many years. They had to take this position to uphold their general position in the world. They wanted to prove that they were a power to be reckoned with. It seemed that they could create tremendous havoc. The impression was gaining that the Arab States were in a position to occupy Palestine or certainly the Negev, its major portion. If what was occurring in Palestine today was not due to a deliberate policy of Havlagah, but represented the maximum of what the Jewish forces could accomplish, then the prospects were none too bright. If today we cannot -- and our excuse is that we do not want to -- repel completely attacks of bands, how can we face armies? If today Tel-Aviv, the stronghold of the future Jewish State, is besieged by Jaffa....

Dr. Silver interjected that this was not so in fact.

Dr. Netanyahu said this was the prevailing impression.

Dr. Silver asked whether the speaker was talking about impressions or about facts.

Dr. Netanyahu replied that widespread impressions were more important politically than facts.

Continuing, Dr. Netanyahu said he was going into all this to show that the state of emergency was just beginning, and that we were facing very serious dangers in Palestine which may not be minimized. The problem of arms was a major problem and only in the United States could adequate equipment be obtained. Also, the United States could stop the Arab States by diplomatic influence. Therefore, all talk of stopping or even weakening the work of the Emergency Council ought to cease.

Mr. Ben-Horin did not think that the objective facts of the present situation in Palestine warranted Dr. Netanyahu's pessimistic appraisal. He doubted whether the Egyptian, Syrian or Lebanese forces could occupy Palestine. The Trans-Jordan Frontier Force and the Arab Legion, under British command, could occupy Palestine, but this would be tantamount to British occupation. Information reaching us from many quarters, including that given recently to Mr. Sack by Loy Henderson, did not bear out at all Dr. Netanyahu's conclusions. Many recent statements, signed by MacDonald, Buxton, and others, refuted the military strength of the Arab States. Mr. Ben-Horin thought that these statements were true. Serious difficulties may lie ahead, if Jewish forces were deprived of heavy armament, but certain steps were being undertaken to get arms, and there was no need to paint so terrifying a picture. As for Havlagah, the speaker thought that there were many more reasons for caution today than there were in 1929, or in 1936-39. One conclusion should be reached now: that the Haganah and the Irgun should unite; this was the moment to pool forces in the Yishuv. If such a course could be recommended by this body, this would be a constructive step.

Dr. Silver, summing up the discussion, said that there was a consensus of opinion that the work of the American Zionist Emergency Council should continue

at least until next October. Inasmuch as our spokesmen will be in Jerusalem within the next few weeks, at which time the entire Agency Executive will meet there, we will take up the matter of the future program of the Emergency Council with them. By the end of February, on returning from Palestine, if there is to be a new basis for our work, we will discuss it. For the present, the Emergency Council must remain on an emergency basis, on the alert, and its budget will continue on a month-to-month basis at the former rate.

This program was agreed to.

Mrs. Epstein suggested that the Emergency Council send a wire of condolence to Dr. Stephen Wise. Mr. Shapiro said this had already been done.

Meeting adjourned at 4:45 P.M.

B.A.



AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

January 6, 1948

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held on Tuesday, January 6, 1948, at 3:00 P.M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Israel Goldstein (presiding), Gedalia Bublick, Pinchas Cruso, Natan Friedel, Daniel Frisch, Dr. Raphael Gold, Paul L. Goldman, Mrs. David B. Greenberg, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Dr. B. Netanyahu, Louis Segal.

Daniel Auster, Ernest E. Barbarash, Dr. Mordecai Eliash, Mendel Fisher, Dr. Simon Federbush, Dr. Hayim Greenberg, Jacob Greenberg, Avraham Harzfeld, Isaiah L. Kenen, Arthur Lourie, Dr. Mordecai Nurock, Mrs. David de Sola Pool, Mayor Israel Rokach, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Dr. Ignacy Schwarzbart, Abe Tulin, Rabbi Jerome Unger.

Benjamin Akzin, Eliahu Ben-Horin, Arnold K. Isreeli, William Kaufman, Benjamin Shwadran, Joseph Sternstein, Abe Tuvim.

CHAIRMANSHIP OF AZEC

Dr. Goldstein stated that Dr. Silver had asked him to take the acting chairmanship of the American Zionist Emergency Council during Dr. Silver's absence from the country. Dr. Goldstein agreed to assume the acting chairmanship, provided this course would meet with the approval of this body.

On a motion by Mr. Bublick, Dr. Goldstein was unanimously elected acting chairman of AZEC.

WELCOME TO GUESTS FROM PALESTINE

Dr. Goldstein welcomed to this meeting four distinguished guests who had arrived here from Palestine a few days ago: Mr. Daniel Auster, former Mayor of Jerusalem; Dr. Mordecai Eliash, noted criminal lawyer and chairman of the Emergency Council of the Jerusalem Jewish Community; Mr. Avraham Harzfeld, who heads the agricultural settlement program in Palestine; and Israel Rokach, Mayor of Tel-Aviv.

REPORT BY DR. GOLDSTEIN ON THE POLITICAL SITUATION

Dr. Goldstein said that the AZEC's excellent staff was keeping in constant touch with developments. In Mr. Shapiro's absence, Mr. Abe Tuvim was heading the staff. Dr. Goldstein felt that a meeting at this time was proper and perhaps overdue, in view of the developments since the UN decision. There was a let-down in our activity after that decision. New difficulties had arisen, and the Zionist movement in America expected us to give it authoritative guidance. Obviously it was necessary for the entire constituency of the Emergency Council -- the Zionists of America -- to get into high gear once more, but this could not be done until we reached an understanding with the Jewish Agency concerning the needs of the present hour. We also required information regarding the prospects of matters

with which the Agency was dealing, such as the UN Commission, the prospects of an international force, etc. Of immediate concern to us, however, was the problem of the American arms embargo. It seemed to Dr. Goldstein that we ought to point out to our Government that it cannot permit the situation to arise where the Jews of Palestine may be slaughtered for lack of weapons with which to defend themselves. There were also the questions of economic assistance for the Jewish State, shipping for transport of immigrants to Palestine, and diplomatic action of our Government vis-à-vis Great Britain, so as to impress on the latter the need to administer the closing chapters of the Mandate with decency, rather than sabotage the UN decision.

There were people to be seen in Washington. Some would have to be seen by representatives of both bodies; others, by Emergency Council representatives alone. Much work had to be done in the field of public relations, though here the Emergency Council was already active. Thus, Mr. Ben-Horin had prepared a memorandum dealing with the insinuation that the Rumanian Jews on their way to Palestine are Communist agents. But we faced a bigger task. Hostile letters kept appearing in the press, and hostile news stories, from British and other sources, were continually cropping up in the newspapers and on the radio. It was imperative that they should all be answered. After this meeting decided on a program of action, Dr. Goldstein hoped that we would shortly again be fully active.

To acquaint a wider circle of the Zionist leadership with the current situation, Dr. Goldstein suggested that a full meeting of the Emergency Council be called for next week.

In conclusion, Dr. Goldstein apprised the meeting of certain important results and activities of the current UJA drive.

DISCUSSION

Mr. Tuvim said that not only the Zionist rank-and-file but also the AZEC was waiting for guidance. We lacked guidance since the decision of the UN, mainly because the Agency needed time to clarify its course. He felt that the situation had become clarified now and called for an all-out effort to bring about the lifting of the embargo and a plentiful supply of arms to the Yishuv and the speedy implementation of the UN decision by an international force. Dr. Neumann also felt the time was ripe for such activities. Our people in the communities were ready to go to work on this matter. The question was whether we may proceed and with what, if any, limitations.

Another task was to enlighten the communities with regard to current problems. In the next three weeks we could get out half-a-dozen memoranda and directives. Most of the news which was coming through commentators and newspapers stemmed from British or Arab sources and was colored to suit their interests. Something should be done in Jerusalem to ensure the flow of correct news to American reporters on the spot.

Dr. Goldstein thought that emphasis should be placed on the fact that it was the Arabs who were disturbing the peace and that they were in a position to smuggle arms into Palestine from the neighboring Arab countries, to whom Britain was openly selling arms and equipment; Jews were numerically weaker and were entitled to defend themselves against the Arab attackers; they must, therefore, have the weapons for defense.

Mr. Cruso suggested that we seek information before discussing future

action. Dr. Goldstein thereupon asked Dr. Greenberg, member of the Agency Executive, to bring us up to date on the work of the UN Commission; the prospects of opening up the port of Tel-Aviv; the arms question; the problem of an international force; the extent to which the American Government was helpful in bringing about implementation and in inducing a change in Great Britain's attitude; the question of economic assistance and of shipping.

REPORTS BY DR. GREENBERG AND MR. LOURIE

Dr. Greenberg said he was sorry he couldn't report much. It was impossible to forecast the character of the Commission, which had not yet met. With one exception its members were new to the issues, and its chairmanship was still to be decided. A great deal of work would be necessary to clarify the issues for the Commission.

As for the American officials, they refused for the time being to discuss any problems in tangible terms. Their excuse was that, now that the matter had been decided by the United Nations, further developments were a matter for the United Nations, not for any one country. Therefore, there was no understanding with the U. S. Government on any tangible matter.

Dr. Goldstein said that this was a point where the Emergency Council might be helpful.

Dr. Greenberg agreed, and said he assumed that this meeting would reach only broad, general decisions. He suggested that a small group representing the AZEC -- the Chairman and some active staff members -- be appointed to work in daily co-operation with a few members of the Agency.

Dr. Goldstein asked what was the attitude of the American Government on an international force.

Dr. Greenberg said he could not give any information at the present time on this point.

Dr. Goldstein asked whether there was anything today in which the Emergency Council could be helpful.

Dr. Greenberg said there might be, but he was not prepared to say today; it was for this reason that he had asked for the appointment of the smaller coordinating group.

Mr. Frisch asked whether there was an agreement between the Haganah and the Irgun. Dr. Greenberg said it was a safe guess that there was no such agreement.

Dr. Goldstein asked whether any approach had been made to the Government with reference to a grant or a loan, and with reference to shipping facilities.

Dr. Greenberg replied that the small committee would be given full knowledge of the efforts made.

Mr. Lourie, supplementing Dr. Greenberg's report, said that with regard to an international force, the press had reported that this matter was under discussion, and he wished to confirm this for the information of those present. It was understood that, for the time being, the United States did not favor such a force, but might consider a plan whereby defense equipment would be made available to the Jews. The Security Council had undergone a slight change in membership in the

course of the past few days which was not to our advantage. Under the Charter, 7 affirmative votes were needed in the Council. Of the present Council membership, only 6 had voted for the Assembly Resolution.

A third aspect of our work was concerned with the Working Group of the Trusteeship Council which was dealing with the Jerusalem Statute. That Working Group met last month for about a fortnight. It adjourned before Christmas and was due to meet within the next few days. Dr. Eliash and Mr. Auster had come over to assist in the work of that Working Group. We had assurance that they would be able to take an effective part in the work of that body, and for the coming three or four months they and those associated with them would be very actively engaged in drawing up the Statute. Mr. Shertok would not be here until the 9th or 10th.

Mr. Lourie felt that if the Jews in Palestine could not receive arms from this country for their self-defense, we would be creating a situation which might result in their slaughter. Mr. Lourie described the situation in the Old City of Jerusalem, where the Arabs controlled the five gates to the city and examined anyone wishing to enter. This, in a way, was the case with all of Palestine -- surrounded by 6 or 7 Arab States sending arms into that country. That in the face of such a situation the Jews of Palestine should be left helpless for the lack of arms, was inconceivable.

Commenting on Mr. Tuvim's suggestion, Mr. Lourie said that the matter of tendentious news reaching the American press from Jerusalem was brought to the attention of the Agency Executive by cable.

Mr. Segal referred to the suggestions made before the UN decision that volunteers among former Jewish GI's be enabled to go to Palestine. He wondered whether the Agency gave this matter its consideration, and what was its attitude.

Mrs. Greenberg asked whether, in line with Mr. Lourie's last suggestion, we should ^{not} start immediately a campaign for arms to the people who are carrying out the decision of the United Nations.

Mr. Tuvim said that he had discussed this point with Dr. Neumann and Mr. Lourie. Our plan was not predicated on lifting the embargo but on the moral and legal responsibility of the U. S. Government to help implement the United Nations decision and to enable the Jews to defend themselves. This could be emphasized by public action as well as by informal representations.

Mr. Ben-Horin thought that the main weakness of our position was that we were pushed into the defensive with the most nonsensical stories, such as the tale of refugees going to Palestine being Communist agents. We should seize the initiative and openly voice our charges against Britain and the Arab States. We should also question the justification of the U.S. embargo.

Dr. Greenberg said that, in his opinion, any volunteer movement from America for the Haganah would, for the time being, be ill-advised. As for an international force, this involved approaching the United Nations Commission which would have to take the initiative vis-a-vis the Security Council. But in dealing with American authorities, we ought to stress that arms must be furnished to the Jewish community in Palestine in conformity with the United Nations decision. This would appeal to public opinion, and might appeal to the Government.

Dr. Goldstein and Mr. Tulin asked for a distinction between lifting the embargo and furnishing arms.

Dr. Greenberg said this was not a question for laymen, but that within 24 hours a consultation with legal experts should be held on this question.

Mr. Tulin concurred in this suggestion, and added that in the campaign suggested by Mr. Tuvim and with which he was in full agreement, the role of England in the Palestine disorders should be emphasized.

Mr. Tuvim said that AZEC was planning to devote major attention to this point.

Mr. Frisch expressed his dissatisfaction with the position taken by Dr. Greenberg. This body, representing all Zionist groups in the country, was entitled to be taken into fullest confidence. He doubted whether members of the Agency Executive had a clear grasp of the situation. He thought it deplorable that at a time when the defense situation in Palestine was so critical, Haganah and Irgun had not yet joined forces. It was essential that the American Government which, through its inaction, was now responsible for the insecurity of 700,000 Palestine Jews, be approached privately and publicly with a view to obtaining arms for the Yishuv. In his opinion, this would not interfere with the Agency's negotiations, and it should be done immediately, without further consultations with the Agency.

Judge Rothenberg thought we can make the Government feel that it has been remiss. Arabs are attacking Jews, and not vice versa. Neither the United Nations nor the U. S. Government was taking any action. Were American Jews expected to let the Yishuv be slaughtered? The present policy did not stem from a law passed by Congress, but from an edict of the State Department which had used its judgment incorrectly. The longer we failed to point that out, the more public opinion would be influenced unfavorably.

Dr. Akzin said that public opinion and governments had approved partition because they thought the Jews were strong enough to overcome Arab opposition. Current developments had created doubts as to the feasibility of partition. We should make it clear that what was going on now in Palestine was a boxing match where the stronger boxer has his hands tied behind his back. All that was necessary was to untie his hands.

There was not much sense in complaining that the Arab States and the Arab Higher Committee were obstructing, because they had said they would do so. There was more room for criticism of the British, but here again no one really expected them to cooperate. We had to concentrate, therefore, on the U. S. Government. Whatever the demands of the Agency, these would not be granted so long as the State Department remained in full and sole control of the situation. It was necessary, therefore, once more to enlist White House support, just as this had proved necessary on former occasions. In view of the information received from Dr. Greenberg and Mr. Lourie, we should refrain from formulae that would call for UN action, and ask for measures which were within the sphere of USA authority, viz., either permission to acquire and send arms to those parties which accepted the UN decision, or the grant of American arms supplies on a kind of lend-lease basis.

Mr. Segal thought that, in taking so long a time before acting, this body was failing in its duties. He agreed with Mr. Frisch and Judge Rothenberg as to the general problem. The Yishuv has to be defended; it has no arms. We feel that the U. S. Government is morally obligated to give it arms. The U. S. Government is too slow in fulfilling its obligation. Had the Government fulfilled its duty, certain incidents would surely never have occurred.

Negotiations behind closed doors would be required, but in order that they should prove successful it was essential that we should come out in the open and state our case against the State Department attitude.

Mr. Rokach said this was not the time for academic discussions of technicalities. In his view, the British officials enroute to Lake Success to advise the UN Commission, Messrs. Fletcher-Cooke and Trafford Smith, intended to scuttle the decision of the UN. He wondered what would be done here to counteract their influence. During his ten days in New York he noticed the lack of correct information from Palestine, and he regretted that Dr. Greenberg did not give this information at this meeting. He was still more shocked by the silence of American Jewry in the face of events in Palestine. How could we remain quiet when reading that the Old City Jews of Jerusalem are blockaded? How was it possible that, with a hundred thousand British soldiers with all the necessary equipment, the authorities allowed blocking the gates to the Old City of Jerusalem and keeping 1500 Jews imprisoned for days? If the Haganah or the Irgun did not break through, it was because they were prevented by the British from coming to the Old City.

The gist of the whole matter was the attitude of the British in Palestine, and not of the Arabs in Palestine and in the neighboring States. He knew of members of the Haganah being killed by the British. He knew of their being taken prisoner by the British, released and told to go away, and then shot in the back when on their way. The Haganah was ^{considered} illegal and could not use the arms it got. At every opportunity, the British were disarming it. Palestine needed money more than arms. Those mobilized and their families had to be maintained. Arms were to some extent manufactured by the Yishuv. But the most urgent matter was for American Jewry to make an outcry against the treacherous attitude of the British in Palestine.

Dr. Goldstein said this body was very glad to hear about the capacity of the Yishuv for self-defense if given a chance, and said that the voice of American Jewry would be raised against the doings of Britain.

Mr. Tulin commented with regard to the press in this country that not only have the articles appearing in the TIMES and the other papers been bad, but the headlines have been worse. The press was doing subtle British and Arab propaganda. With regard to our own people, the voting of the Jewish State by the UN resulted in the expression of doubts as to the further need for the Zionist movement in America. The State Department was using the situation to stalemate us. And he was afraid that we had permitted ourselves to be maneuvered into that position. There are some things which the Zionists of America can do that the Agency can't do. Nobody could question his loyalty to the Agency, but one of the things we can do better now, for example, is to make representations to our own Government. This should be done immediately.

Mr. Greenberg did not feel that it would be easy to bring the U. S. Government to take our side openly, though justice is certainly with us. But after all, if America could take unilateral action on our behalf, other countries could do the same for the Arabs. It was essential, therefore, that we work through the United Nations. We should, however, press the Government regarding the plans it proposes to bring before the Security Council. There were three possibilities: a UN Army; a symbolical UN Army of 10,000, and the rest recruited on the spot; third -- the worst and most difficult -- Haganah acting under the aegis of the UN.

In his opinion, we should not come out too strongly against Britain because she is represented on the Security Council and can do us much harm there. Finally,

Mr. Greenberg thought that we had neglected to some extent our press enlightenment work and were on the defensive as far as public opinion was concerned. This should be remedied.

Mr. Bublick thought that the Zionists of America failed in not giving voice to their feelings, and this had led people in Washington to believe that we were satisfied. The celebrations, banquets, inscriptions in the Golden Book of the President, Herschel Johnson and others, had produced this impression among non-Jews throughout the country. It was up to us to indicate in Washington our real feelings of anger with our Government for not having done its duty, to let them know that we felt they had let us down. He fully agreed with Messrs. Frisch and Rothenberg. In addition, he suggested a mass-protest meeting in Madison Square Garden.

Mr. Cruso said we certainly should use all the means at our disposal to exert public influence on the White House and the State Department. He said that Mr. Eliahu Epstein had reported at another meeting that there was an attitude of hostility in the State Department, even on the part of those officials with whom he had been negotiating for a year or two and who were previously friendly, possibly because they thought partition would never go through. Now that the decision had passed, they were hostile. It was, therefore, imperative to arouse public opinion. Mr. Rokach's report was most informative and showed that we must carry on an intensive anti-British campaign. If the MANCHESTER GUARDIAN could ask for the legalization of the Haganah, certainly we could do that and also ask our Government for arms for the Haganah.

Dr. Greenberg said there was a wide area of agreement at this meeting and there was no necessity to exaggerate the scope of disagreement. When he said previously that certain things should be taken up by legal experts, he eliminated himself as well. Certainly the Emergency Council should remain in the picture and make representations. It was only a question of timing. If his advice were asked about representations to the White House or the State Department within the next four days, his answer would be "no" because both places were busy with an entirely different angle of our situation. When the time comes for representations, we could emphasize that Great Britain, for all practical purposes, has abdicated in Palestine, and this puts us in a position vis-à-vis the U. S. Government to demand that the Haganah be recognized. When he referred to a small committee to meet the next day, he did not mean to eliminate anybody here; it was merely a question of getting things formulated by a smaller group. Fundamentally, we should concentrate within the next few weeks on (a) telling the truth about Great Britain's role in Palestine; and (b) vis-à-vis our own Government, we, as Americans, should urge it to do its duty. This was a task for the AZEC. He agreed with the suggestions made by Dr. Goldstein, Mr. Tuvim and Dr. Akzin. In this respect there was no disagreement around this table, nor between the AZEC and the Jewish Agency. As for details, they would have to be worked out.

Summarizing the discussion, Dr. Goldstein said that Dr. Greenberg's suggestion for the appointment of a small committee, which had been premature an hour-and-a-half ago, was now acceptable. We needed the discussion we had just had. The spheres of action of the Emergency Council, of the Jewish Agency, and of joint action by both bodies were now clear. What still remained to be decided upon was along what lines our protest should be registered in Washington. Our views should also be made known through a public relations program, with the help of the press, the radio, and the public platform. We must make our Government understand that Jews in Palestine have to be given a chance to defend themselves and must be given arms to do it. It was doubtful whether all the necessary arms were available in Palestine. More were needed. In our public relations program, we must place the

Jewish side before the public: this is not merely a boxing match; this is the case of Arab aggressors on the one side, and the Jewish people defending itself against them on the other. We must point out that our Government's job was only begun when it helped to adopt the Palestine decision. Arms for Haganah, as well as legalization of the Haganah, were necessary. Britain's treachery should also be castigated.

It was agreed that we should not approach the Government within the next few days, but should prepare the way for such approaches later on.

PLENARY MEETING OF AZEC

It was agreed that a plenary meeting of the Emergency Council be held in the near future, the date to be left open.

SUPPLEMENTARY REPORTS FROM PALESTINE

Mr. Auster said he wanted to impress upon the meeting the seriousness of the situation in Palestine. In his opinion, the present attacks were only a rehearsal and would become more serious. He therefore wondered at the quiet which prevailed on the American scene. The situation in Palestine was not just a case of abdication on the part of the British; they were actively preventing us from defending ourselves. There were incidents where arms taken away from the Haganah people had been given to the Arabs. It would not be sufficient if money or arms were sent, so long as the British remained there. He was in favor of asking for an international force to be sent to Palestine. We should also urge that either the whole Commission or at least a part of it go to Palestine as soon as possible. Their presence would prove helpful. The most urgent task, however, was to see that our own defense forces were united as quickly as possible.

Dr. Eliash said that securing arms was not sufficient. He warned of a possible war of attrition which might go on for years and which certain forces might use as an argument that the partition of Palestine is a practical impossibility. It was felt in Palestine that American influence should go to the root of the problem, by exercising pressure on the British Government and on the Arab Governments with a view to securing a change in their attitudes.

Re supplies, even if arms could not be sent today from America, bullet-proof cars could be. A dozen bullet-proof cars would help the situation no end. Dr. Eliash had been asked particularly by the Vaad Kehilla to stress the necessity for obtaining these vehicles. We must have a couple of helicopters in Palestine. Money was needed as well. Time was of the essence; the situation was considered to be extremely serious.

Mr. Harzfeld said the Arab aim was to cut off certain areas and to isolate them. First they had wanted to cut off the Negev. That didn't work. The second part of the plan was to isolate parts of the Huleh -- here they also did not succeed. The third was in Beisan. They wanted to isolate the Jordan Valley from Emek Jezreel. Now they were blockading the Old City of Jerusalem. If this situation continued for several more days, the Jews would have to break through the blockade.

The situation in Safad and on Mount Scopus was particularly shocking. There was a police post just on the outskirts of Safad, yet the police did nothing to stop the blockade. Mount Scopus, a distance of not even one mile from the center of Jerusalem, was under constant attack. The same was true of the Jerusalem-Tel-Aviv road. It meant, therefore, that there was an open plot to allow the

Arabs to blockade and cut off and isolate these areas. We should expose this vicious plot.

Mr. Tuvim said the most shocking fact of all we had heard today was the fact that this was the first time we had heard these things. We would have had four or five press conferences by this time if we had known of these facts earlier.

Mr. Rokach suggested that the Council send a cable of encouragement to the Yishuv and a communication to Great Britain regarding the situation in the Old City of Jerusalem.

Meeting adjourned at 6:15 P.M.

B.A.



AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING OF PLENUM

January 21, 1948

A meeting of the Plenum of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held on Wednesday, January 21, 1948, at 8:15 P.M., at the Barbizon-Plaza Hotel, 58th Street and 6th Avenue, New York City,

PRESENT (Incomplete List)

Dr. Israel Goldstein (presiding), David Breslau, Gedalia Bublick, Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, Natan Friedel, Daniel Frisch, Leon Gellman, Paul L. Goldman, Mrs. David B. Greenberg, Mrs. Samuel W. Halprin, Rabbi Irving Miller, Mrs. David de Sola Pool, Mrs. Herman Shulman, Numa Torczyner, David Wertheim, Leo Wolfson.

Daniel Auster, B. Burstein (Greater NY Council, Poale Zion), Rabbi B. Cohen, Dr. Mordecai Eliash, George Feinstein (Secretary of Bronx ZOA), Dr. Simon Federbusch, Miss Zelda Funk, Mrs. Samuel Gattegno (Bronx ZOA), Jacob Greenberg, Mrs. Joseph Hamerman (Hadassah National), S. Kaplan (Poale Zion, Bronx), Al Katz (ZOA, Indianapolis, Ind.), Arthur Lourie, Dr. Mordecai Nurock, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Mr. A. P. Schoolman, Moshe Shertok, M. J. Silverberg (Poale Zion), M. S. Taylor (7th ZOA District), Abraham Tulin, Rabbi Jerome Unger.

Benjamin Akzin, Eliahu Ben-Horin, Gerold Frank, Arnold K. Isreeli, Harry Steinberg, Abe Tuvim.

REPORT BY DR. GOLDSTEIN ON THE POLITICAL SITUATION

Dr. Goldstein said it was about two weeks since he began to serve as Acting Chairman in Dr. Silver's absence. He hoped Dr. Silver's absence would be brief because he was needed here. After welcoming Messrs. Shertok, Eliash and Auster, he reviewed the unfavorable developments since the UN decision, particularly on the American scene. From all indications, the State Department was British-oriented and desired a revision of the UN decision. Influential military quarters took the same view. It was understood that the Cabinet would discuss the Palestine problem shortly. It appeared that the strongest opposition would be encountered in Washington to any international force calling for American or Soviet contingents. The suggestion was made that the precedent of 1939 and 1940, when private American citizens joined the British and the French in their struggle against the Axis, might be repeated in Palestine. As for the embargo, the feeling in friendly circles in Washington was that in the course of time and with strong pressure, the shipment of arms for the Jews in Palestine might be permitted, especially if the UN would express itself in this sense.

It had taken some time following November 29th for the Jewish Agency to formulate its policies, but this had now been done, and the Emergency Council was girded for what was going to be one of the most active periods of its history. The capable and alert staff of the Emergency Council, headed in the absence of Harry L. Shapiro, by Abe Tuvim, had shown a great deal of initiative.

All those present had seen the advertisement placed by the American Christian Palestine Committee and the four points which it emphasized. These are also the points upon which the American Zionist Emergency Council is basing its attack. It was the duty of the Emergency Council to expose the attitude of the Arab States vis-a-vis the UN, the duplicity of the British, and the role of the State Department.

Dr. Goldstein analyzed the political situation and reported on certain current activities of the Emergency Council: a press conference in Washington for Mayor Rokach; consultations with Congressional leaders; a meeting with a large number of members of Congress, with Dr. Goldstein and Dr. Neumann participating; conversations with Mayor O'Dwyer; the letter by Mayor Rokach to several hundred Mayors throughout the country. It was now planned to increase our Washington staff for the next critical weeks. The American Christian Palestine Committee had been active. Its ad had appeared in a number of important newspapers in and outside of New York; copies of the ad had been sent to 3500 key individuals throughout the country. The newly-organized Committee for Arms to Palestine was headed by Dean Alfange and was working in close coordination with the American Zionist Emergency Council. A great deal of material was being furnished to editors, columnists and radio commentators by our people, and editorial comment was generally favorable. On the other hand, hostile comments were on the increase, mainly inspired by Washington sources, and there was the special problem of the NEW YORK TIMES.

Mass meetings were taking place all over the country, and telegrams and letters were reportedly being sent to Washington in unprecedented numbers. Our main effort should be directed at obtaining the wholehearted leadership of our Government in implementing the UN decision.

REPORT BY MR. SHERTOK (on file).

LETTER FROM DR. NEUMANN (on file).

DISCUSSION

Mr. Tulin thought that our requests in Washington should be directed to the need for speedy implementation. The precise form of the measures to be taken should be left to private negotiations. He emphasized the danger of a position where the American Government could maintain that Palestine was no longer the concern of the United States, but the concern of the UN. At the same time, much capital could be made by our enemies of the fact that the UN resolution was just a recommendation, without binding force. Therefore, in approaching our Government, we should base our requests on American traditional policy, rather than on the UN recommendation. The Government took one little step in the Assembly toward asserting that policy; now it should go further. We should ask the Government to support the Jewish State in Palestine with all the means at its command, and first of all, to let us ship arms to our beleaguered brethren. It was reported in the press that Mr. McGrath had said he was mending all the fences he could. Well, here was a fence that he had to mend, and it should be impressed upon him that the fence was badly broken.

Mr. Bublick said that of the two methods of political action, through discreet approaches to leading personalities and through appeals to public opinion and mass demonstrations, he preferred the latter. Letters were received by him daily demanding that this approach be followed. He urged a mass demonstration of half-a-million Jews marching in the streets of New York. He also felt the

need of a mass-demonstration of Jews from all over the country in Washington, and expressed his concern over the failure of the Emergency Council to secure an interview with the President.

Rabbi Miller agreed that the fight for the UN plan should not be allowed to become a purely Jewish fight, but should rally around itself all Americans of good-will. He expressed gratification over the American Christian Palestine Committee advertisement. Taking issue with Mr. Tulin, he thought it unwise to underestimate the deep concern for the UN in America. The fact that the UN had adopted the plan was therefore of great value.

He suggested holding a National Emergency Conference of the American Zionist Emergency Council in Washington, and rallying the support of elements and personalities in Jewish life who hitherto had not cooperated with us but were now ready to help.

REPORT BY MR. ABE TUVIM ON EMERGENCY COUNCIL PROGRAM

Mr. Tuvim said that the present political and public relations program of the Emergency Council was predicated on the four points mentioned by the Chairman and appearing in the ad of the American Christian Palestine Committee. The AZEC had been working along these lines for the past three weeks in agreement with the Agency. Prior to that, there had been a period of delay in coordinating the efforts of the Agency and the Council. Our communities were straining at the leash. It had been a very unwelcome task to hold them back, but this had to be done until the policy to be pursued was clearly formulated. The first gratifying result of our efforts to enlighten the country was reflected in favorable editorial and radio comment. Mr. Tuvim explained the preparations made for mass-meetings and contact with leading political figures in different localities and on a national scale. (Details on file).

DISCUSSION (Cont'd.)

Mrs. Epstein expressed her satisfaction with Dr. Goldstein's and Mr. Tuvim's reports and suggested the need to answer adequately the oil argument used against us.

Mr. Ben-Horin said the campaign which we were undertaking at this critical juncture could be greatly helped by Dr. Silver's return to this country.

Dr. Goldstein thought the suggestion had merit.

Mrs. Halprin said Palestine needed the one American leader who was there now. Recalling him would be taken as an acknowledgment of weakness on the part of American Zionism. The movement was eager to do all that was asked of it, and it was unfair to assume it needed one man to rally it. We should do what we can do here, and let Dr. Silver do what he can there and bring encouragement to the Yishuv.

Judge Rothenberg expressed appreciation of Mr. Shertok's analysis of the present situation. He advised against implying that American policy on Palestine had still to be formulated. Instead, we should emphasize that the American Government has adopted a policy; that its position in the United Nations was a consequence of that policy, and that all that is needed is to implement it. He agreed that the Palestine issue should not remain merely a Jewish issue. It certainly should not remain merely a Zionist issue. Today, the Jews of America were behind the

Jewish State policy. Witness Judge Proskauer's letter to the Editor of the Times. Judge Rothenberg suggested an all-embracing Jewish Conference on Palestine, with the participation of prominent non-Zionist Jewish leaders.

Mr. Wertheim supported the idea of mass demonstrations in order to show the general American public that the Jews are in earnest. If possible, these demonstrations should take place earlier than the National Conference in Washington.

Mr. Tuvim explained that the plan was for Brooklyn to have a mass-meeting under the auspices of the Brooklyn Zionist Emergency Council, in Manhattan under the auspices of the Manhattan Zionist Emergency Council, and so on, for each borough.

Mr. Frisch joined in expressing appreciation of Mr. Shertok's report. He felt sorry that Mrs. Halprin, in emphasizing the strength of the movement, belittled the role of the individual leader. In every phase of history, it was an individual leader who crystallized the ideas of the movement, and Dr. Silver happened to be one of these leaders. There was a great deal to what Mrs. Halprin said when referring to the fact that the Yishuv needed Dr. Silver's presence. But since the suggestion as to Dr. Silver's return had been made, it would be better to send him the minutes of this meeting so that he could decide where he was needed most.

Dr. Goldstein, summarizing, said that had Dr. Silver anticipated the rapid developments of the last weeks, he might have hesitated to go. Since Dr. Silver was perhaps not entirely aware of the things we knew as a result of our contacts with Washington, he should be made aware of the situation, so as to be in a position to make a decision as to where he was needed most. Dr. Goldstein felt the meeting had been fruitful. In addition to the informative report of Mr. Shertok, we had had an opportunity to discuss our program of action, and as he saw it, the program as outlined by Mr. Tuvim, with the addition of one or two further suggestions made here, had the approval of all those present. The additional suggestions were those of Mr. Bublick for large-scale mass demonstrations; of Judge Rothenberg for an all-Jewish impressive Conference, in order to demonstrate American-Jewish unity on the subject of Palestine; and the suggestion of Rabbi Miller for a National Emergency Conference of all our Emergency Councils.

Meeting adjourned 12 midnight.

B.A.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

January 29, 1948

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held on Thursday, January 29, 1948, at 3:00 P.M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Israel Goldstein (presiding), Gedalia Bublick, Beinesh Epstein, Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, Natan Friedel, Daniel Frisch, Leon Gellman, Dr. Raphael Gold, Mrs. Benjamin Gottesman, Mrs. David B. Greenberg, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Rabbi Irving Miller, Dr. Emanuel Neumann, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Charles Sherman, David Wertheim, Baruch Zuckerman.

Daniel Auster, Ernest E. Barbarash, Dr. Mordecai Eliash, Arthur Lourie, Mrs. Golda Meyerson, Dr. Mordecai Nurock, Dr. Ignacy Schwarzbart, Abe Tulin, Rabbi Jerome Unger.

Dr. Benjamin Akzin, Eliahu Ben-Horin, Gerold Frank, Arnold K. Isreeli, Dr. Benjamin Shwadran, Joseph P. Sternstein, Abe Tuvim.

REPORT BY DR. GOLDSTEIN

Dr. Goldstein said that it was found impossible to advance our cause in Washington without the support of public opinion. The American Zionist Emergency Council accordingly informed the constituent groups and local committees that the mass action for which the rank-and-file had been clamoring for a long time, was now in order. The response to this was highly gratifying. Jews throughout the country were now active along the lines suggested by us. Results could already be discerned in editorials, comments of columnists, and particularly in communications that had been addressed to Washington by local communities and personalities. As an instance, Mr. Gael Sullivan had told Dr. Goldstein that he himself must have had received five thousand telegrams from local political leaders. Large meetings were also part of the program. In New York, a mass meeting had been arranged at Manhattan Center for February 5th. Mayor O'Dwyer was scheduled to speak and so was Senator Tobey. The other boroughs were arranging meetings in the course of the next two weeks. The Young Zionist Actions Committee had held a very large meeting two nights ago, commemorating the American Jewish boys who had died in Palestine. The Board of Rabbis had issued a statement, the Synagogue Council of America had been quite active. All this might be expected to gain further momentum. Other suggestions were being studied. Public attention was now focused on the situation in Palestine and on the dilatory attitude of the Administration. This had improved the political climate and had made it easier to persuade the Administration to adopt a more responsive attitude.

Dr. Goldstein reported in detail on the contacts made with leading personalities in Washington and elsewhere, on the information available regarding the attitude of President Truman, Secretary Marshall, Secretary Forrestal and others, and on the dinner meeting held in Washington with some fifty members of both

Houses of Congress. There seemed to be some substance to the story published by James Reston that the Administration was trying to enlist Republican support for a new Palestine policy. The oil argument and the tense international situation were being used to obtain Republican and general Congressional support for an abandonment of the United Nations Plan. Some progress was being made in counteracting these manoeuvres, but much remained to be done.

We have just begun, Dr. Goldstein continued, to stem the tide that has been manacing us during the last month. It was necessary to fomulate the best possible answer to the insidious oil argument, and to work out a program for enforcement, perhaps in terms of a volunteer force rather than of national contingents. Our contacts in Washington should be intensified, and our personnel there increased. And it would be most helpful if our friends throughout the country would make known their thoughts on the subject of Palestine to the White House and to the members of Congress in ever-increasing numbers.

Dr. Goldstein informed the meeting of the forthcoming return of Dr. Silver and thanked the membership and staff of the Council for the cooperation which they had given him.

NATIONAL EMERGENCY CONFERENCE

Dr. Goldstein asked the Executive to authorize the holding of a national conference of Zionist Emergency Committees, in line with a suggestion made in the plenum. (ADOPTED)

DISCUSSION

Further clarification of the political situation and of the measures to be taken was achieved during a discussion, with the participation of Rabbi Miller, Dr. Akzin, Mr. Tulin, Mr. Ben-Horin, Mrs. Epstein, Mr. Zuckerman, Mr. Frisch, Mr. Tuvim, Mr. Wertheim, Mr. Isreeli, Mr. Friedel, Dr. Goldstein and Dr. Neumann.

REPORT BY MRS. GOLDA MEYERSON

Mrs. Meyerson said that, while bending all our efforts to obtain the support of the American and other governments, it was essential for us to strengthen our own forces, since it was possible that the Yishuv would have to bear the burden of carrying out the United Nations Plan. Because of this, it was essential that the hands of the Yishuv be strengthened immediately, chiefly through the provision of a maximum amount of cash to enable the Haganah to purchase military equipment.

Regarding the attitude of the British, Mrs. Meyerson said that, while their aversion to partition was known, it was not foreseen that they would practically align themselves with the Arab forces against the Yishuv. Once this became clear, it was nevertheless decided to concentrate the limited forces of the Yishuv on one front and not to open a second front. Despite provocation on the part of the Government, open conflict with the British was avoided, contacts with the High Commissioner and Chief Secretary were kept up, and the liaison with the police and the military was intensified. All this was done in an effort to prevent further deterioration. There was some measure of success, but essentially the attitude of the Government remained unchanged. Demoralization in the lower ranks of the police was complete. On a higher level, the Chief Secretary -- being a stronger personality and more hostile than the High Commissioner -- was in control. Not a single promise made to Mrs. Meyerson or to Mr. Ben-Gurion on the question of security had been kept.

The meeting adjourned at 6:15 P.M.

B.A.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

March 8, 1948

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held on Monday, March 8, 1948, at 3:00 P.M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Gedalia Bublick, Pinchas Gruso, Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, Natan Friedel, Daniel Frisch, Berl Frymer, Dr. Raphael H. Gold, Paul L. Goldman, Mrs. Bert Goldstein, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mrs. Sam Goldstein, Mrs. David B. Greenberg, Mrs. Samuel W. Halprin, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Rabbi Irving Miller, Dr. Emanuel Neumann, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Yehuda Tubin, David Wertheim.

Ernest E. Barbarash, Isaiah L. Kenen, Isaac Naiditch, Dr. Mordecai Nuseck, Dr. Ignacy Schwarzbart, Abraham Tulin, Rabbi Jerome Unger.

Dr. Benjamin Akzin, Eliahu Ben-Horin, Gerold Frank, Arnold K. Isreeli, Harold P. Manson, Dr. Benjamin Shwadran, Joseph P. Sternstein, Abe Tuvim.

REPORT BY DR. SILVER ON THE POLITICAL SITUATION

Dr. Silver reported on developments in the Security Council. The action taken by the Council, though not entirely satisfactory, put the Security Council and its future deliberations behind the resolutions adopted November 29th, and directed negotiations to be carried out with a view to the implementation of those decisions. No ground was lost to date. The matter was now in the hands of the Big Four, and it was anybody's guess what would emerge from their deliberations. Efforts might still be made on the part of one or another government to suggest new negotiations with Jews and Arabs. On the subject of an international force there was great hesitation on all sides. There are somewhat better prospects for a favorable decision on the Jewish militia, and this might lead to the revision of the embargo. By now the Administration ought to be aware that the Austin statement was badly received all over the country.

Palestinian Jewry has agreed on the composition of a Provisional Government to be appointed by the UN Commission. Dr. Silver didn't think that the Commission would interpose any serious difficulties. They would, of course, see to it that places on the government were reserved for the non-Jewish residents of the Jewish State. The report in the press about the coordination of Haganah and Irgun seemed encouraging. The negotiations have been concluded satisfactorily; the agreement must now be ratified by the Executive of the Agency. If this were done, it would be a great gain for Palestine Jewry.

REPORT ON EMERGENCY COUNCIL ACTIVITIES BY MR. TUVIM

Mr. Tuvim reported that the activities launched some time ago were being sustained over a long period. Wires and letters continued to reach Washington in large numbers, meetings were being held, political leaders were being reached by Jews and Christians in numerous communities, and there was no let-down in any of these activities. In the larger centers, Chicago, Boston, Philadelphia, there was even an increase in activities. The Zionist parties were cooperating wholeheartedly in these efforts. The ZOA, the Hadassah, and occasionally the Labor groups, were re-issuing our directives to their memberships.

SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT BY RABBI MILLER

Rabbi Miller said that from the vantage point of Washington it was possible to observe the terrific negative reaction of American public opinion to Austin's speech. The spontaneous reaction of the press, of the columnists and of people in public life, who were almost unanimous in calling it a sell-out, has made a profound impression. After reporting in detail about the various activities conducted recently in Washington, Rabbi Miller drew attention to the fact that the anti-Zionist forces have lately enlisted writers, educators and churchmen to create an unfavorable current of opinion.

DISCUSSION

Dr. Silver, Mrs. Greenberg, Mr. Manson, and Mrs. Halprin discussed the stepped-up activities of the Gildersleeve-Kermit Roosevelt group and the use by that group of material originating with Merwin K. Hart and Benjamin Freedman.

Mr. Cruso informed the meeting of the support given to the partition plan by Jewish Trade Union groups and of the stoppage of work officially ordered by the trade union movement in protest against the policy of the Administration.

Mrs. Greenberg informed the AZEC of the Conference arranged by the American Association for the United Nations which she had attended. The conference was attended by representatives of 62 organizations, united in "The Emergency Committee To Save the United Nations and the Palestine Decision". The policy of this body was to stress the importance of the Palestine issue in the general context of strengthening the United Nations. The organization planned newspaper ads, radio broadcasts, etc.

Mr. Tuvim said that the AZEC was cooperating with this organization, not only nationally, but also in the local communities.

Mr. Goldman said the only mass demonstration arranged by the Zionist movement lately was the meeting in Manhattan Center some time ago. He felt a desire on the part of the Jews in New York to demonstrate on a larger scale, by closing shops and stores, etc. Our failure to call for action of this kind gave an opportunity to groups with no deep interest in our cause to utilize it for their own purposes.

Dr. Gold asked that more attention be paid to enlightening the church groups in the Christian communities regarding the Palestine issue.

Mr. Ben-Horin drew attention to the confusion created by the similarity of the names used by the organization formed by the United Nations Association with the "Committee to Save the United Nations and the Jewish State", formed

by the extreme left groups.

AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE

Dr. Goldstein, Mrs. Epstein, Judge Rothenberg, Mr. Wertheim, Mrs. Halprin, Dr. Neumann, Rabbi Kirshblum, Mrs. Israel Goldstein and Dr. Silver participated in a discussion with regard to the American Jewish Conference. It was felt that the continued activity of the Conference was of great value.

BUDGET

Mr. Tuvim requested authority to spend an additional \$100,000 to intensify our work until October 1948, of which \$50,000 was to be used for the work of the Council proper. APPROVED.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN JUSTICE DEPARTMENT AND ZOA

Dr. Akzin reported on an exchange of correspondence between Mr. Foley of the Justice Department and the ZOA.

COMMUNICATION FROM THE LOS ANGELES EMERGENCY COUNCIL

A communication was read from the Los Angeles Emergency Council suggesting the integration of the work of all friendly organizations.

Dr. Silver said that the AZEC requested additional information from Los Angeles on this question.

REPORT OF MR. MANSON ON HIS VISIT TO PALESTINE

Mr. Manson said that he found the Yishuv firm in its resolve to carry on. He had heard these words many times, but had never really felt their significance until he himself witnessed the behavior under the most difficult circumstances of the very wonderful youth which he was sure had no equal anywhere in the world. The security problem there was very serious. One could not overstate the urgency of the arms needs. He illustrated the situation by relating his experiences in the training centers and at the fighting fronts.

Replying to Mrs. Epstein, Mr. Manson said that the Agency Press Department includes some first-rate people who are trying to do a very difficult job under the worst of conditions. He analyzed the public relations problems that exist in Palestine today and stressed that, in dealings with American correspondents, the problem was mainly one of organization. The average American reporter believes that both the Jews and the Arabs are constantly bombarding him with propaganda, while he is seeking primarily the "dry facts" concerning daily events. The British have very cleverly set themselves up as a "neutral" source of information, and the communiques issued by the Public Information Office in Jerusalem are seemingly objective accounts of military engagements. They are, in fact, distortions, but are presented in so "dispassionate" a way as to convince the newspaperman that the PIO should be his chief source of information. He very seldom covers events himself because he doesn't want to be killed.

Mr. Manson had made specific proposals to the Agency in order to improve the public relations set-up and he believed that they were being put into effect.

Meeting adjourned 5:20 P.M.

B.A.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

March 30, 1948

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held on Tuesday, March 30, 1948, at 8:15 P.M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Pinchas Cruso, Beinesh Epstein, Natan Friedel, Daniel Frisch, Dr. Berl Frymer, Dr. Raphael Gold, Paul L. Goldman, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mrs. Benjamin Gottesman, Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Rabbi Joseph H. Lookstein, Rabbi Irving Miller, Mrs. Nathan D. Perlman, Mrs. David de Sola Pool, David Wertheim.

Rabbi Wolf Gold, Itzhak Karpman, Isaiah L. Kenen, Miss Jeannette Leibel, Arthur Lourie, Elihu D. Stone, Yehuda Tubin, Abraham Tulin, Rabbi Jerome Unger, Samuel J. Zacks.

Dr. Benjamin Akzin, Gerold Frank, Arnold K. Isreeli, Harold P. Manson, Leo R. Sack, Harry L. Shapiro, Dr. Benjamin Shwadran, Abe Tuvim.

REPORTS OF AZEC ACTIVITIES

Mr. Shapiro reported on the activities of the Emergency Council in the past week, particularly in the fields of press, speakers' bureau and community activities. He drew attention to the concerted efforts made lately to place Zionism in an unfavorable light, as evidenced by the editorial in "Life", the Kermit Roosevelt article in "Harper's", the Dodge article in Reader's Digest and others. All this required a special effort to enlighten the American public as to the true state of affairs, which was being done.

Mr. Tuvim reported on the progress of two planned mass activities, the Veterans march on April 4th and the Day of Mobilization and Prayer on April 8th. Both demonstrations were shaping up well. About 40,000 veterans were expected to march, and it was hoped that tens of thousands of people would attend the demonstration. On the Day of Prayer, all religious groups were cooperating most diligently. The ZOA and Hadassah were very helpful, and he suggested that the other constituent groups be asked about their work in this connection.

DISCUSSION

Rabbi Miller informed the meeting that there was a desire on the part of some business people in New York to participate in the Mobilization Day observance on April 8th by closing their businesses.

Dr. Frymer reported that the L.Z.O.A.-Poale Zion, the Pioneer Women and their affiliated groups, had been in touch with all their branches and had contacted their membership on the telephone to assure the success of the Veterans' march. Mobilization Day activity had not yet started.

Dr. Silver requested Dr. Frymer to explain a reference to him in a recent Poale-Zion circular. After an explanation by Dr. Frymer, Dr. Silver took sharp issue with its propriety and veracity.

"AMERICAN VOTERS FOR A JEWISH STATE"

Dr. Akzin and Mr. Tuvim reported that an organization had been formed in New Jersey under the name of "American Voters for a Jewish State". Some questions had arisen as to our attitude regarding that body.

Miss Leibel, Dr. Silver, Dr. R. Gold, Mr. Wertheim, Rabbi Lookstein and Mr. Stone took part in the discussion. The suggestion was made that the Council disavow that organization. It was felt, however, that this might constitute an inappropriate interference with the exercise of their rights by individual American citizens and that, since the organization was entirely unconnected with the AZEC and with any Zionist group, no action on the part of AZEC was called for.

PRESS REPORTS ON VOLUNTEERS FOR PALESTINE

Dr. Silver expressed regret over the press reports of Bergson-group propaganda for recruiting volunteers for Palestine. He invited the constituent bodies to acquaint their membership with the harm which this propaganda was causing the Zionist movement.

The question was further discussed by Rabbi Miller, Mr. Stone, Mr. Goldman, Rabbi Gold, Dr. Silver, Mr. Manson, Mr. Tulin and Mr. Wertheim, who asked whether the United Zionists-Revisionists and the Irgun were connected with this propaganda. Dr. Silver replied that as far as he was aware, this was not the case.

REPORT AND DISCUSSION ON THE POLITICAL SITUATION

Dr. Silver reported on the latest developments in Lake Success and Washington. The attitude of the American Government, as evidenced by Mr. Austin's resolutions introduced that afternoon in the Security Council, was most shocking. There was reason to believe that this policy did not originate with the heads of the Government but that they were used by subordinates and by special interests intent on bringing about an unfavorable solution.

Questions and comments were offered by Dr. Akzin, Mr. Tulin, Mr. Epstein, Dr. Goldstein, Dr. Gold, Mrs. Pool, Mr. Friedel, Mr. Lourie and Rabbi Miller.

JOINT CONFERENCES WITH NON-ZIONIST GROUPS

In reply to an inquiry by Rabbi Miller, Mr. Tuvim reported on the consultations with non-Zionist groups. Thought was being given to a conference of about 150 leaders in New York.

Rabbi Miller believed that such a conference would not sufficiently dramatize the feelings of the American Jewish Community. He visualized an extraordinary assembly of 20,000 delegates in Madison Square Garden, representing every organization, synagogue, lodge, district, and chapter, which would issue a historic declaration on behalf of the Jews of America.

Mr. Manson and Mr. Tuvim voiced their approval of the suggestion and proposed that this meeting be held on May 16th.

VETERANS' MARCH

A brief discussion took place regarding the technical aspect of the Veterans' March and the Madison Square Park meeting scheduled for April 4th.

Meeting adjourned at 10:30 P.M.

B.A.



AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

April 6, 1948

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held on Tuesday, April 6, 1948, at 4:00 P.M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Rabbi Irving Miller (presiding), Pinchas Cruso, Beinesh Epstein, Natan Friedel, Mrs. Bert Goldstein, Mrs. Benjamin Gottesman, Miss Hadassah Levine, Rabbi Joseph H. Lookstein, Mrs. David de Sola Pool, Numa Torczyner.

Ernest E. Barbarash, Dr. I. B. Berkson, Rabbi Philip S. Bernstein, Arthur Lourie, Yehuda Tubin, Rabbi Jerome Unger, Dr. Ignacy Schwarzbart.

Dr. Benjamin Akzin, Gerold Frank, Arnold K. Isreeli, Harold P. Manson, Harry L. Shapiro, Dr. Benjamin Shwadran, Joseph P. Sternstein, Abe Tuvim.

REPORT BY MR. SHAPIRO ON EMERGENCY COUNCIL ACTIVITIES

Mr. Shapiro reported on some of the activities of the Emergency Council in the press, through community contacts and in the magazine field. A concerted propaganda campaign was now being conducted against the UN decision by the State Department, Defense Department, the major oil companies, the Arabs and the British. Despite this array of forces, some progress was being made in enlightening the country. Good work was being done in Washington.

A splendid job had been accomplished by the communities throughout the country. Many large mass activities were being conducted this very week, most of them on Thursday night following the Day of Mobilization and Prayer. The New York Veterans' Parade had generated a demand for similar demonstrations in many of the larger cities. In Chicago and St. Louis similar affairs were already scheduled to take place. In Los Angeles, Milwaukee, Boston and Baltimore large-scale activities were being carried on at the moment.

In the labor field, the Poale Zion had taken the initiative for a mass rally of the labor movement at the Yankee Stadium on April 14th. The AZEC expected to give its full cooperation in this effort.

REPORT BY MR. TUVIM ON THE VETERANS' PARADE

Mr. Tuvim said that the Jewish War Veterans had estimated that 50,000 people participated in the parade. Estimates on the audience varied; most papers gave 250,000 for the march and 150,000 for the meeting in Madison Square Park. A conservative estimate of those participating in the march and the meeting, in addition to veterans, would be 350,000. In addition to the New York press, it was understood that Chicago papers had covered the demonstration, as did the newsreels.

Mr. Tuvim proposed that a letter of thanks be sent to the Jewish War Veterans for their magnificent part in the demonstration on April 4th. APPROVED.

Mr. Tuvim further expressed his appreciation of the full cooperation which the AZEC received on that occasion from the constituent groups.

Rabbi Lookstein expressed appreciation for the work of the AZEC staff.

Dr. Schwarzbart said reports from the DP camps indicated the feeling that they were being let down by American Jewry. He suggested the sending of material on the parade and of a message that would help to lift their morale.

REPORT BY MR. ISREELI ON DAY OF MOBILIZATION AND PRAYER

Mr. Isreeli said the project had originated with the Union of Orthodox Rabbis who called together representatives of various organizations, Mr. Isreeli representing the Council, for a day of prayer and intercession for Palestine. The Mizrachi was especially active in this matter, and Dr. Silver was also consulted. The Synagogue Council of America, which represents orthodox as well as conservative and reform congregations, joined in this project. As a result, over 8,000 synagogues and 1,200 rabbis in various communities were cooperating on this project. In many neighborhoods work was being stopped and businesses closed on that day at 4:00 o'clock. Scores of manufacturers and manufacturers' associations cooperated in this regard. Postal cards were being distributed to the synagogues for the sending of protests to Washington, and many communities and synagogues were printing their own cards.

Many places outside New York were even more active than New York. A particularly gratifying feature was the unprecedented solidarity of the different rabbinical groups which were cooperating on this proposal. The Agudah was also very helpful.

In conclusion, Mr. Isreeli reported on the rabbinical convocation and service held in the Anshe Chesed Synagogue in New York with the participation of Dr. Silver.

Mr. Cruso suggested that in addition to individual protests, collective resolutions of protest might be adopted by congregations.

Mrs. Bert Goldstein asked whether it was contemplated to extend the religious demonstration to the churches as well. Mr. Shapiro replied that in some places Christian ministers were going to participate in the Jewish services. Rabbi Miller said that churches might set aside a Sunday to hold special services.

Mr. Shapiro said that the Prayer Day services would receive good news coverage and possible editorial comment.

REPORT ON THE POLITICAL SITUATION BY MR. LOURIE

Mr. Lourie reported on the political situation, including a review of the recent Security Council meetings, American proposals for a trusteeship and a truce, activities of the UN Palestine Commission, and the activities of the American Section of the Jewish Agency.

Rabbi Lookstein, Mrs. de Sola Pool, Numa Torczyner, Dr. Akzin, Dr. Schwarzbart, Rabbi Miller, Beinesh Epstein, Pinchas Cruso, Natan Friedel and Mrs. Bert Goldstein participated in the discussion of this report.

Mrs. Pool asked whether the group of organizations led by the American Association for the United Nations was still active in its support of the UN decision. Mr. Shapiro confirmed this fact.

Rabbi Lookstein said the situation in Jerusalem should be given serious attention. Christian sentiment should be aroused over the safety of Jerusalem.

Mr. Shapiro informed the meeting regarding the steps taken in this matter.

THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON

Mrs. Bert Goldstein thought that something should be done to indicate that the march on Washington being organized by certain groups for April 15th was not in any way connected with the Zionist movement. Perhaps this result could be achieved by organizing some similar activity on our own.

Rabbi Miller and Mr. Shapiro concurred in thinking that while no such demonstration could be organized prior to April 15th, it was clear to the public that the Zionist movement was unconnected with the "March" planned for that day.

TELEGRAM FROM JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL OF HAIFA

Rabbi Miller read a telegram which had just been received from the Jewish Community Council of Haifa. It contained a plea from the parents of those imprisoned in Kenya. Mr. Lourie said that the matter had already been taken up by the Agency; the British were quite obdurate in refusing to release the detainees before their troops were removed from Palestine on August 1st.

Meeting adjourned at 6:00 P.M.

B.A.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

(Jointly with American Section of Jewish Agency for Palestine)

April 27, 1948

A joint meeting of the Executive of the American Zionist Emergency Council with the American Section of the Executive of the Jewish Agency was held on Tuesday, April 27th, at 8:15 P.M. at the office of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, 16 East 66 Street, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Dr. Nahum Goldmann, Mrs. Samuel W. Halprin, Dr. Emanuel Neumann, Moshe Shertok.

Beinesh Epstein, Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, Natan Friedel, Daniel Frisch, Dr. Berl Frymer, Dr. Raphael H. Gold, Mrs. Bert Goldstein, Mrs. Sam Goldstein, Mrs. David B. Greenberg, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Rabbi Irving Miller, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Charles Sherman, Mrs. David de Sola Pool, Elihu D. Stone, Baruch Zuckerman.

Herschel Auerbach, Ernest Barbarash, Mr. and Mrs. Harry Batshaw, Rabbi Philip S. Bernstein, Pinchas Cruso, Moses P. Epstein, Mendel Fisher, Paul Goldman, A. Goodman, Mrs. Benjamin Gottesman, Jacob Greenberg, Zvi Herman, Mrs. Arthur Lourie, Dr. J. Lieberman, Benjamin Mintz, Dr. S. Moses, Isaac Naiditch, Mrs. D. Rabinowitz, Jacob Riftin, Mrs. S. Rosensohn, Dr. Ignacy Schwarzbart, Mrs. Moshe Shertok, Miss Marie Syrkin, Jacques Torczyner, Yehuda Tubin, Abe Tulin, Rabbi Jerome Unger, Dr. Oscar Wolfsberg.

Dr. Benjamin Akzin, Eliahu Ben-Horin, Gerold Frank, Arnold K. Isreeli, William Kaufman, Harold P. Manson, Harry L. Shapiro, Dr. Benjamin Shwadran, Joseph Sternstein, Abe Tuvim.

Dorothy Adelson, Michael Comay, Aubrey S. Eban, Eliahu Epstein, Lionel Gelber, Gottlieb Hammer, Simon Herman, Dr. M. Kahany, Isaiah L. Kenen, Arthur Lourie, Gideon Ruffer, Moises Toff, Moshe Yuval.

UNITED NATIONS DEVELOPMENTS

Mr. Shertok surveyed the day's developments at the United Nations in both the Political Committee and the Trusteeship Council. Reports on the situation in Palestine were given by Messrs. E. Ben-Horin, J. Riftin and M. Comay. The implications of the proposals for a truce in the Old City of Jerusalem, as well as of a truce of a wider character, were considered. It was pointed out that final decision on these matters rested with the Executive in Palestine; and it was agreed that insofar as recommendations should come from here, the matter should be considered at a further meeting of the American Section of the Executive.

RECOGNITION OF JEWISH STATE BY UNITED STATES

A telegram was read from the Washington office of the American Zionist Emergency Council regarding the problem of the recognition of the Jewish State

by the United States. In a discussion which followed, it was felt that the introduction of a resolution to that effect was premature. At the same time it was agreed that certain preparatory work should in the meanwhile be undertaken.

ARAB LEGION

It was agreed that the attention of the American public should be focused on the responsibility of the United Kingdom Government in the event of any possible invasion of Palestine by the Arab Legion. It was suggested, in this connection, that a systematic campaign should be initiated under the auspices of an appropriate body.

It was further suggested that the American public should be enlightened on the detrimental effects of British policy in Palestine and the Middle East on American national interests.

FREEDOM TRAIN

It was proposed that a series of Freedom Trains carrying gifts of supplies for Palestine be organized. Attention was drawn to the fact that such proposal had previously been considered by the United Jewish Appeal, and it was agreed that a committee of the Emergency Council, headed by Rabbi Miller, should explore with the United Jewish Appeal the possibility of positive action in the matter.

CELEBRATION OF DECLARATION OF JEWISH STATE

It was proposed that on May 15 or 16 a large rally be held in New York in celebration of the projected declaration of the Jewish State on that date. It was suggested that representatives from all communities throughout the country be invited to this gathering. After discussion, it was agreed that no definite arrangement should be made until it was clearly seen what the situation would be on May 15. In the meantime, the option on Madison Square Garden should be maintained and a committee should be appointed to prepare a tentative plan for the celebrations, which need not necessarily be limited to one day. It was agreed that a committee to be appointed by the chairman would cooperate in this matter with the staff.

The meeting adjourned at 11:40 P.M.

B.A.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

June 8, 1948

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held on Tuesday, June 8, 1948, at 2:00 P.M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, Leon Gellman, Dr. H. Raphael Gold, Paul L. Goldman, Mrs. Bert Goldstein, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mrs. David B. Greenberg, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Dr. Joseph Schechtman, Louis Segal, Numa Torczyner, Baruch Zuckerman.

Pinchas Cruso, Beinesh Epstein, Dr. Berl Frymer, Rabbi Wolf Gold, Dr. Sidney Marks, Isaac Naiditch, Dr. Mordecai Nurock, Abe Tulin, Rabbi Jerome Unger, David Wertheim.

Dr. Benjamin Akzin, Eliahu Ben-Horin, Gerold Frank, Arnold K. Isreeli, William Kaufman, Harold P. Manson, Harry L. Shapiro, Dr. Benjamin Shwadran, Joseph Sternstein, Abe Tuvim.

REPORT BY DR. SILVER ON THE POLITICAL SITUATION

Dr. Silver said that recent weeks had produced a new attack on partition. It had been generally thought that almost everybody including Britain was reconciled to the existence of the Jewish State. But our opponents are now trying to reduce the territorial boundaries of that state to a minimum. In Great Britain this campaign had gained a great deal of momentum. And hints to the same effect were dropped by our own State Department people.

The attention of the President had been drawn to this new conspiracy, and a number of his advisers apprised him of its implications. On his tour around the country representatives of the local communities, Jewish or non-Jewish, spoke to him regarding the matter. We were told that the President was aware of the boundary conspiracy, and that he stated he will not permit any tampering with Israel's boundaries.

Preliminary approaches have been made to the representatives of both political parties to bring about the inclusion of a proper plank on Palestine in their platforms.

The precise terms of the truce, and the attitude of Israel toward it, will become known this very day. Immigration was a particularly important issue. The resolution adopted by the Security Council clearly contemplated no restriction on immigration of men of military age. Provision was merely made not to mobilize or train them.

Dr. Silver thought that the final decision on the truce would be made in Israel on the basis of the military situation. The Agency here had refrained from giving them advice.

On the matter of shipping, somebody in the State Department had issued an order without anybody's knowledge that the Marine Corp should not stop at Haifa. The Emergency Council immediately sent a protest to the Secretary of State. Yesterday we heard that that order had been rescinded.

We were still following up the matter of the 41 detainees in Lebanon. Our Government had protested twice; it was on record as denouncing the action of Lebanon. But that was only a paper protest.

THE DETAINEES IN THE LEBANON

Mrs. Epstein asked what had brought about the reported decision of the Lebanon detainees to return to the United States.

Dr. Silver said he had no knowledge whether pressure was used to bring this about.

Mr. Zuckerman asked whether we had reliable information as to their decision. Dr. Silver said he had no information other than that which appeared in the newspapers. If the American Consul gave them no other alternative than to remain in Lebanon or to go to America, he certainly was wrong. We were trying to get more information in Washington.

Dr. Schechtman wanted to know whether something was being done about the 28 detainees who are not American citizens.

Dr. Silver said that the matter had been taken up both by the Council and by the Israeli Delegation in Washington.

BOYCOTT

Dr. Akzin reported on the meeting of the committee set up to study a boycott (report on file).

Rabbi Gold, Messrs. Cruso, Tulin, Mrs. Epstein, Dr. Akzin, Messrs. Zuckerman, Naiditch, Torczyner, Nurock, Wertheim, Gellman, Beinesh Epstein, and Dr. Schechtman participated in a discussion of the feasibility of a boycott of British goods and services.

It was agreed to await advice from Palestine on the repercussions of a boycott movement on the Yishuv.

BUDGET

Mr. Shapiro recalled that at the beginning of this year he had requested that the Emergency Council ask the Funds to allot a budget in accordance with our last year's expenditures and action had been taken accordingly. Due to unanticipated activities which were carried on by the Council during the current year, this budget had proved inadequate.

Analysis of the budget revealed that in the 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ -month period (October 16, 1946 to May 31, 1947) we had spent \$426,333.01. In the same period of the current fiscal year, our expenditures were \$514,945.29, or \$88,612.28 more than last year.

Early in the year, upon hearing of powerful anti-Zionist propaganda being unleashed against us in the country and in the U.N., we had requested an additional \$50,000 from both Funds. This had been granted. But the picture continued to deteriorate, and new efforts had to be made, thus leaving us with a deficit of approximately \$40,000. From all indications, we will have to keep on an increased program of activities. Mr. Shapiro therefore recommended that the Funds be requested to make an additional \$50,000 available to cover the \$40,000 deficit and an anticipated increased expenditure of approximately \$10,000.

Dr. Silver asked whether that appropriation would take the Council through the present fiscal year (October 15, 1948). Mr. Shapiro said he hoped it would.

Mr. Segal asked whether the Emergency Council had a small committee which was supervising the expenditures.

Mr. Shapiro said that every expenditure outside of the routine items was taken up with the Chairman or the Council. Our accounts were audited and checked, and the Funds had our accounts.

Dr. Silver recalled that the current October-May period includes November 1947, March 19th last, and all the activities in the interval, as well as the rally at Madison Square Garden on May 16th.

Mr. Wertheim said that since all our activity was of an emergency nature, it was almost impossible to budget in advance. In the circumstances, it would be most useful to have a standing finance committee.

Dr. Silver and Mr. Shapiro explained that such a committee was in existence but had not been active. The staff, however, was in constant touch with the committee chairman, Mr. Frisch.

Rabbi Kirshblum said that though the failure of the finance committee to meet was indefensible, he could understand that there was more interest in political than in financial meetings.

Dr. Silver said we would try to revitalize the finance committee and see that it meets regularly. On a motion, it was decided to authorize the expenditure of an additional \$50,000.

LETTER FROM HAPOEL HAMIZRACHI

Dr. H. Raphael Gold read a letter from the Hapoel Hamizrachi quoting a telegram they had received from Israel:

"The heroic defenders of that outpost, Kfar Etzion, the 260 victims, have not yet been brought to Jewish burial. Arouse the conscience of the world to this. Try to take every means possible in order to remove this shame and disgrace from the Land of Israel."

Dr. Gold drew the Council's attention to the need to do everything possible to correct this terrible evil and also to make known to the world the extent of

Arab brutality and the fact that it is condoned by the British. It also called for an urgent approach to the International Red Cross. Dr. Silver said the Jewish Agency had already discussed the matter, and it would be brought immediately to the attention of the United Nations.

Mr. Ben-Horin and Dr. Gold suggested that leading Catholic prelates and Protestant churchmen be approached. Dr. Silver, in reply, thought such an approach would come better from the Chief Rabbinate in Palestine.

CABLE FROM CYPRUS

Dr. Silver said a cable was received from Cyprus to the effect that the detainees were going on a 24-hour hunger strike in protest against the segregation of able-bodied men. Dr. Silver explained the nature of the British attitude toward the Cyprus detainees and stated that the matter had been brought to the attention of the U.N.

DISCUSSION

Mr. Segal asked whether the press, the radio, and congressional opinion were kept sufficiently informed. He suggested holding weekly press and radio conferences.

Mr. Manson replied that the press and radio were kept constantly informed of the situation by the AZEC, by the Information Office of Israel, and by the local Emergency Committees. The latter avenue was particularly important. As a result we were getting overwhelming support from newspapers and radio. He mentioned particularly the memorandum prepared by AZEC in reply to the recent memorandum of the British Information Services, and widely distributed to the press through central as well as local channels.

In the magazines, on the other hand, we were facing a serious situation. The only magazine in which a refutation of an unfriendly article was published was "Collier's," which carried the Granados piece. There seemed to exist a concerted drive to plant pro-Arab articles in the magazines and to prevent them from publishing the other side. Of course, the magazines are hearing from their readers and subscribers who are indignant over the situation.

Dr. Silver said that contact in Congressional circles is being steadily maintained. There were several discussions on Palestine on the floor of the Senate since May 15, and the statement made by Senator Bridges, as chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee, on the floor of the U. S. Senate, might have played a major part in bringing about a change in British policy.

Mr. Zuckerman suggested that the Emergency Council publicize as widely as possible, especially in the Anglo-American Jewish press, the statement which appeared in the press today regarding fund collections for Israel. He also thought that statements should be made by the Emergency Council and by its constituent organizations.

Mr. Torczyner inquired regarding press statements of the Etzel and the Lekhi to the effect that their groups in Jerusalem were not receiving any money from the Haganah.

Dr. Silver said it is not for the Council to go into this. We hope, of course, that any remaining difficulties will be adjusted. But there is in existence a government in Israel, and the decisions of that government regarding affairs in Israel are accepted by us as authoritative. We had definite information that the Irgun had been absorbed in the army of Israel, that its units were being financed by the government, and that the Sternists were being similarly absorbed. Three cables were received by the Jewish Agency to that effect. The Jewish Agency will issue a statement in the next day or two on that very matter, and the Emergency Council will cooperate with it.

Dr. Schechtman said he had definite information to the effect that the Irgun units within the Israeli Army were receiving neither financial support nor arms nor food. He had a cable to that effect dated June 3rd, and a telephone call received today from Paris from a man just arrived from Israel confirmed this statement. He was desirous, therefore, to have a definite statement from the Government of Israel on these points. There is also the Jerusalem area, which is not included in the boundaries of Israel. The "New York Times" has reported on June 4 that the transformation of the Israeli Army to include Irgun does not apply to Jerusalem. He felt, therefore, that the Emergency Council must distinguish between the situation in Israel and in Jerusalem.

Dr. Silver advised not to go into a lengthy discussion on the matter. He was certain that when Israel sends reinforcements into the city of Jerusalem, it sends reinforcements to every fighter and every Jew in the city.

Mr. Zuckerman thought that the individual Zionist organizations, including the Revisionists, should issue a statement to clear up the situation. As to Jerusalem, the Chairman would no doubt make an attempt to get sufficient information to satisfy everyone of us that no difference is being made between members of the Israeli army, not only in the State of Israel, but also in Jerusalem.

Dr. Schechtman said it was not the aim of the Revisionist Organization to collect money for unwarranted purposes, but they want to be completely satisfied. They would wholeheartedly agree to any statement based on complete information. He had no reason to disbelieve the statement of the Irgun any more than to disbelieve the statement of the Government of Israel. He, therefore, asked the Chairman to obtain full information.

Dr. Silver said this was a perfectly legitimate request and he would get the facts.

Mr. Zuckerman said his organization was attempting to combat the Bevin influence in the British trade union movement with regard to Palestine. He suggested there should be no stop in the activities of the local Emergency Committee during the summer months.

Mr. Cruso asked whether the Emergency Council would issue a statement in connection with the fund-raising immediately, prior to, or only after consultation with Israel.

Dr. Silver said contact with Tel-Aviv was a matter of a few hours. A statement would be issued in the next day or two by the Jewish Agency, and as soon as the answers to our questions were received, the Council would channel that statement through the local Emergency Committees.

Meeting adjourned at 5:20 P. M.

B.A.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

June 28, 1948

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held on Monday, June 28, 1948, at 4:00 P.M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Natan Friedel, Dr. Berl Frymer, Leon Gellman, Dr. H. Raphael Gold, Paul L. Goldman, Mrs. Bert Goldstein, Mrs. Sam Goldstein, Mrs. Benjamin Gottesman, Mrs. David B. Greenberg, Rabbi Irving Miller, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Dr. Joseph Schechtman, Miss Marie Syrkin, Numa Torczyner, Mr. David Wertheim.

Ernest Barbarash, Isaiah L. Kenen, Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt, Yehuda Tubin, Abraham Tulin, Rabbi Jerome Unger.

Dr. Benjamin Akzin, Eliahu Ben-Horin, Arnold K. Isreeli, Harold Manson, Harry L. Shapiro, Dr. Benjamin Shwadran, Harry Steinberg, Rabbi Joseph Sternstein, Abe Tuvim.

REPORT BY DR. SILVER ON THE POLITICAL SITUATION

Dr. Silver stated that the American Zionist Emergency Council had secured another achievement in having a most satisfactory plank on Israel incorporated in the platform of the Republican Party. He believed that this achievement would influence the course of action of our Government. There were, in fact, indications that it has already had that effect. The Dewey and Taft forces gave strong support to the plank, while the opposition came from the Vandenberg-Lodge group linked with the State Department. Speaking most eloquently for us was Senator Ives. The plank was adopted unanimously, and when it was read on the floor of the Convention it received more applause than any other plank.

Not many hours after publication of the plank in the press, announcement was made by the White House that Mr. McDonald would be U.S. representative to Israel, and the impression is that other important acts will follow. Also, as a result of this very good plank, there is an increased likelihood of a similarly good plank in the Democratic Party platform.

Since the Third Party is already on record as wholeheartedly supporting the State of Israel, no special work is contemplated for its convention, but a presentation will be made, of course, to the Convention on the part of the Council.

Dr. Silver mentioned that 15 governments have recognized Israel to date and that there was some hope that Washington would soon grant de jure recognition.

Certain details of the truce and the manner in which it has been carried out, especially with reference to immigration, were quite unsatisfactory. Some countries have interpreted the truce as calling for the complete stoppage of immigration of able-bodied men. Switzerland, for example, has prohibited all men and women from 15 to 50 from going to Palestine. A still more glaring violation of the truce agreement is the refusal of Great Britain to permit anyone to leave Cyprus. Our own country has taken a peculiar stand on the matter of immigration, quite outside the frame of the decision that was adopted. We have made official representation on that score and we shall have to begin more strenuous activity on it because if the truce is prolonged the question of immigration becomes very serious.

As for developments in connection with peace proposals, it was possible to gather that a suggestion will be made for a "compact" State of Israel. Evidently, it was intended to cut away part or the whole of the Negev. There was also talk of the internationalization of Haifa, or at least of the Port of Haifa, of an exchange of populations, of economic union, of the admission of Israel to the United Nations along with Trans-jordan.

In our work in this country we have emphasized the territorial integrity of Israel. The idea is incorporated in the Republican Party platform. We drew it sharply to the attention of the President, and he is reported to have expressed himself as being opposed to efforts to reduce the size of Israel. The matter of a loan to Israel is reported not to be encountering any strenuous opposition in Washington. When the Bernadotte report is made public, we may have to take action rapidly.

Word from London in the last day or two indicated that Bevin was considerably embarrassed and that the British were prepared, under certain terms, to accept the fact of the existence of the State of Israel.

BOYCOTT OF BRITISH GOODS

Dr. Akzin reported on the advice received from Palestine regarding the effect of a boycott on the economic position of the Yishuv.

A motion was made and carried to table the subject of a boycott.

IRGUN

Dr. Silver reported that since the last meeting additional word has come from Tel Aviv which warranted the Chairman in issuing through the Emergency Council the statement which had been issued by the American Section of the Jewish Agency on the subject of the Irgun. The information

received indicated that any support given by American Jews to independent military units or armies in Palestine is a disservice to the cause of Israel. Since our last meeting a most unfortunate thing has happened -- an attempt made on the part of the Irgun to run arms into the country, in clear violation of the truce, to which Israel stood committed. This would have completely discredited Israel in the eyes of the world and would have made future political activity impossible here or anywhere else. We all applaud the action taken by the responsible representatives of Israel to put a stop to this thing. It could only lead to anarchy and disaster. The loss of lives is greatly to be regretted, but there are grave moments when a State must take measures of the most extreme character in order to maintain itself or go out of business. It does not yet seem clear to the American Jewish public that further contributions to independent funds for military establishments in Palestine are driving a knife in the back of the Jewish State. We ought, therefore, to proceed further with the education of our people. The American Section of the Jewish Agency decided today to issue another statement along that line, while announcing at the same time the dissolution of Americans for Haganah, which has fully served its purpose and is no longer needed on the American scene. Hereafter all funds for Israel will be contributed through the central agency, United Jewish Appeal. The Emergency Council ought likewise to continue with its campaign of educating its people all over the country to discourage Jews from supporting every appeal purporting to come from Israel, without stopping to think that the situation is so radically changed that today to support two or three armies in Palestine is actually to work for the destruction of the Jewish State.

Mrs. Greenberg brought up the matter of a benefit concert for the Palestine Resistance Fund to be held July 1, with Leonard Bernstein conducting and Jennie Tourel singing. Mrs. Greenberg felt that if Bernstein understood fully that he was subsidizing mutiny against Israel, he would withdraw, and urged that representations be made to him. Mr. Shapiro reported that he had cabled Mr. Bernstein, who is on board ship returning to America, asking him to cancel the concert, but that no reply had yet been received.

Judge Rosenblatt stated that in seeking sponsors for this concert a number of people had been approached, including his wife, who at first agreed to be a sponsor. She later asked that her name be withdrawn, but it still appears on their circular.

Mr. Ben-Horin said that whereas in the past when we were facing certain actions of the Bergson group there was no possibility of doing anything because the Bergson group did not belong to any Zionist organization, the recent action in Palestine and the demonstration in the New York office of the Jewish Agency involved not only the Bergson group but also the Revisionist Party. Collections for Irgun are also being conducted by representatives of the Revisionist Party. He felt that the time had arrived to ask the Revisionist Party for a very clear statement on the whole subject.

Mr. Goldman said the Revisionist Party attempted to draw a distinction between the situation in Jerusalem and that in Israel. The statements of the Agency and of the AZEC should take that line into consideration and should make clear that the distinction is artificial.

Miss Syrkin thought that to brand these activities as merely separatist is not enough. The danger is that though the public can see it is a separatist activity they believe it is a useful activity. What we should emphasize is that it is a useless and a dangerous activity.

Mr. Wertheim said he saw an announcement of a memorial meeting for the Irgunists who fell in Tel-Aviv, with Revisionist leaders participating. He saw the point of view of the Revisionists in attending a memorial meeting, but funds will also be collected there. He questioned the propriety of Revisionist leaders appearing at money-raising meetings for Irgun.

Mr. Wertheim drew special attention to the need to educate the Yiddish press to the dangers involved in any support given to the Irgun, and suggested, among other methods, the holding of a press conference. He also mentioned the increasing presence of Irgun boxes in stores, restaurants, etc., and said that members of his organization were trying to enlighten the owners regarding the true situation and to get them to replace these boxes with JNF boxes.

Mr. Tulin said he knew of several cases of people, none of whom has heretofore been a member of the Zionist movement, but willing now to contribute to Zionist causes, being misled into contributing money to Irgun or the Bergson group. In a few such cases, where his advice was sought, he succeeded in diverting the contributions to the proper channels. When the Bergson group first started operating, he opposed publicly stigmatizing that group. But now the time has come to do so. We should use very strong language in advertisements, warning people not to be confused and not to contribute money. What the Bergson group may be planning now is to overthrow the government of Israel by force.

Mr. Gellman agreed that the Council should call together the Yiddish editors and writers and enlighten them on what is happening. At the same time, he felt that we were not in full possession of the facts. Information received by the Mizrachi from Rabbi Fishman showed that there was a second side to the incident. Perhaps we should wait for the meeting of the Actions Committee. We would then know the whole truth. He agreed with the need to take a determined step against Irgun propaganda, but at the same time we should make a thorough study of the incident, find out what happened and see how similar occurrences in the future can be prevented.

Dr. Schechtman expressed regret at not being present at the beginning of the discussion and felt that he owed the Council a frank statement on the position of his party. He agreed with Mr. Gellman's observation that we did not have all the facts about the incident. Dr. Schechtman proceeded to give to the meeting the information he had regarding the Altalena incident, and asked for an opportunity to compare the conflicting versions. Answering Mr. Wertheim's question regarding the association of Revisionist leaders with the Irgun and the Bergson group, Dr. Schechtman said that the Government of Israel, by arresting at the same time Irgun leaders, Revisionist leaders and

Bergson, had caused this association. Many Revisionists have been arrested not for anything they did but for sympathizing with Irgun. The speaker sympathized with the Irgun and he denied to any government the right to arrest him because of his sympathies. This was typical of totalitarian governments. The speaker also took exception to Major Eban's statement over the radio a few days ago, that everybody who is for the Irgun is against the Jewish State. The speaker had behind him forty years of Zionist activity and he was for the Irgun. Being against the Provisional Government and against the truce is not being against the Jewish State. The Revisionists would continue to support the Irgun.

Dr. Schechtman expressed his regret over attempts to censor the Yiddish press, and expressed the fear that attempts by members of LZOA to remove Irgun boxes from stores would lead to physical clashes. In reply to an inquiry by Dr. Silver, he said the Betar demonstration in the New York offices of the Provisional Government was undertaken without his knowledge and consent, but that it was no tragedy. It was the direct result of the situation which was created in Palestine. He had heard that Rabbi Berlin, who is an elder statesman, said that he charges Mr. Ben-Gurion with responsibility for bloodshed and the use of dictatorial methods. If Rabbi Berlin was in a position to say such things in Palestine, one should not be surprised that young people in this country reacted in the way they did.

Dr. Silver said it was not the task of the Council at this point to pass on the merits or demerits of what happened at Tel Aviv. The only subject before the Council, one that was raised before the event at Tel Aviv, was the matter of raising independent funds to maintain an independent army in Palestine. The Provisional Government of Israel declared that there could be only one army fighting for Israel, that independent armies are enemies of the State, and that those who support independent armies in the Jewish State support forces that will disrupt the State. The Chairman believed that there will be one State, one government and one army in Israel or there will be nothing. Political parties with private armies cannot be tolerated and will certainly not be supported by the Jews of America if we can educate them up to that point. It is the bounden duty of those who believe in the Jewish State and want to see it survive to exercise their utmost efforts to preserve its basic unity, especially at a time when there is a war on. This does not imply that we approve or disapprove of any particular action of Mr. Ben-Gurion. The speaker has not been an enemy of Irgun and has undergone bitter attack because of his position. He had up to this moment recognized that Irgun has rendered great services to the cause. It is because of that that he worked so hard to bring about a basic understanding between Irgun and Haganah. After this merger was consummated, he had the Jewish Agency issue a public statement that Irgun had the right to raise funds. But another part of the agreement was that as soon as the Jewish State was established the Irgun goes out of business. And that took place on May 14. Thereafter the Irgun had no right to solicit funds independently in the United States. That part of the agreement was not faithfully lived up to. Many devices were used to create the impression that Irgun must continue to collect money in the United States. That kind of game he would not play. He felt obligated to make a second statement just as he had felt obligated to make the first statement. If any injustice is being done the Irgun, we ought to know about it and we ought to demand

full justice for the Irgun. But to launch independent money-raising activities in the U.S. for the Irgun means to drive a knife in the back of the Jewish State and cannot be tolerated. He need not advise his friends in the Revisionist Party. They have able people and they know what they want to do. But this alliance between an important political group and an illegal army is, to his mind, unwise. We know the experience of countries of Europe that have political parties with private armies and we know what happened there.

The Council would follow up what it had begun -- to educate the Jews of America to the fact that there is one army in Palestine today. It is neither the Irgun nor the Haganah, but the Army of Israel. In order to avoid confusion, the Executive of the Jewish Agency took action last week, and confirmed it again this week, liquidating the Friends of the Haganah in the United States. If we are going to liquidate Friends of the Haganah, we are not going to permit solicitation and campaigning for the Irgun in the United States if we can help it.

Dr. Schechtman said he knew and appreciated the part played by Dr. Silver. But it was impossible to isolate the different aspects of the situation. The unification agreement was being lived up to nicely, up to about ten days ago. In another week or two the Irgun was going to stop collections in this country. We were on our way to complete identification of Irgun with the army in Israel, perhaps even in Jerusalem. Then came the tragedy in Tel Aviv. That was a tremendous blunder. Now the climate was completely changed. That was why he advised against making any belligerent statements and precipitating new crises, but to let things cool off. The Revisionists, as part of the Emergency Council, would not agree to any statement being issued at present by that body on this subject.

The Chairman remarked that if the majority decided in favor of a statement, it could certainly be issued by the Council. Dr. Schechtman replied that the Revisionists would not agree to abide by such a statement, and repeated his request that additional information be gathered before any statement was issued.

Mrs. Goldstein took issue with the whole attitude of the Revisionists. They do not abide by a majority decision. That takes us back to 1931 or 1929 when the Revisionists also did not abide by the majority and left the organization. Dr. Schechtman's statement that the Revisionists will not abide by a majority decision of this Council deserves to be placed on the agenda of the Council for further consideration. The speaker agreed with Dr. Silver's statement that the Council could not sit in judgment or discuss the two sides of anything that happened in Palestine. There is an Actions Committee, and it will decide. Actually, Mr. Ben-Gurion got a vote of confidence for the time being and both Fishman and Shapiro withdrew their resignations and rejoined the government. But this question of the Revisionists' attitude toward this body should be placed on the agenda, if not today, then at the next meeting of the Emergency Council.

The speaker added that LZOA did not send people to the stores to remove the Irgun boxes. They got out a letter and asked their members to go to the stores with the letter and explain the situation to the proprietors of the stores, but did not authorize them to lay hands on the boxes.

Mr. Isreeli explained the situation in the Yiddish press and made suggestions as to procedure. He suggested individual talks rather than a press conference as a means of making the Yiddish press realize the true significance of the Irgun problem.

Mr. Steinberg advocated advertisements calling upon the public not to support the Irgun. Just as the Government of Israel was met with a definite challenge, so this body is met today with a definite challenge. To ignore this challenge would be a sign of weakness on the part of this body.

Dr. Silver said that the Council's primary interest is to bring about peace in Israel and to bring the fighting forces together. He thought it could be done. The Tel Aviv incident had re-awakened old animosities and antipathies, but these have now cooled down a little. If large-scale propaganda were started now for the Irgun in America, it would not help to bring the forces together in Palestine.

Dr. Schechtman said he and the Chairman worked together for the unification of the Jewish Army, and reminded the meeting of the negative attitude of the Revisionists toward the Bergson group. By issuing a sharp statement against the Irgun now the Council would provoke new strife. That is why he advised waiting. As for the Revisionist reaction to any action, it will depend on the manner in which action is taken. If the Council makes its attack in an educational campaign, Revisionists will have to make a counter-campaign. It is the right of every part of the Zionist movement to be in accord with or to disapprove of certain decisions made by the Jewish Agency or by the Israel Government, and to say so to the public.

Rabbi Miller did not think that the action planned by Dr. Silver could in any way be considered provocative. A statement has already been issued by the American Section of the Jewish Agency, and it is quite in order for the Emergency Council to give it publicity. Rabbi Miller also brought up the matter of a recent advertisement published by the United Zionist-Revisionist Party which he thought to constitute a tremendous disservice to the Zionist cause and a breach of discipline of the Emergency Council. The Emergency Council was created so that no party in American Zionism would take political action until it cleared first through the Emergency Council. At this time, for the Revisionist Party to come out with an advertisement calling the Government of Israel appeasers and serving notice that that party does not accept the decisions of the Government of Israel was inadmissible. Dr. Schechtman's distinction between the Provisional Government and the State of Israel was artificial. Some day when the State is firmly established, one will be able to afford the luxury of attacking the people who head up the Government of Israel and still affirm that one supported the State. But not now when the State is at war. The Revisionists in Israel have the right, even during the war to attack the policies of the Government, but here in America for the Revisionist Party or any Zionist party to attack the Government of Israel is utterly wrong.

Judge Rothenberg agreed with Dr. Silver's analysis of the issue. There cannot be two armies fighting a war, one of them independent of the government. The Revisionist ads were also extremely harmful. Nevertheless, before we publish a statement, an effort should be made by Dr. Silver

to reach some understanding with the Revisionists, Irgunists and other groups involved, perhaps by conferring with them. This should be done because of the harm which can result if these groups continue their attacks and because they were a strong factor in bringing about the Jewish State.

Mr. Wertheim thought that for the Emergency Council to call in the people of the Irgun would only give them prestige. A press conference is necessary. It is not only the danger of Irgun inserting ads and collecting money. Already the suggestion has been made that we send an impartial commission to investigate in Palestine. For us there is only one side in Palestine. It is the Government of Israel. If there is still something to be straightened out, it will be done there by the Council of Government in Israel.

Dr. Silver, summarizing the discussion, said that the Jewish State spoke through its government. When the Jewry of Israel decide to change their government, that new government will then speak for it. The government has established a unified army of defense and it has repeatedly stated that it cannot recognize any supplementary, independent military army in Palestine and would regard the establishment or the existence of such an army as an attack on the State. We must educate American Jews to the full implications of that position. The most direct implication is that no independent campaign for independent armies in Israel can be tolerated. It is the clear duty of the American Zionist Emergency Council, representing the Zionists of America, to make the Jews of America see this. The methods to be used are naturally to be the legitimate methods of education which we have pursued right along. We are in constant contact with our Emergency Councils. We have already sent them one letter of information. We will send them additional letters of information as the situation warrants. Whether a press conference at the moment is desirable is not yet clear. Perhaps it is. He was not convinced that ads in the papers are quite the thing. All of our groups in each community in the United States should educate their own constituencies. The leaders of the parties will have an opportunity to explain the situation to their followers. Such an opportunity will arise at the forthcoming ZOA Convention in Pittsburgh. It should not be done in a spirit of bitterness. In the statement issued by the Chairman two weeks ago, he deliberately used no words of condemnation. Our course of education would be to inform our people of the undesirability and the danger of separatist campaigns for separatist military organizations, without using terms of attack or provocation, which don't get you anywhere anyhow. It won't be very long before American Jewry will be thinking along these lines, though there probably will remain some small groups which will follow their own line.

As for bringing the two groups together, it should be done, but not in New York. It must be done in Palestine, and in this we can help.

The meeting adjourned at 6:10 P.M.

B. A.

MINUTES OF MEETING
AMERICAN SECTION OF THE EXECUTIVE OF THE
JEWISH AGENCY FOR PALESTINE

July 28, 1948

A meeting of the American Section of the Executive of the Jewish Agency for Palestine was held on Wednesday, July 28, 1948, at 8:00 P.M. at the Empire Suite of the Waldorf Astoria Hotel, New York City.

EXECUTIVE MEMBERS PRESENT

Dr. A.H. Silver (presiding), Dr. H. Greenberg, Mrs. S. W. Halprin, Dr. E. Neumann.

FUNCTIONS OF THE WORLD ZIONIST ORGANIZATION

By way of introduction to the discussion, Dr. Robinson restated the main points contained in his memo on "The Relationship of the World Zionist Organization and the State of Israel" (copy on file). In addition to the suggestions contained in the memo, Dr. Robinson, in the course of analysis of the functions of the Foreign Office of Israel, proposed the establishment of an Institute for the Study of International Affairs working in close association with the Foreign Office. A letter was also submitted from the Organization Department of the Zionist Executive dated July 8th containing a summary of deliberations on the subject of the functions of the Zionist Executive after the establishment of the State of Israel and the demarcation of its various fields of activity.

An interchange of views followed on the basis of Dr. Robinson's introduction (verbatim report on file).

RESIGNATION OF MR. ARTHUR LOURIE

In view of the fact that as from August 1 the functions of the Jewish Agency would be formally separated from those of the Israeli offices, Mr. A. Lourie tendered his resignation as Director of the New York Office of the Jewish Agency. The resignation was accepted. It was agreed that Mr. Gottlieb Hammer should be asked to serve as Acting Director pending the return of the Members of the Executive from the meetings in Tel Aviv. The advisability of the nomination of a number of deputies to serve in New York in the absence of the Members of the Executive was considered. It was agreed that if any matters requiring consultation should arise, Mr. Hammer should consult with Mr. Lourie who was not proceeding with other members of the Israeli Delegation to Paris for the forthcoming sessions of the United Nations Assembly.

The question of a deputy to Mr. Toff in the Latin American Department was discussed.

SIGNATURE OF CHECKS

It was agreed that in the absence of the members of the Executive at the meetings in Tel Aviv, Mr. S. Kramarsky should be authorized to be the second signatory to checks along with Mr. Hammer.

PROCUREMENT MISSION

The Chairman welcomed the members of the Israeli Procurement Mission, who joined the meeting at this stage. Mr. J. Jacobson reported on the supplies it was hoped to purchase in America for the Army of Israel and Dr. Foerder reported on the civilian needs.

The Chairman assured the mission of the readiness of the Executive to render it whatever assistance it could.

The meeting adjourned at 12:00 midnight.

S.H.

