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4

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2

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91

American Zionist Emergency Council, minutes, 1948-1949.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING OF THE PLENUM

October 20, 1948

A meeting of the Plenum of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held on Wednesday, October 20, at 8:30 P.M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Pinchas Cruso, Beinish Epstein, Dr. Simon Federbush, Dr. H. Raphael Gold, Mrs. David B. Greenberg, Mrs. Samuel W. Halprin, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Dr. Judith Lieberman, Mrs. Samuel J. Rosensohn, Dr. Joseph Schechtman, Louis Segal, Elihu D. Stone, Baruch Zuckerman.

Ernest E. Barbarash, Dr. S. Bernstein, Mendel Fisher, Miss Zelda Funk, A.A. Redelheim, Charles Ress, Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt, Dr. M. Rosenbluth, Rabbi Jerome Unger, Leo Wolfson.

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

MEMORIAL TO NUMA TORCZYNER

The following statement, to be sent to the family of Numa Torczyner, was unanimously adopted:

The American Zionist Emergency Council records its profound sorrow at the passing of its noble and devoted member, Numa Torczyner. His death has created a void which the Zionist movement will find difficult to fill.

Numa Torczyner lived a full and rich Zionist life. The impress of his wise and sagacious personality was indelibly imprinted upon the Zionist movement throughout the world. As president of the Belgian Zionist Federation from 1929 to 1940, as a member of the World Zionist Actions Committee, as a leading participant in the activities of the United Jewish Appeal, United Palestine Appeal, and the Jewish National Fund, his courageous and selfless loyalty and devotion have left their mark upon the recent history of our people's march to self-realization. His steadfastness and personal sacrifice in behalf of the welfare of our people were carried up to the moment of his passing. During the course of his last sojourn in Israel he was indefatigable in his zeal to strengthen the infant State's economy and resources and to prepare the Zionist movement for its new role. The last months of his life must have afforded

him the satisfaction of being privileged to see the realization of the age-old dream of the rise of an independent Israel on its ancestral soil. He also had the other satisfaction, a satisfaction dear to the heart of a father, of seeing his children follow in his footsteps and become eminent fighters for the cause which was so holy to him.

We extend our most earnest expressions of condolence to his immediate family and give voice to our hopes that they may draw solace and inspiration from the thought that the attainment of shivat zion came within his lifetime. His untiring efforts and remarkable achievements on behalf of his people will remain an enduring monument to his memory.

REPORT BY MR. SHAPIRO ON RECENT COUNCIL ACTIVITIES

Mr. Shapiro reported on the activities of the Council in the recent past in the field of press and radio and on its contacts with the two major political parties. Early in September the Council started a period of intensive work directed toward securing de jure recognition, economic aid, and the admission of Israel to the United Nations. Several memoranda on these subjects were issued by the Council. Leading Jews and non-Jews in many communities wrote to the President urging these steps, sought the support of newspaper editors in their communities and of their local, State and national leaders in both parties. Administration candidates were asked to see to it that the Administration take positive action, while the Republican candidates were requested to issue statements indicating the Republican position and criticizing the Administration's inaction.

Following the assassination of Count Bernadotte, statements were issued by Dr. Silver and other Zionist leaders condemning the act. The comments of the press were generally fair and sympathetic to Israel. After the issuance of the Bernadotte report on September 18 and the immediate endorsement of the report by Secretary Marshall, our work was intensified, with fairly gratifying results. The Herald Tribune and the Times, both of which at first endorsed the Bernadotte plan, softened their position on the Negev, after the problem had been explained to the editors. Dr. Silver's statement on the Bernadotte plan, Mr. Ben-Horin's article for New Palestine, and an Israeli Government memorandum on "The Importance of the Negev to the State of Israel" were widely circulated. Many favorable articles appeared in the press, including a column by Sumner Welles.

The situation with regard to the radio is quite the reverse of what it was a year ago. Today radio commentators are generally treating Palestine news quite fairly.

A number of interviews were held with the President by Jewish communal leaders in the course of his cross-country trip. In many instances, the interviews were not as useful as they might have been, owing to interference by Mr. Montor. The President's attitude, as evidenced by the interviews, was none too promising. A few friends, including Mr. Edwin Kaufman, requested Dr. Silver not to raise the issue publicly until after Yom Kippur. But in spite of the efforts of many Democratic leaders, no favorable action from the President was forthcoming.

From the Republican side, it was reported that a statement on Israel had been prepared and was ready for publication on the day Bernadotte was assassinated, but was then withheld. When the Council learned that the Marshall endorsement of the Bernadotte plan was made without consultation with John Foster Dulles, the attention of the press was drawn to the fact. There followed a front-page story in the Times based on an interview with Mr. Dulles. It was understood that Mr. Dewey was considering making a statement on Israel. Such a statement might result in favorable action on the part of the President.

DR. SILVER'S REPORT ON THE POLITICAL SITUATION

The situation has been dominated in the last few weeks by what might be called the ascendancy of the State Department over the President in the conduct of foreign affairs. As far as Palestine is concerned, this has held true ever since May 15. Whether Mr. Marshall is guided in his decisions on Palestine by Mr. Lovett, Mr. Forrestal, or someone else, makes little difference. Clearly Marshall listens to those who counsel an unfavorable attitude towards Israel at every turn of the game. Up to the present, every approach to the President has been unsuccessful, and approaches have been made in the dozens, by Jews and non-Jews, by people closest to the White House and the Democratic Party. But the situation may still improve.

Mr. Dewey, evidently realizing that the government is not going to do anything about Palestine, has also kept more or less quiet about it. When the Bernadotte report first came out, Dr. Silver wired Mr. Dewey and Mr. Dulles in Paris. Mr. Dewey wired back that he had not been consulted about the endorsement nor had Mr. Dulles, and Dulles wrote a letter from Paris to the same effect. But there was no indication by either that they were prepared to make an issue of that in public. However, the efforts continue, and the Republicans may still re-affirm publicly their stand on Palestine. Should they do so, this would be most helpful with the Administration. Dr. Silver had a long talk with Mr. Dulles before he left for Paris, but he did not think that the time had come or would soon come for Dewey to make a statement re-affirming the position which the Republican Party took in its platform. Mr. Dewey may have hesitated because of warning by Vandenberg not to deviate from the bi-partisan policy, since, if elected, he would need the support of the Democratic members of Congress on foreign policy.

In Paris there seemed to be a disposition to postpone consideration of the Bernadotte report until after the November elections. Judging by confidential reports from various sources, the situation in Paris seems to be well in hand. There is hardly any chance that the Bernadotte proposals will be accepted by the United Nations. The two-thirds vote is not there. Right after the assassination of Bernadotte, a stampede was started for the British and American delegations to rush through the report under the impact of resentment. After a while people began to consider the report objectively, and on the basis of its merits, it cannot hold water. Some observers believe that the Assembly will adopt a resolution in general terms, acknowledging the existence of the Jewish State, calling upon Jews and Arabs to sit down and negotiate, and offering the good offices of the United Nations. An effort is now being made to get the Jews to agree to give up the Negev south

of the 31st parallel, with the Jewish part of Jerusalem to be turned over to Israel as a trusteeship. The Jews have established their State, they control the territory which they control, and if they can hold it, it is theirs. It is thought that after a while the invading armies may begin to fritter away and some modus vivendi may be worked out. From time to time one hears of discussions between Israel and Transjordan, but there is nothing authentic. It is even said that the Egyptians have put out feelers.

As far as the situation in Israel is concerned, the latest flare-up in Gaza indicates that the Jews are still strong and evidently gaining in strength. They have greatly improved their position in the last few days. They have given a measure of security to our settlements in the Negev which they did not previously have. And while we will have to continue our efforts indefinitely in Paris and in Washington, those positions are no longer as critical as they were before. Important, certainly, but not critical. It is no longer a matter of life and death. If we can keep on sending economic support to Israel, then the thing is settled in its main outlines. The only really important contribution that Washington can make under the circumstances is to give Israel a loan. But if the loan is not forthcoming, we will have to get the money elsewhere. De jure recognition and UN membership are important, but the State of Israel can thrive without either. The important thing is to keep the State of Israel economically strong, and that is definitely within our power.

DISCUSSION

In reply to a question by Mrs. Greenberg, Dr. Silver said that ever since the time when Dr. Bunche was operating to keep the committee appointed by the United Nations to implement the UNSCOP report from going ahead with its work, he had felt that Dr. Bunche was no friend of ours. Later events substantiated this belief.

Mr. Segal felt that not enough was being done in the pre-election weeks to alert Jewish opinion and to bring forth action from both major candidates. He thought that, should Mr. Dewey be elected, the situation after the elections would be worse than before, unless the Republican candidate declared himself on Israel now. He urged more aggressive action on the part of the Council in the short time remaining before the elections.

Mr. Stone related his experience indicating that Mr. Dewey's advisers, even though they thought Israel should retain the Negev, were opposed to bringing up the Israel issue in the course of the campaign.

Dr. Silver said that he became aware of this line in the Republican Party ten days ago. As a result the Council intensified its action. The Yiddish press also expressed its disappointment at the Republican tactics. There was still work to be done in this field, but short of public meetings, everything possible has been done and is being done with reference to both candidates.

Mr. Zuckerman fully approved the work of the Council but believed it should have met more often before the elections. He stressed the need to say or do nothing that might embarrass our relations with President Truman in the next few months.

Judge Rosenblatt believed that all efforts should be concentrated on obtaining a favorable statement from the President prior to the elections. He thought that this might lead to a similar commitment from the opposition.

Dr. Silver emphasized that the approaches to the President in the last ten days, and particularly in the last week end, had been numerous and direct and made by people very close to him, but thus far without result. He thought that what we should ask of the Administration was action, not another statement. A statement from Mr. Dewey would be important, first because it might lead to action by the Administration, and second, because it might possibly commit the next President.

Rabbi Kirshblum expressed his satisfaction with the very effective advertisement of the Council which had appeared in the newspapers that day and with the work of the Council in general.

Mr. Steinberg pointed out that before Count Bernadotte was appointed mediator he had to receive the approval of the Jewish Agency and of the Arabs, but that Dr. Bunche was appointed to succeed him without either Jews or Arabs being asked whether he was acceptable to them. He questioned why the Israeli Government had not used its prerogative to declare Bunche not acceptable to them.

Dr. Silver said he would pass on the suggestion to Mr. Shertok and Mr. Eban.

Meeting adjourned 10:30 P.M.

.B.A.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

November 23, 1948

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held on Tuesday, November 23, 1948, at 4:00 P.M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, Mrs. Sam Goldstein, Mrs. David B. Greenberg, Rabbi Irving Miller, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Yehuda Tubin, Yehuda Tyberg, Baruch Zuckerman.

Prof. S. Brodetsky, Mendel Fisher, Mrs. Benjamin Gottesman, J. Greenleaf, Berl Locker, Dr. S. Margoshes, Dr. Sidney Marks, Dr. Ignacy Schwartzbart, J. Torczyner, H. Weissman.

Dr. Benjamin Akzin, Miss B. Cohen, Gerold Frank, Arnold K. Isreeli, William Kaufman, Harold P. Manson, Dr. Benjamin Shwadran, Harry L. Shapiro, Harry Steinberg, Joseph Sternstein, Abe Tuvim.

RESIGNATION OF MR. SHAPIRO

Dr. Silver submitted to the Executive Committee the resignation of Mr. Shapiro as Executive Director of the Emergency Council upon his appointment as Executive Vice-Chairman of the UPA. Dr. Silver expressed his and the Council's appreciation for Mr. Shapiro's distinguished service at the head of the staff of the AZEC and wished him success in his new task.

On a motion by Rabbi Miller, it was decided that the Executive Committee accept the resignation of Mr. Shapiro with keen regret and with a profound sense of appreciation of the services that he has rendered, and that the Chairman's remarks be made part of a formal resolution to be included in the minutes of this meeting as follows:

Much of the success of the work of the AZEC in these years of storm and struggle and unremitting effort is due to the most capable and untiring service rendered by Mr. Shapiro. The Executive Committee of the AZEC feels that Harry L. Shapiro has deserved well of the Jewish people by his five years of distinguished service in the AZEC in the cause of the Jewish people and of Israel.

The Executive Committee expresses its best wishes to Harry L. Shapiro in this new and tremendously important field of parallel if not identical service into which he is now entering as the guiding professional spirit of the United Palestine Appeal.

Mr. Shapiro said that he deeply appreciated the opportunity to serve the AZEC. He was glad to work with this body for the past five years, and he thought the record would show that the Council had made a splendid contribution to the establishment of the State of Israel.

ELECTION OF EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Dr. Silver said that the Executive Committee had to elect a successor to Mr. Shapiro. He thought that Mr. Shapiro's place should be filled by Mr. A. Tuvim, who had been Mr. Shapiro's right-hand man in the work here through these years, who was most intimately acquainted with the work, and who had served as acting Executive Director during the protracted absence of Mr. Shapiro. He suggested therefore that Mr. Tuvim be elected Executive Director to succeed Mr. Shapiro.

Mrs. Epstein thought that before a new Executive Director was elected, the future of the Emergency Council should be discussed. The Actions Committee had recently decided that the American Section of the Jewish Agency was to be responsible for public relations in the Western Hemisphere. That called for an examination of the relationship of the American Section of the Jewish Agency to the Emergency Council and perhaps for a new definition of the Council's functions. After November 29 last the Chairman had put in the hopper the question of the continuation of the Emergency Council. Certainly that was no time to dissolve it. There was a purpose still to be served. But a discussion along these lines was timely now.

Dr. Silver said he meant to bring up the question at a later point in the day's proceedings in connection with the budget. However, the Emergency Council would have to continue for some time. He did not suggest electing Mr. Tuvim for a fixed period of time, but to carry on the work until such time as this body decided otherwise.

Motion to elect Mr. Tuvim as Executive Director seconded and carried.

Dr. Silver thereupon formally invested Mr. Tuvim as Executive Director.

Mr. Tuvim said he hoped to do three-quarters as well as Mr. Shapiro.

BUDGET

Mr. Shapiro laid before the Council a tentative budget for 1948-1949. Compared to the previous year, the budget provides for a somewhat reduced program of activities, the savings, on the basis of an entire year, amounting to about \$200,000. (Details on file)

Mrs. Greenberg suggested that in future a copy of the Council's budget be sent in advance to the heads of all member organizations, and asked how the functions were divided between the Emergency Council and the Jewish Agency.

Dr. Silver replied that the work of the American Section of the Jewish Agency had not yet been fully organized since the last meeting of the Actions

Committee when it was called upon to take on additional responsibilities, and therefore only a tentative answer could be given for the present. Political activity on the American scene must remain solely the function of AZEC. The Jewish Agency, as an international body, could not participate in this work. It would not be the Jewish Agency that would go to see Congressmen and Senators, nor could a representative of the State of Israel do that kind of work. Only an American organization could do this. That is the reason for the AZEC maintaining a skeleton office in Washington. In other fields, the American Section of the Jewish Agency, once its functions are determined, may still be unwilling to take on the job of the American Zionists on the American scene. Nevertheless, he hoped that much of the activity of the AZEC could now be curtailed.

While the latest developments in Paris seem to indicate an easing up of the situation, we still have a long way to go before there will be stability, and until that time comes, there must be an alert organization ready to do the job whenever necessary. He hoped that there would be no further need for the huge expenses involved in street demonstrations or Madison Square Garden meetings, but at the time those were tremendously important. He thought that the budget could be pruned down considerably in other fields as well. A reduction of \$200,000 from last year has already been suggested. It would be a mistake to vote a year's budget at this time. Probably a six months' budget, subject to revision, would suffice. He suggested referring the budget to a finance committee to work out the details.

Rabbi Miller emphasized the importance of the work of the Washington office which he knew from personal experience. He believed that the work of the Emergency Council in Washington, not only seeing Senators and Representatives, but keeping in hourly touch with Washington newspapermen, must go on. He moved that instead of a finance committee, an ad hoc committee of four be appointed for the purpose of deciding on and approving a six months' budget.

Mrs. Greenberg praised the work of the American Christian Palestine Committee and said that all who had had contact with the Committee, as she had, would testify to the superb work the Committee was doing.

Mr. Shapiro pointed out that the Council's fiscal year runs from October 15 to October 15 and at the moment it is operating on a reserve set up for severance pay. He therefore urged quick action on the budget.

Motion carried to appoint committee of four to decide on and approve a six months' budget.

REPORT BY MR. TUVIM ON AZEC ACTIVITIES

Mr. Tuvim reported that since the last meeting of the Council, as a result of the very strenuous efforts of the Emergency Council and its friends, both the Democratic and Republican candidates issued statements in our support. Then followed another period of intense activity to bring about action by President Truman repudiating the position taken by the American Delegation in Paris in support of the British-Chinese resolution against Israel. It is known that the President sent a directive to Paris in this sense. The President

would not make a public statement regarding the step he had taken, but we informed our friends, especially in cities with large Jewish communities, that we appreciated what the President had done. There is no question but that the President's last-minute action rallied many voters. An analysis of the vote showed that it was the cities with a large Jewish population in Massachusetts, Connecticut, Ohio, Illinois and California that carried those States for Mr. Truman.

On the occasion of Secretary Marshall's visit to Washington last week, the Council again was called upon to see to it that the President not be swayed from his position. One of our friends came away from a conference with the President with the assurance that his position would remain unchanged.

Mr. Tuvim further reported that the biggest and most important of all conferences planned by the ACPC was now in progress, in Miami. This was the first time that such a conference was being sponsored locally by both the Jewish and the Christian community, and never before had there been such complete representation of organizations. The whole series of conferences would cost about \$12,000, of which the Council's share would be \$6,000.

MR. BEIGIN'S VISIT TO THE U.S.

Mrs. Epstein raised the question of the action to be taken in connection with Menachem Beigin's visit to the United States. She understood that in certain cases individuals on the list of Beigin's sponsors were contacted, but this was not enough. Further action should be taken to offset the propaganda that was being spread by Beigin's adherents. She would not recommend issuing statements to the newspapers but would suggest that the Emergency Council issue a circular for the guidance of our own organizations.

Mr. Tuvim said that while the Council had received many requests to do something about the matter, it had been able to do only limited things, such as calling people like Mayor O'Dwyer, Senator Lucas and a number of State Governors and stopping their sponsorship of Beigin. He thought there was danger, if we took any further steps, of confusing our Christian friends. He, personally, thought that since a political party in Israel was involved, the Emergency Council ought not to interfere but ought to take only such action as the Jewish Agency would recommend.

Mrs. Greenberg pointed out the danger of permitting the Beigin propaganda to go unchallenged by us. She noted that a telegram from the Beigin group went to every member of the ACPC.

Dr. Margoshes cautioned against hasty action and suggested waiting to see just what Beigin would do. Since he came here as a representative of a political party in Israel, certain activities on his part must be considered as quite legitimate, and to fight him publicly before there was any provocation would only give him the kind of publicity he was seeking.

Mrs. Epstein said that since we know who Beigin is and what he stands for, the time to fight him is now before the mischief is done.

Mr. Zuckerman supported the position of Mrs. Epstein and moved for the appointment of a special committee to study the situation and recommend what action the Council should take. This was important not only in connection with Beigin's visit but also in regard to future activity by the Irgun, which would undoubtedly follow.

Mr. Torczyner believed that since Mr. Beigin came here as an Israeli citizen, his activities here are the concern of the Israeli Mission and not of the Emergency Council. Beigin has fired the imagination of the American people, not just the Jews, but Christian Americans as well, but he will leave and be forgotten. It would be better not to stir up a controversy in America around him.

Rabbi Miller stated that the problem before us was to stop the rank and file of the Jews from falling victim to the propaganda which has been filling the pages of the press in tremendous advertisements. Steps should be taken to counteract the raising of funds from well-meaning Jews. Each group owes it to its constituents to state the facts clearly and prevent their becoming the raw material out of which Beigin and his cohorts in America could build a following.

Mrs. Epstein moved that the Emergency Council and every group in the Council send a letter to its chapters throughout the country warning them against Mr. Beigin and explaining why they should boycott him.

Dr. Silver said the Council ought to proceed carefully in this matter. It was not quite clear to him whether the Council should take any formal action. Other Israeli parties have sent representatives here and nobody objected to their raising funds in America. Recently Mr. Sneh had come to America on behalf of his party. Formal action by the Council might serve as a precedent in the case of representatives of other groups in Israel. The Council could not undertake to sit in judgment on Palestinian political parties. He understood that steps were taken quietly by calling people who had been drawn in, some of them unwittingly, to back Beigin's party. Others knew all about it and still wanted to welcome him. Many of these have been reached as well. At this moment formal action would be inadvisable and premature. If the situation were to change, the Council could consider the matter once more. He did think, however, that the American Section of the Jewish Agency should discuss the issue.

Mr. Zuckerman asked why something had not been done to warn the Jewish press.

Mr. Isreeli replied that he had talked to the editors and publishers and some of the writers, who said they admired Beigin, and there was nothing we could do about it.

Mr. Zuckerman said we have a very clear duty to see that the organized Zionists and Jewry in general should not fall prey to the pro-Beigin propaganda in the English and Yiddish press. Otherwise we would help build something dangerous that would be difficult to break down. He therefore recommended that a committee be elected, this committee to be given full power to draft a communication on behalf of the Emergency Council to be sent to Emergency committees all over the country. This communication should be an answer

to the statements the Beigin camp is spreading to the effect that the Irgunists were the only ones to push the British out of Palestine.

Mr. Tybin believed it unfair not to distinguish between Mr. Sneh and Mr. Beigin. Mr. Sneh came from Haganah and he represents a Zionist party, while Beigin had stood against the discipline of the Israeli government. He thought it was an insult to compare the two and to conclude that what we do not do against Sneh we cannot do against Beigin.

Dr. Silver remarked that he did not put the two in the same category at all, but merely pointed out that a demand had been made on the Council to oppose Dr. Sneh because his coming here would be harmful to the Zionist movement. He questioned whether we should sit here and pass judgment on such matters.

Dr. Silver said that he had no objection to the motion that a committee be appointed to study the matter in consultation with the Jewish Agency, but felt sure that the Council would want the opportunity to pass on the recommendations of the committee before it takes action. He suggested that all the parties be represented on the committee. Motion seconded and carried.

FUTURE OF AZEC

Mr. Zuckerman moved for the appointment of a committee to study the question of the further functioning of the Emergency Council. He thought this question now required thorough study, but did not want to make a party issue of it and did not want the proposal to come from his party.

Dr. Silver supported the motion and suggested that the committee should include all parties.

Motion seconded and carried.

WELCOME TO MESSRS. LOCKER AND BRODETSKY

The Chairman welcomed the guests from overseas, Mr. Berl Locker, Chairman of the Jerusalem Section of the Jewish Agency, and Professor Selig Brodetsky, a member of the Jewish Agency Executive in London. Professor Brodetsky thanked the committee for the opportunity to see the Emergency Council in session and said that he had come to acquaint American Jewry with the importance of the Hebrew University.

Mr. Locker said he had learned a lot at this meeting. Some questions which were raised here were of interest to the Agency too. Speaking of the situation in Israel, Mr. Locker said that the Yiddish press did not always underline sufficiently the dark side of the war. But there is a dark side. A great many lives have been lost and there have been many other tragedies. But generally it is a very great adventure to be in Israel now. Palestine Jewry has always felt entirely at home. But now the Jews in Israel look very well, are very proud, very independent and very free. The war is probably won and we are now confronted with great problems.

At the Actions Committee meeting certain delimitations of function took place, and he was glad to say that this has not led to any estrangement between the Jewish Agency and the government. The two bodies cooperate very closely. Immigration is mainly the Agency's concern. It is a great task.

Thus far, we have taken in during the year about 85,000 to 90,000 people, the greatest immigration that Palestine has had in all the years. There was no year like it under the mandate. We never had more than 65,000 -- that was in 1935. By the end of this year we may have 130,000, because in the next few weeks we have to take in 40,000 or 50,000 Jews, 20,000 of whom are from Bulgaria. About 4,500 are coming from Yugoslavia, 3,000 from Czechoslovakia. About 5,000 from the camps are in Marseilles. Polish Jews are coming in small numbers. Some thousands will arrive from the camps in addition to those now in Marseilles. On top of this we now have the problem of China, where some 13,000 people are involved. North African Jews are now on the move. This creates great problems of finance and transportation. Though the JDC pays transportation from most of the countries, it does not pay for all of them, notably not for transportation from Arab countries. We now have the problem of transferring 3,500 people from Aden by air. There is the question of housing -- a very difficult question. It is primarily a question of money. For money we have to look to American Jewry, and American Jewry must be united for this purpose. It must have a strong United Palestine Appeal, a strong United Jewish Appeal.

Meeting adjourned 5:45 P.M.



B.A.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

December 8, 1948

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held on Wednesday, December 8, 1948, at 4:30 P.M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Pinchas Cruso, Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, Leon Gellman, Dr. H. Raphael Gold, Mrs. Sam Goldstein, Mrs. David B. Greenberg, Dr. Emanuel Neumann, Dr. Joseph Schechtman, Yehuda Tyberg, Baruch Zuckerman.

Leo Cohen, Beinish Epstein, Mr. Gelber, J. Greenleaf, Dr. S. Margoshes, Dr. Sidney Marks, Dr. Ignacy Schwartzbart, J. Torczyner, Samuel J. Zacks.

Dr. Benjamin Akzin, Gerold Frank, Arnold K. Isreeli, William Kaufman, Harold P. Manson, Dr. Benjamin Shwadran, Harry Steinberg, Abe Tuvim.

REPORT OF BEIGIN COMMITTEE

Dr. Akzin reported on the deliberations of the committee of representatives of the seven parties, with Rabbi Kirshblum as chairman, appointed to deal with the question of the attitude of the Emergency Council toward the visit of Mr. Beigin in this country.

After a prolonged discussion with the participation of Messrs. Gellman, Cohen, Cruso, Zuckerman, Epstein, Mrs. Epstein, Dr. Neumann, and Dr. Silver, it was decided, at the request of Dr. Neumann and Mr. Gellman, to postpone further consideration of the matter for a week to enable the Executive Committee of ZOA and Mizrachi to define their attitudes.

COUNCIL ACTIVITIES AND THE POLITICAL SITUATION

Mr. Tuvim reported that, at the request of our friends in Paris, contacts were established here to ascertain the attitudes of China, France and Canada in connection with the vote in the Security Council on admission of Israel to the U.N. Efforts were made to encourage favorable editorial opinion on the admission of Israel to the U.N., and the Council.

has already received copies of forty editorials, mostly from big cities. At no time in the past were there such unanimity and such good sentiments expressed in the press for our cause.

Consideration was being given at present to the holding of an annual seminar in Israel, in cooperation with the ACPC. The communities in 25 or 30 cities would be asked to choose each one participant and to cover his expenses. Organizations like the AFL and CIO would also be asked to participate in like manner. It was hoped that influential lay leaders and representatives of church federations would participate. Within the seminar there would be a labor seminar, a government seminar, a medical seminar, a settlement seminar, a seminar on religious freedom and worship, etc. The plan is still in a preliminary stage and requires further study.

Mr. Tuvim further reported concerning the steps taken with regard to COMMON SENSE, a New Jersey publication full of vicious bias.

Dr. Silver said that France and Canada were the two countries that were holding up favorable action by the Security Council on the admission of Israel to the U.N.

Mr. Zacks stated that during the last week end there had been considerable contact with the various cabinet ministers and with the Prime Minister of Canada, and he was hopeful that Canada would vote for Israel's admission.

Dr. Silver reported further that de jure recognition was no longer a burning issue, because there existed a definite commitment on the part of our Government that recognition will be granted after the elections are held. There is no need to press for something to which the Government is officially committed.

Dr. Silver stated that Dr. Jessup's statement was an excellent historic document. It brought our Government back to the position where it was a year ago and from which it should never have deviated. The latest report was that the British were trying to get the Security Council to impose sanctions on Israel. Bunche and Ross of the American delegation opposed it, and according to latest reports, no action will be taken. There was some reason to hope that nothing would happen between now and the closing of the Assembly, because that would leave the November 29 resolution in force and the Jews and Arabs would then be called upon to negotiate directly. Dr. Silver believed that the representatives of Israel in Paris carried through their assignment in the ablest manner. They started out with all the cards stacked against them -- the assassination of Bernadotte, the Bernadotte report, the endorsement of the Bernadotte report by the American Government. It looked as if they would be fighting a losing battle in this Assembly, but they succeeded in beating down every action unfavorable to them, in maintaining their status and in strengthening their position. A great deal of credit is due to the diplomatic skill of the Israeli delegation, headed by Messrs. Shertok and Eban.

Mr. Tuvim explained that the Council had made copies of the Jessup speech available to the Government of Israel and to friendly speakers.

BUDGET AND PLANNING

Mr. Tuvim reported that the Emergency Council needed funds for operations. He read the resolution adopted by the committee appointed to study the budget as follows:

RESOLVED that the budget submitted by the American Zionist Emergency Council for the year 1948-1949 totaling \$563,865.64 be approved with the following provisos:

1. That the budget passed upon shall be for a period of six months beginning October 15, 1948; and

2. That the Committee on Scope, to be appointed by the Chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council for the purpose of studying and planning future activities of the AZEC, be urgently requested to meet at an early date and bring in a report before three months have elapsed in order that the needs of the Emergency Council may be re-analyzed at that time.

This was transmitted to the Funds with the request that the two overdue monthly allotments to the Council for October 15-November 15 and November 15-December 15 be urgently transmitted. Mr. Tuvim pointed out that the Council was now using a fund set aside for severance, and that a new agreement with the union, retroactive to October 15, could not be put in force until the money was made available.

The request to the Funds for an interim allotment for two months was approved.

Mrs. Greenberg pointed out that the Committee on the Budget had also recommended that the Committee on Planning and Scope or another committee be set up as a permanent committee with a mandate to meet every month and check on items. The Committee on the Budget felt that it could take no important action on the budget since the whole policy of the Emergency Council was not before it for review. Mrs. Greenberg urged that the Planning and Scope Committee meet promptly and evolve a plan for the future.

Dr. Silver stated that the Planning and Scope Committee was being organized and ought to meet within a week.

Dr. Akzin reported that each party had been asked to select a representative to the committee.

Meeting adjourned 6:05 P.M.

B.A.

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

JANUARY 10, 1949

A meeting of the American Section of the Executive of the Jewish Agency for Palestine was held on Monday, January 10, 1949, at 3:00 P.M. at the offices of the Jewish Agency, New York City.

EXECUTIVE MEMBERS PRESENT

Dr. A. H. Silver (presiding), Dr. Goldmann, Mr. Greenberg, Mrs. Halprin, Mr. Lurie, Dr. Neuman, Mr. Zuckerman;

DEPUTY MEMBERS - Zvi Herman, Mr. Schechtman and Advisor - Mr. Gellman.

OTHERS PRESENT

Dr. Bernard Joseph, Messrs. Gottlieb Hammer, Arthur Lourie, Harold Manson and Abe Tuvim.

CIRCULATION OF DIGEST OF MINUTES

It was requested that a summary of action taken at the meetings of the Executive be prepared and circulated.

COMMUNICATIONS FROM JERUSALEM

A cable exchange between New York and Jerusalem was read with respect to the application of Tel Hai for a loan. The Jerusalem Executive indicated its disapproval of such a loan or guarantee.

INVITATION TO BEN ZVI RECEPTION

Mr. Hayim Greenberg and Dr. Nahum Goldmann were asked to represent the American Section of the Jewish Agency at a reception in honor of Mr. Isaac Ben Zvi to be held on Thursday evening, January 13, at the Park Sheraton Hotel under the auspices of the National Committee for Labor Israel.

MULTIPLICITY CAMPAIGNS

In response to a request by the UPA to the Jerusalem Executive that the American Section be vested with full authority to handle the question of multiple campaigns, the Jerusalem Section proposed that the American Section convey information and recommendations to Jerusalem and that they would, together with the Government, set up a joint committee to investigate and decide upon such matters. After some discussion it was decided to inform the Jerusalem Executive that their proposal is acceptable subject to

(a) any decision must be taken by the full Executive and not just the Jerusalem Executive; (b) requests by American organizations for certification as bona fide fund raising organizations must be referred in the first instance to the American Section, and, (c) that a statement be issued in Israel that no campaign is to be started without the prior approval of the Jewish Agency and the Government of Israel.

REPORT OF YOUTH AND ORGANIZATION DEPARTMENT

Mr. Zuckerman submitted a report of a meeting of the Subcommittee on Youth and Organization. It was requested that action be postponed until the next meeting. In the meantime the report should be circulated so that members of the Executive would have an opportunity to study it.

It was also requested that a report be obtained from the U.S. Central Shekel and Election Board.

REPORT OF PUBLIC RELATIONS DEPARTMENT

Mrs. Halprin submitted a report in behalf of the Public Relations Committee. Mr. Manson supplemented this report. A general discussion ensued. No definite action was taken.

REPORT BY DR. JOSEPH

Dr. Dov Joseph submitted an off the record report on the situation in Israel.

REPORT BY ZVI HERMAN

Mr. Herman reported on the problem of absorption of new immigration.

UJA CHAIRMANSHIP

A long discussion took place with respect to the negotiations with Mr. Morgenthau regarding the general Chairmanship of the United Jewish Appeal. A motion was made that the Executive of the Agency advise the UJA to accept without qualification the readiness of Mr. Morgenthau to serve. The Chairman expressed the opinion that he could not put this motion to a vote and asked to be excused. (Dr. Silver then left the meeting and Dr. Goldmann took the chair. The meeting went into Executive session).

After additional discussion the matter was put to a vote with the following voting in the affirmative: Mr. Zuckerman, Mrs. Halprin, Mr. Lurie, Mr. Greenberg and Dr. Goldmann. Dr. Silver and Dr. Neumann were not present.

The meeting adjourned at 8:30 P.M.

G.H.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

January 11, 1949

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held on Tuesday, January 11, 1949, at 10:30 A.M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Daniel Frisch, Dr. Berl Frymer, Dr. H. Raphael Gold, Paul L. Goldman, Mrs. Sam Goldstein, Mrs. Benjamin Gottesman, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Rabbi Irving Miller, Mrs. David de Sola Pool, Dr. Joseph Schechtman, Elihu D. Stone, Yehuda Tubin, Yehuda Tyberg, David Wertheim.

Dr. Harry Levi, Harold P. Manson, Dr. Ignacy Schwarzbart.

Dr. Benjamin Akzin, Gerold Frank, Arnold K. Isreeli, Dr. Benjamin Shwadrin, Harry Steinberg, Joseph Sternstein, Abe Tuvim.

PRESENT POLITICAL SITUATION

Dr. Silver stated that this meeting had been called at the request of one of the member bodies of the Emergency Council to consider the present political situation. The situation looked graver two days ago than it does today, although it is still sufficiently grave. As soon as the new move of the British became apparent, the Emergency Council quickly got into action. A carefully drawn memorandum of the facts was prepared by Dr. Akzin in cooperation with Mr. Manson and in consultation with Mr. Lourie and sent to all public-opinion-forming agencies in the country, to the press and to political figures as well as to the local Emergency Committees. When the situation became very acute, it was decided to have the story spread more fully in the form of an advertisement. The Council's advertisement, prepared by Mr. Manson, appears in this morning's New York Times and will also appear in other papers here and in Washington.

According to the latest Washington reports, Mr. McDonald informed the President that the British planes were shot down over Israeli territory. Our Government has informed the British Government that the situation which has developed reflected on the integrity of the British Government, that the normal processes which have been set in motion looking towards discussions of an armistice ought to be allowed to continue without interruption, and that the moving of military reinforcements by Britain was a provocative act. We were informed that the British Ambassador called on the State Department requesting

the State Department to instruct Mr. Keenan, and was told that the only instructions Keenan had received and would receive from the American Government were those contained in the Jessup statement before the Security Council, which statement represents American policy. Mr. Dulles, in talking to the President yesterday, said that the British could be helpful by indicating to the Arabs that they should proceed along the lines which the United Nations outlined for armistice negotiations. In Dr. Silver's opinion, the attitude of our Government has been good. It has acted as a check and deterrent on Bevin's real intent to precipitate a major crisis in the Near East which would have thrown a ring of steel around the State of Israel and compelled it to accept terms agreeable to the British Foreign Office. Unless something unforeseen occurs, we are likely to see an easing of the political crisis in the next few days.

The purpose of this meeting being to consider what the Emergency Council should be doing at the present time, Dr. Silver called on Mr. Tuvim to inform the meeting what instructions he has given to the Emergency Committees throughout the country.

Mr. Tuvim reported that in the last ten days the Emergency Council had sent out four directives. Two dealt with the Cyprus issue, on which Jewish attention was not sufficiently focused. Among Christians, however, there was a good deal of action on Cyprus. Many letters were sent by Christian leaders on this subject, many sermons were preached in Christian churches, and some material has appeared in the press. The other two directives deal with recent British actions in the Middle East, and our friends were asked to use the basic material received from us for advertisements, for letters to the press and for the orientation of radio commentators, editors, news writers, preachers and political leaders. To be most effective, the Council's directives should be followed up by the individual parties. The parties should re-issue them to their members throughout the country.

Dr. Gold asked whether there existed any means of transmitting our information to the press and public opinion in Britain. Mr. Tuvim replied that our material goes to all the overseas press agencies and is certainly picked up by the British.

Dr. Schechtman said that while the Emergency Council had done well, the essential question was how we judged the situation. The U.S. Government's firm attitude has probably prevented the British from making a major incident of the shooting down of the British planes, but it did not basically change the situation. There is a deliberate and consistent British effort to force their way into an armed conflict with the Jews. Much more menacing than the airplane incident is the despatch of British troops to Transjordan. The information about British troop and naval movements is part of a war of nerves which may or may not develop into military intervention. We should not limit ourselves to the usual procedures that we have applied in the past in other unpleasant situations of a political nature. The present case is unusual, and public opinion in this country and abroad, especially in Britain, should be aroused. There are not many ways and means left, but two ways must be tried, despite the dangers involved. Mass picketing of British consulates all over the country should be encouraged, and a boycott of British goods should be considered. Britain is the only stumbling block for Israel. That is why this is the time for a warning that, should the British war on Israel be continued, American Jewry would resort to a boycott of British goods.

Mr. Goldman suggested that statements from the leaders of organized labor would be effective in this country and might also influence the British Labor Party. He also suggested calling a large mass meeting in New York and similar meetings throughout the country.

Mr. Stone said that the American taxpayer should be informed that American subsidies help pay the bill for British military enterprise in Palestine. Members of Congress ought likewise to be informed of the situation. Mr. Stone shared Dr. Schechtman's view that we have reached a crisis and that it behooves us to do unusual things. Bringing up the matter of American subsidies to Britain would be far more effective than a threat of boycott.

Dr. Gold suggested that American public opinion be acquainted more fully with the divisions existing within England itself on the question of Palestine. Attention should also be given to the need of neutralizing hostile ecclesiastical influences in England.

Mrs. Pool suggested that we ask for the help of a number of organizations which have been helpful to us in the past, especially those that are known as friends of England. She thought that as long as even the Israeli Government does business with England, there was no point in urging a boycott of British goods in America.

Mr. Frisch thought that either a boycott or a criticism of the Marshall Plan might antagonize important segments of opinion. The important thing was to make known to the country how deeply we feel about this situation. A huge meeting in New York would voice the feelings of American Jewry.

Mr. Wertheim said that apparently the attitude of our Government was now quite friendly. One should be careful not to jeopardize this. Opposition to the Marshall Plan or a boycott would be dangerous.

Dr. Akzin said that Congress was now engaged in a study of the budget message. Most people in Congress will be looking for places to cut the budget in order to avoid the necessity for increasing taxes. While it would be unwise to place a memorandum in the hands of every Congressman, friendly members of Congress ought to have their attention drawn to the costly British adventures in the Middle East as an indication that American economic aid to Britain could be reduced.

Mr. Stone said that he did not intend an attack on the Marshall Plan when he suggested attacking economic aid to Britain. We could even come out in support of the Marshall Plan but decry the fact that the purpose of the Marshall Plan is being defeated by the British. A coast-to-coast broadcast, pointing out the facts with diplomacy and with sense, would bring the issue to the attention of the American public.

Rabbi Miller remarked that there was general agreement on the gravity of the situation. If anything serious were to result, we would never forgive ourselves for having done too little and too late. On the other hand, we must not be reckless. There were grave considerations that militated against a boycott. An attack on the Marshall Plan was also inadvisable. But the thesis that because of the Anglo-American alliance, everything that Britain stood for was right, should be attacked. Anything that causes American public opinion to question British policy would be felt very quickly by England.

As a practical step, Rabbi Miller suggested that the Chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council invite by telegram the important Jewish organizations in the country to an emergency conference at as early a date as possible to hear a report on what is happening in the British situation and to take counsel. The message from the Chairman of the Emergency Council, if given out to the press, would serve as a warning on the British Government and on the State Department that we take a very grave view of the matter.

Mrs. Gottesman concurred in Rabbi Miller's suggestion and emphasized the importance of radio in drawing public attention to the issue. She thought a street parade rather than a mass meeting might be helpful. At the conferences of UPA and of the Welfare Federations, meeting this week, suitable resolutions should be introduced. A great many Jews were refraining from purchasing British goods, but an organized boycott would be inadvisable.

Mrs. Pool thought we were entitled to know how Great Britain is using American money. This does not entail opposition to the Marshall Plan.

Dr. Levi said he believed that the danger in the situation lay in the impression that the situation was well in hand. But the British were still in Aqaba in a position to shoot as soon as they find an opportunity. Whereas the military and political situation was as bad as it had been, our psychological approach here in America had changed. As far as a boycott was concerned, it was only necessary to give warning that, should the British intervene in a war in Palestine, there would be a boycott. Picketing by youth groups and individuals, without any instructions by the Emergency Council, would make the British in this country feel uncomfortable.

Mr. Goldman remarked that if Britain should become openly engaged in a direct war, there would be a spontaneous boycott. To initiate it now would be wrong. He approved Rabbi Miller's proposal for the calling of a conference, but wondered whether it should be done in the name of the Emergency Council.

Mrs. Pool recommended that organizations invited to the proposed conference should include not only those formerly in the American Jewish Conference but others as well, including fund-raising organizations.

Dr. Silver said these unanticipated crises indicate the importance of the Emergency Council. There is enough political work to do on the American scene for many years to come. He urged that the Scope Committee bring in its report as early as possible so that the future of the Emergency Council could be decided, and also because he personally would like to be relieved of the chairmanship as soon as possible.

Dr. Silver recalled that a few months back, when a similar political crisis had developed, Senator Bridges spoke up as chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee and that threw such a panic in the camp of the British that almost overnight there was a shift in policy. It would be desirable to have someone in a similar position bring up the subject of aid to Britain in connection with British activities in Palestine. A discussion on the floor of the Senate would also be helpful. The point could be made that if American taxpayers' money was to be spent abroad, that money should be properly used and not used against the foreign policy of the United States and against the declared policy of the United Nations.

An effort will be made, of course, to persuade radio commentators to speak intelligently on the Palestine issue.

Resolutions ought to be submitted at the Atlantic City and Philadelphia conferences.

He was doubtful concerning the organization of a mass meeting, chiefly because the preparations might take too long and because of the expense involved. He agreed with Rabbi Miller's suggestion of a conference and proposed Tuesday, January 18, as the date. The press should be informed immediately.

Concluding, Dr. Silver said it was his guess that Great Britain would endeavor to sabotage the negotiations on Rhodes. It might be that the Rhodes negotiations would drag on or even bog down. We must figure on the worst, not on the best.

Dr. Akzin suggested that the American Christian Palestine Committee call a parallel conference of Christian organizations.

Dr. Silver called for a vote on convoking the proposed conference, the date to be either next Monday or Tuesday. Motion unanimously approved.

Mrs. Pool suggested that the Council start now planning for the celebration of the anniversary of the Jewish State on May 14.

REPORT OF PLANNING AND SCOPE COMMITTEE

Rabbi Miller said he had ready an interim report from the Scope Committee which had to be acted upon by the Executive Committee before the Scope Committee could proceed further.

Dr. Silver suggested making the report of the Planning and Scope Committee the first order of business of the next meeting of the Executive Committee.

Rabbi Kirshblum remarked that the budget situation of the Emergency Council would be hampered a great deal unless we get as quickly as possible a complete picture of what is going to happen.

Rabbi Miller stated that the Planning and Scope Committee had reached the stage where it could not go on until it had a decision from the Executive Committee on its interim report.

Meeting adjourned 11:45 A.M.

B.A.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

March 7, 1949

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held on Monday, March 7, 1949, at 8:30 P.M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Sol Cohen, Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, Paul L. Goldman, Mrs. Sam Goldstein, Mrs. Benjamin Gottesman, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Dr. Samuel Margoshes, Rabbi Irving Miller, Dr. Joseph Schechtman, Louis Segal, Yehuda Tubin, David Wertheim, Baruch Zuckerman.

Pinchas Cruso, Beinish Epstein, Joseph Greenleaf, Charles Ress, Dr. Ignacy Schwarzbart, Yehuda Tyberg, Rabbi Jerome Unger.

Dr. Benjamin Akzin, Eliahu Ben-Horin, Miss Beatrice Cohen, Arnold K. Isreeli, William Kaufman, Dr. Benjamin Shwadran, Harry Steinberg, Rabbi Joseph Sternstein, Abe Tuvim.

APPLICATION OF HAPOEL HAMIZRACHI FOR
REPRESENTATION IN EMERGENCY COUNCIL

A letter was read from Hapoel Hamizrachi requesting that that organization be accorded separate representation in the Emergency Council. In accordance with the by-laws, it was decided to defer action for two weeks, until the next meeting of the Executive.

CELEBRATION OF THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE JEWISH STATE

Mr. Zuckerman suggested that the Council ascertain whether the celebration would be held in Israel according to the Jewish or the Roman calendar, and that we plan the celebration for the same date.

Mrs. Epstein thought that while it would be desirable to have the celebration here coincide with the one in Israel, the anniversary might be robbed of its meaning in this country if it were celebrated on any other date than May 14.

Rabbi Miller pointed out that only if the celebration were to serve a specific political objective, would it come within the scope of the Council's activity. Otherwise it might be better for the various Zionist bodies to celebrate it in whatever way they chose.

Mr. Cruso thought that such a celebration came rightly within the province of the Emergency Council's activity. Whether or not there is a specific political objective, the meeting could be managed so as to have political significance.

Rabbi Kirshblum thought the Council might adjust itself to holding celebrations without any political significance.

Dr. Silver pointed out that if a celebration is decided upon, it will involve the Emergency Council in considerable expense, and those responsible for the budget will have to bear this fact in mind.

Mr. Tuvim remarked that if the Council does undertake the celebration it should be understood that none of the parties will undertake a similar project.

Mr. B. Epstein agreed with Rabbi Miller that since the purpose of the celebration would not be political, the Council should not undertake it. Every party will wish to celebrate in its own way and express its own views on the occasion. Certain affiliates of the Revisionists have already made preparations and invested some money. They have secured Madison Square Garden for the purpose, and it would be very hard for them to call it off.

Mr. Wertheim suggested that no action be taken on the proposal for a celebration until after the report of the Scope Committee was heard.

Dr. Silver remarked that two months was not too long a period in which to make preparations and asked that a decision be made without specific relation to the re-organization of the Council.

Mr. Zuckerman said the planned celebration referred to by the Revisionists was of such magnitude that it might do harm to any celebration planned by the Emergency Council, creating the impression that there are in the United States two groups of equal importance, one--the group planning the Madison Square Garden meeting, the other--the entire Zionist movement. He therefore urged that if the Council does hold a celebration, it be on a grand scale. Unless the Council plans a demonstration that will bring half a million Jews out in the streets, it will be overshadowed by the celebration of the other group, and it might therefore be more desirable for each group to hold a celebration of its own. He suggested that the Committee first consider the report of the Scope Committee. If the Emergency Council is going to continue for a long time, it is worthwhile investing considerable money in a demonstration that will give the Council the status it should have. If, however, the Council is to continue for only a few months, let every group do whatever it can.

Mrs. Epstein stated that the future budget of the Council would affect the decision on the celebration and suggested that the Scope Committee report be considered first.

Dr. Silver agreed to delay further consideration until after the report of the Scope Committee.

REPORT OF THE SCOPE COMMITTEE

Rabbi Miller, chairman of the Scope Committee, reported that two meetings were held. The parties were represented as follows: Mrs. Epstein for Hadassah, Louis Segal for Poale Zion, Leon Gellman for Mizrachi, Beinisch Epstein for the Revisionists, Paul Goldman for Achdut Havodah, Mr. Kusselevitz for Hashomer Hatzair, and himself for ZOA. The first meeting

was given over to a general discussion of the future status of the Emergency Council. There was unanimity of opinion in favor of some coordinating body in respect of those matters which are common to all Zionist parties in America. Mrs. Epstein of Hadassah wanted the Emergency Council to continue with some organizational and programmatic changes which would adapt it to its new role. Mr. Epstein for the Revisionists felt that the emergency had by no means been ended and that, therefore, the Council should continue. Mr. Geilman shared the view that the emergency was not over, but felt that certain changes might profitably be made in the Council. On the other hand, Mr. Segal of Poale Zion felt that this organization ought to terminate at a certain date and that a new body should be created. What that body should be would be a matter for consultations among the various parties.

At the end of the first meeting, members were asked to consult with their organizations prior to the next meeting so that final positions could be put forward. At the second meeting there emerged two distinct resolutions: One, by Mr. Segal on behalf of Poale Zion, stated that a body to coordinate certain activities is necessary; however, the Emergency Council having demonstrated that its usefulness has come to an end and that it is not in a position to re-adapt itself to the new orientation now called for, a termination date should be agreed upon and consultations should begin immediately among the parties looking towards the creation of a new coordinating body so as to avoid a vacuum. If, by the time the termination date arrives, the new body has not yet been set up, the termination date might be postponed.

The other resolution stated that the Emergency Council should continue as the coordinating body of all the Zionist parties, that certain programmatic and organizational changes were clearly called for in the light of the present circumstances, that such changes can and should be effected, that a date be agreed upon when such changes should go into effect, and that it would be detrimental to the movement if this organization were liquidated and a new organization started.

The Poale Zion and Achdut Havodah voted for the resolution of Mr. Segal. Mizrachi, the Revisionists, Hadassah and ZOA voted for the second resolution. Hashomer Hatzair reserved its position.

At that point, the Scope Committee being divided on major policy, Rabbi Miller felt that no useful purpose would be served by continuing the discussions of the Committee, but that the issue should be resolved by the Executive Committee.

Mr. Goldman reported that Achdut Havodah-Poale Zion had reversed its stand and would support the second resolution.

Dr. Schechtman thought that the Scope Committee had evaded the issue. The problem is not whether the Emergency Council is to continue or not, but what should be the character and scope of any future body which would represent a common Zionist effort in this country. When we know this, we can decide whether we should continue the Emergency Council or create a new one. The real purpose of the Scope Committee should have been to establish what are the common activities of the Zionist movement in this country, whether political or organizational or educational or propaganda. Is it to be a Zionist federation or some kind of loose combine?

Mr. Segal said that the Council was formed for the specific purpose of meeting the emergency situation in Zionism in this country and, if needed, elsewhere. The emergency situation is now over, and this body has to a large extent fulfilled its function. Recognizing this fact, we must now find the best method to liquidate the Council. The question of creating a body in American Zionism for purposes of common concern to the parties should be taken up by the parties themselves. It is not a problem for the Council. The Council should recommend to the Zionist bodies that they select a committee to discuss matters of organization and activities which are common to all Zionist bodies in the United States. But the Council should not be the architect for a new coordinating body.

Mrs. Epstein agreed with Dr. Schechtman that unless we have a clearer concept of the Council's functions in the future, it is difficult to decide between the two viewpoints. The Council has changed considerably since its inception without going through the radical procedure of liquidation, and there is no need for that kind of action now. At the National Board Conference of Hadassah, very strong sentiment was expressed by out-of-town members that the local Emergency Committees have outlived their usefulness and should be liquidated. When we consider the question of continuing this body or starting another, we will have to consider also the necessity of re-thinking our relationship to the local groups. We were created for an emergency which required immediate and rapid action. For that purpose we had to have local groups. Perhaps now it would be feasible to have merely a central body and work through the constituent organizations.

Another factor to be considered in discussing liquidation or re-organization is the role of the American Section of the Jewish Agency. In the field of public relations, for instance, we must know what the function of the Jewish Agency is before we can plan the role of the Council. In the field of research, the Council's research program could perhaps be moved to the Jewish Agency.

Rabbi Kirshblum thought that until we settled decisively the question of liquidation we could not go into the structural changes in the Council that everyone feels are necessary. If the Council is going to continue to exist, then the Scope Committee should meet again and lay out a program, giving point by point what departments are necessary and what departments can be dispensed with. In Rabbi Kirshblum's opinion, it was doubtful whether the Council could by its own decision vote itself out of existence. It was created by a decision taken at the Zionist Congress in 1939 and it may be that a higher Zionist authority must rule on the question of liquidation.

Mr. Zuckerman recalled that the Emergency Council was created when Dr. Weizmann called the representatives of several American organizations and told them it was necessary to establish a central body in order to carry on during the emergency. But now we are discussing the establishment of a permanent body of Zionist groups in America. A permanent body to deal with problems of interest to all Zionist organizations would have a very wide scope of activities. To decide on what basis such a permanent organization can be established requires discussion among the various Zionist groups to reach a common denominator. In the opinion of Mr. Zuckerman's party, the permanent body could not arise from the Emergency Council. There is need, however, for an organization to bridge the gap between the emergency body

and the permanent body. The question of liquidation is not one to be decided by a majority, since a majority would not bind all the parties. If we agree that the work of the Emergency Council is already at an end, it cannot be decided by a majority vote that this Council should continue in the name of the entire Zionist movement as a permanent body. There must be a new beginning. The Emergency Council, however, could agree on a program for an intermediate body pending the formation of a permanent body, and, as proposed by Mr. Segal, the Council would not be liquidated until a committee composed of all Zionist groups had found a way to organize permanently. This body as it is now constituted cannot exist any longer. It cannot be expected to exist nationally and not to have local organizations. We must accept the fact that we are going towards liquidation.

Mr. B. Epstein said there was a basic difference in the Committee between the viewpoint represented by Mr. Segal and the other viewpoint. While we cannot call the present position an emergency, the purpose for which the Emergency Council was organized still remains. If we were to liquidate this Council it would be tantamount to saying that Zionism had been realized. The suggestion of Mr. Segal for a Zionist federation amounts to concentrating in its hands work on internal Zionist problems. The majority of the organizations are not ready to enter into such a federation. We want to limit ourselves to a common body for external problems, and this Council should be continued for this purpose. A change of name is to be considered.

Mr. Wertheim stated that the Emergency Council had not been organized by decision of the World Zionist Congress. It was a matter taken up by the Executive at the last moment, the day war was declared. Since the Council was not created by decision of the Congress, there is no need to consult the Congress with regard to liquidation. The Emergency Council has written some very fine pages in the history of Zionism, but there is less work now. There is a feeling among Zionists throughout the country that a change must be made. When we consider the extent of the re-organization required, we should not be afraid to speak of liquidation. The members-at-large who represent no parties should have no place on the Council. If we are to start a new venture, let us separate it from the past. We should turn now to our parent organizations and take up the problem of Zionist activities that should be carried on by a central body. It is better to build a new structure than to renovate an old one that has nothing left.

Mr. Cruso recommended that the existence of the Emergency Council be ended. It was a glorious chapter in American Zionism and it should be closed in glory with a sense of accomplishment. To continue the Council in its present form would inevitably lead to a weakening of the structure and to deterioration. The fact that local Emergency Committees are beginning to question their usefulness is indicative of the trend. There are many activities still remaining of common interest to all Zionist bodies. We should be happy that the emergency is over and be glad to liquidate. Even if we do not call it liquidation, it will be a complete re-organization. Mr. Segal's proposal is the natural course to take.

Rabbi Miller said that the Scope Committee had been instructed by the Executive Committee to look into the future scope of the Emergency Council's work. When the Committee was confronted with a very definite point of view, put forward as the official stand by a party, that the Council should liqui-

date, he felt it necessary for the Executive Committee to decide whether the Committee should continue its deliberations. Any coordinating body must take on exactly those functions which the constituent organizations agree to give to it. It won't take great wisdom on the part of this or any committee, if told specifically that we continue operations, to so adapt this organization that it will reflect the passing of the emergency and the need for curtailment of functions and expenditures. If it is decided that a new organization is needed, it won't take much wisdom to figure out what functions the organizations are ready to cede to any coordinating body. But it is not a function of the Scope Committee to plan for a new body. If the Council is to continue, the Scope Committee can bring in a report within a few weeks as to what we should do.

Mrs. Epstein said she was not of the opinion that the emergency is over. The question therefore is, are the existing Zionist groups adequate to deal with the problems facing us without this body?

Dr. Silver suggested that a motion be made to vote on the majority and minority reports of the Scope Committee. He pointed out that the final decision does not rest with the Executive Committee but with the full Council.

Rabbi Kirshblum moved that the majority report be adopted and that the Scope Committee, under the same chairman, be requested to proceed and work out in detail a program for re-organization of the Emergency Council, to be brought in as early as possible for action by the Executive Committee.

Mr. Zuckerman asked for a vote on both proposals.

The vote was 10 for the majority report and 3 for the minority report.

Mr. Zuckerman asked whether the minority would have an opportunity to present its point of view to the full Council and was assured that it would.

It was agreed, however, that the Scope Committee would proceed with its deliberations without waiting for the decision of the full Council.

Mrs. Epstein pointed out that in voting for the majority report, her organization was not committed to accepting the plan which the Scope Committee would bring in.

Dr. Silver said that he did not personally participate in the debate on re-organization or liquidation because he did not wish to influence the discussion in any way. In his opinion the emergency was not yet over. There is no complete armistice yet, there is no peace, there are no defined boundaries, there is an explosive Arab refugee problem. The anti-Zionist forces have not demobilized. Even the Jewish anti-Zionist forces have not demobilized, but are more active than ever. Who knows what will flare up in the Near East tomorrow, or next week, or next year?

The American Zionist Emergency Council represented in recent years the one body to which all parties could come, pool their thinking, and act collectively. This organization has accumulated during these years experience, contacts, prestige, a functioning apparatus and a staff that it would

take years to build up if one were to start anew. It is the part of practical wisdom to capitalize on what has been built up, rather than to scrap it all and start building a new federation of parties. Who knows whether such a federation will be built? Who knows whether the parties want it? Within the framework of what there is, one can eliminate, add, change emphasis, rebuild representation, but a vigorous and functioning institution in American Zionist life would be maintained. The idea that this body cannot re-organize itself is a thesis to which he could not subscribe. Why can it not re-organize itself in every way in which there is a will to re-organize it? If questions of party interest and prestige and personalities are kept out of the discussion, it will be found very simple to do it. As far as he was concerned, he was not personally involved from here on. He wanted the re-organization to be effected as rapidly as possible because he wished to be relieved of his duties. The Zionist Emergency Council, dropping the word "emergency", can be a blessing to Zionism throughout all the future years. A program could be outlined for the coming six months or the coming year, and considered again at the end of a year. The situation is in flux. Certainly for the next year there will be a tremendous amount of political work that this body will be called upon to do. Every day there are attacks in the press on Israel and on the Zionist movement. We ought to be sending to Israel key people--ministers, writers, journalists, editors, leaders of public opinion--to spend a few weeks in Israel and come back here to give their impressions. Our enemies think they need to educate their people because they have a job that they want to do against us. If we direct our attention not towards how we can dismember this body but how we can re-orient it so that it can function in relation to changed conditions, we will be serving our movement best.

REPORT BY MR. TUVIM ON AZEC ACTIVITIES

Mr. Tuvim reported that while there had been less activity by the Emergency Council recently, some of it was definitely of an emergency nature. In all the experience of the Council there has never been a more concentrated attack on Israel and on Zionism than at the present time. As indicated in a recent memorandum of the Council, people committed to the Arab point of view are traveling the length and breadth of the land and spreading anti-Israel propaganda in churches, schools and on the radio. Additional spokesmen for the Arab cause will come out of a seminar to be conducted in Beirut. What the Council is now doing is to inform our people in advance who these spokesmen are and where they are to speak so that our people are prepared to meet the attack when it occurs. It seems that all the latent anti-semitism is now coming out in the open.

A few months ago we faced an attack from Catholics. This attack has quieted down as a result of the efforts of the Council.

A very serious attack came recently in the form of an editorial by Henry Sloane Coffin in Christianity in Crisis. The ACPC immediately communicated with the editors of the magazine who agreed to publish a series of letters in reply.

The Council is now conducting a survey of congressional opinion, so that we may know the stand of Congressmen the next time we have need of

support by them. This survey is being carried on with the help of our community contacts, which are still strong in most of the communities.

Mr. Tuvim further reported on the projected study seminar in Israel, and appealed to each constituent group to sponsor at least one participant.

ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION

Mr. Segal moved that the Emergency Council organize a celebration, on the largest scale possible, of the first anniversary of the establishment of Israel, on a date in May to coincide with the celebration in Israel, and that the Chairman appoint a committee for that purpose, with all parties represented, it being clearly understood that the organizations represented in the Emergency Council shall not engage in any other program for a large-scale celebration which might conflict with the plans of this body. The committee to plan the celebration is also to prepare a budget for the celebration and make provision for meeting the budget. Motion carried.

Dr. Schechtman said that while the Revisionist organization as such has arranged no celebration, bodies connected with that party have made preparations for a celebration which are now in an advanced stage and cannot be called off. That celebration is planned for the 14th or 15th of May and would not conflict with the Emergency Council celebration if it takes place on the Jewish calendar date. In any case, the Revisionists could accept no commitments in this respect.

Mr. Zuckerman charged that among three funds to benefit from the celebration mentioned by Dr. Schechtman was one for the support of families of war victims in Israel, affiliated with the Bergson group. He questioned the propriety of Revisionist connection with such a fund.

Dr. Schechtman denied that his organization or any of its personnel had any connection with that fund and stated that the fund in question had no part in the planned celebration.

Dr. Silver stated that if Mr. Zuckerman's charge was true, it was a violation of Emergency Council policy and steps would have to be taken to correct it.

REPORT BY MR. BEN-HORIN

Mr. Ben-Horin reported on his recent visit to Israel and its effect on Catholic-Israeli relations. He explained that the cultivation of Catholic circles in the United States was started some time before the events which led to a conflict in these relations. Reports from Palestine telling of the desecration of holy places and of Catholic institutions in Jerusalem and other places poisoned our relations with Catholics on the American scene and internationally. Contacts were established with Msgr. McMahon in an attempt to present our views and reach an understanding. This led to a luncheon meeting with Cardinal Spellman where a lengthy discussion took place covering the whole field of Israeli-Catholic relations. It was fortunate that when Msgr. McMahon was in Israel as the Cardinal's representative, Mr. Ben-Horin was also there to help smooth out the whole problem.

Mr. Ben-Horin found complete understanding on the part of the Israeli Government, its Ministry of Foreign Affairs and its Ministry of Religion, for the importance of the Catholic angle in general and its importance on the American scene in particular, and an earnest effort to do everything possible to eliminate any friction between the Vatican and the Government of Israel. From the moment stable government was established in Israel, the Government did its utmost to preserve the churches and to feed the old and infirm of the Christian communities. This made a great impression on Msgr. McMahon and Msgr. Vergani, the representative of the Vatican in Israel. When he interviewed Cardinal Tisserant, head of the Oriental Congregation in Rome, Mr. Ben-Horin found that his efforts with Msgr. McMahon had brought results.

Meeting adjourned 10:20 P.M.

B.A.



AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING

April 26, 1949

A meeting of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held on Tuesday, April 26, 1949, at 8:30 P.M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Miss Juliet Benjamin, Pinchas Cruso, Beinish Epstein, Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, Daniel Frisch, Dr. Berl Frymer, Dr. H. Raphael Gold, Mr. Benjamin E. Gordon, I.M. Gottlieb, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Mrs. S. Kramarsky, Dr. S. Margoshes, Mrs. Nathan Perlman, Mrs. David de Sola Pool, Abraham A. Rodelheim, Yochanan Rudavsky, Louis Segal, Yehuda Tubin, Yehuda Tyberg, David Wertheim, Leo Wolfson.

Miss Z. Funk, Dr. Harry Levi, Dr. Sidney Marks, Rabbi Jerome Unger.

Dr. Benjamin Akzin, Eliahu Ben-Horin, Miss B. Cohen, Arnold K. Isreeli, William Kaufman, Dr. Benjamin Shwadran, Harry Steinberg, Rabbi Joseph Sternstein, Abe Tuvim.

EULOGY OF DR. STEPHEN S. WISE AND RABBI MEIR BERLIN

Dr. Silver: I believe that the members of the Board of the American Zionist Emergency Council would wish to record its sense of deep loss and sorrow at the passing of its former chairman, one of the great leaders of the Zionist movement of the world, one who was identified with our great cause since its inception. The career and the services of Dr. Stephen S. Wise are known to all of us. He was in every way a leader of his people, consecrated to its immortal cause. He was a great spiritual leader, a great champion and spokesman of the social idealism of Judaism, a great humanitarian, a man who loved his fellow men and one who gave of himself without stint and measure in the fullest consecration to the cause of rebuilding Jewish national life in our historic home. He lived a full, rich and abundant life. His memory will be treasured by our people.

The American Zionist Emergency Council wishes to place on its permanent record its deep sense of loss at the passing from its midst of Dr. Stephen S. Wise, and I am sure that I express the sentiments of this body in suggesting that a proper copy of this minute be sent to the members of the bereaved family (adopted).

The Zionist movement of the world during the past month has lost also another stalwart champion, one who lived in Israel and who served Israel with rare faithfulness and with deep religious devotion, the president of the World Mizrahi, the son of a famous father who himself achieved fame among our people for scholarship and for piety, Rabbi Meir Berlin. He occupied

many high posts in our movement and world Jewry looked to him for guidance, for instruction and for inspiration. I am sure that the American Zionist Emergency Council would like to express its sense of loss at the passing of Rabbi Meir Berlin, to place its grief on the permanent record, and to send proper notice of its sentiments to the members of his family (adopted).

REPORTS BY MR. TUVIM AND MR. STEINBERG

Mr. Tuvim stated that for the past seven weeks he had been acting as voluntary Executive Director of the Emergency Council, having undertaken to direct the activities of the Israel Corporation of America on March 10. He said that until the Council designates a new Executive Director he was prepared to continue in that capacity, on a voluntary basis.

Mr. Tuvim reported that the arrangements for the Seminar in Israel and for the two celebrations of May 4th were being handled by Mr. Steinberg, who would report on both projects. Mr. Ben-Horin would report on his work in the Catholic and the Arab fields which, for the past five or six months, had formed the very core of the work of the Emergency Council.

Eleven outstanding Americans had left for the Israel Seminar on April 20, and when they return they will be of vital importance in counteracting antagonistic propaganda in this country. There are literally hundreds of missionaries, YMCA directors, churchmen, etc., who are attacking Israel, primarily on the refugee problem and on Jerusalem. Voices are being raised today on behalf of the Arab refugees that were silent when Jews were being annihilated. It was a happy thought, therefore, to hold the Israel Seminar.

Mr. Tuvim felt that the Council had received shabby treatment from Mr. Weisgal in the matter of President Weizmann's appearance at the Council's May 4th celebration, and wanted this recorded as his personal view. A request for Dr. Weizmann to address the Carnegie Hall meeting was made to the proper authorities in ample time. We were told by Mr. Weisgal that if Dr. Weizmann remained in America after May 1, he would address our meeting. Several days ago we were told that the UJA had sent out invitations to a dinner on May 4 at the Waldorf-Astoria with Dr. Weizmann as a speaker. Speaking for himself, Mr. Tuvim considered it outrageous to treat the American Zionist movement in this manner.

Another project of the Emergency Council, handled by Mr. Steinberg, was a broadcast by Dr. Silver on the first anniversary of the State of Israel on May 2, at 11:15 P.M., over WABC on a national hook-up.

The Emergency Council had prevailed upon the Mayor to issue a proclamation designating May 4 "Israel Independence Day". Copies of the proclamation have been sent out all over the country, so that other communities may call upon their mayors to issue similar proclamations.

Mr. Steinberg, reporting on the Israel Seminar, undertaken under the auspices of the American Christian Palestine Committee, gave details regarding the composition and program of the seminar. He regretted that owing to budgetary considerations the seminar had to be limited to eleven participants only. He suggested another seminar six or eight months hence, with about fifty participants. With proper cooperation from the parties this could be done.

ISRAEL ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION

Reporting on the May 4th celebration, Mr. Steinberg stated that some difficulty was being encountered in lining up the program. Because of a trend in the State Department against American Zionism, it has been difficult to get some of the people who have been approached. It was still hoped that Dr. Weizmann would be there. Aubrey Eban will be a speaker, and Dr. Silver will represent American Zionism. There will be one or two speakers of the non-Jewish world, possibly representing the United Nations or our government. Both the Carnegie Hall affair and the open-air meeting have been seriously hampered by the small budget. The Carnegie Hall meeting will cost approximately \$7,000, of which \$3,000 will be realized by the sale of tickets, leaving a balance of approximately \$4,000 to be underwritten by the Council.

In connection with the Madison Square Park meeting, Mr. Steinberg felt that the official Zionist leadership was not sufficiently enthusiastic. As a result, people do not know enough about this demonstration. Since the Council lacks the funds to do the kind of publicity and advertising that it had done for similar affairs in the past, the success of the Madison Square Park demonstration will depend on the efforts of the individual parties. The speakers will include Mayor O'Dwyer, Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., Senator Paul H. Douglas and one speaker from each Zionist party. An effort will be made to have Dr. Weizmann and Rabbi Herzog appear. We are also negotiating for several theatrical personalities to appear. The costs of running such a meeting are very high and funds will have to be found. Even then, the parties themselves will have to take care of advertising, mailing and printing.

Mr. Tuvim pointed out that the Council had run many successful outdoor meetings, and the cost was usually between \$20,000 and \$25,000 for each. With only \$6,000 allotted for this meeting, it can be a success only with the help of the parties.

Dr. Silver remarked that a poor attendance at this meeting would be a bad blow to the Zionist movement.

Mrs. Epstein stated that the parties had had very little advance notice of the afternoon celebration, but that as soon as definite information was received, Hadassah did what it could.

Mr. Frisch stated that he found it difficult to believe that President Weizmann himself was responsible for the fact that the UJA dinner would conflict with the Council's celebrations. He felt that not sufficient money had been allotted for the afternoon affair. It was unwise to have the Council dependent upon the treasuries of the parties, and it would be better to cancel the meeting entirely than to depend on the parties for funds. He suggested that an urgent appeal be made to Dr. Weizmann to attend the meeting.

Rabbi Kirshblum said that the Council's plans for the celebration were changed at a late date at the suggestion of the Jewish Agency. It was therefore the duty of the Jewish Agency to help the Council. It was also its duty to endeavor to make Dr. Weizmann available for the meeting. The assistance of the United Jewish Appeal should be enlisted to have Chief Rabbi Herzog appear at the celebration.

Mr. Cruso reported that the LZOA was cooperating fully. In addition to sending postcards to its entire membership drawing attention to the Madison Square Park meeting, the party intends to hold a number of open-air meetings on several afternoons. The Council should not rely on advertising alone, but has the right to expect front-page stories on the celebration in the Yiddish press. The Council should send telegrams to the heads of various organizations and trade unions. It was of the utmost importance that Dr. Weizmann appear. He had spoken about it to Mr. Weisgal who promised to take up the matter with Dr. Weizmann.

Mr. Wolfson suggested that the heads of the Zionist organizations send a joint telegram to Dr. Weizmann asking him to appear at the meeting.

Mr. Segal stated that the Yiddish newspapers were planning special editions for May 4th which they were now advertising. They should be requested to include in their advertisements notice of the Council's celebrations. As in the past, a telegram should be sent by the Council to all Jewish national organizations informing them briefly of its plans for the celebration.

Dr. Margoshes said that the Yiddish press would do its duty by the Zionist cause at this time as it had done over the years. This demonstration must surpass anything that took place in the past.

Mr. Segal suggested that instead of sending a telegram to Dr. Weizmann a delegation of the various parties call on him.

Dr. Silver said that perhaps both things should be done. If we could not get an appointment we should at least have a telegram on his desk. Such a telegram should be sent out at once signed by all the organizations. The public announcement that such a telegram had been sent would assure the success of the meeting.

REPORT OF THE SCOPE COMMITTEE

In the absence of Rabbi Miller, chairman of the Scope Committee, the committee's report was read by Mr. Tuvim. Its principal provisions were as follows:

1. In the present work situation it is impossible to forecast the scope and functions of any organization for an extended period of time. The Council itself will have to re-evaluate from time to time the scene of its operations, take note of changing political, economic and social conditions, and adapt itself and its activities to them. What the Scope Committee is now suggesting represents its evaluation of conditions now and in the foreseeable future.

2. With the political and economic structure of Israel still in the making, it is obvious that the Emergency Council must continue to concentrate its energies and resources in the following three directions:

- a) A climate of public opinion favorable to Israel and its political and economic aspirations must be maintained and, wherever possible, intensified in order that our government may continue to play a helpful and friendly role at critical conferences and in decisions which will determine the fate of many problems involving

Israel. This can be done by the proper dissemination of information concerning Israel to press, radio, commentators, magazines and other channels of public opinion, and by frequent personal contacts and conferences with these agencies.

b) The Council must maintain its Washington Office and continue the day-to-day contacts it has established with the Washington scene in general and the Congress in particular.

c) An intensive educational effort must be undertaken among the churches and universities of this country, on which the anti-Israel forces have concentrated.

3. With the above as its functions, the Committee recommends the continuation of the American Zionist Emergency Council under the name of the American Zionist Council.

4. Within the areas of activity outlined in paragraph two, the American Zionist Council, acting in behalf of and in cooperation with its constituent bodies, shall determine policy and undertake the implementation thereof, vis-a-vis the American Jewish Community, the non-Jewish Community and the United States Government. In order that there be no discrepancy in policy, particularly in matters involving representation to government, between it and the American Section of the Jewish Agency, the Council will undertake to establish liaison with the Agency on both the lay and professional levels.

5. The Council shall be made up of duly accredited representatives from the Zionist parties in the United States on the following basis: ZOA 5; Hadassah 5; Mizrachi 4; Poale Zion 4; Revisionists 2; Achdut Avodah 2; Hashomer Hatzair 2. There shall be no members-at-large.

Note: Objection was raised by several members to the allocation of two representatives to the last-named three parties. These members insisted that only one representative be given them. It was decided that the Council resolve by vote this difference of opinion.

6. The officers of the Council shall be a Chairman, Vice-Chairman, Secretary, and Treasurer. They shall be elected annually at the May meeting. For that purpose, the Chairman shall at the April meeting appoint a Nominating Committee to recommend a slate for election at the May meeting.

7. The Council shall meet once a month or more frequently if necessary upon the call of the Chairman to determine policy and plan its activities.

8. Between meetings, the affairs of the Council shall be conducted by an Inner Committee to be composed of the officers and one representative from each of the parties in the Council. The Inner Committee shall meet bi-weekly or more frequently if necessary upon the call of the Chairman.

9. The Committee recommends a budget of \$305,000 for the operations of the Council.

(full report on file)

DISCUSSION OF SCOPE COMMITTEE REPORT

Mrs. Pool expressed doubt about the wisdom of continuing the Emergency Council under any name. She said the Council had done a historic piece of work in the three years before the creation of the Jewish State. But that period is over and the job is done. In seeking to achieve a political goal people sink their differences and work together for the common objective. But that is not the case any more and there is a recession of interest in the various organizations. If each group were given a job to do, it would invigorate them. But if the task is taken away from them in order to do a united job on public relations, they would be further weakened. If the ZOA, Hadassah, Poale Zion and Mizrachi would each create the right climate within its own sphere of influence, the total effect would be greater than what the Emergency Council could do with depleted manpower and a reduced budget. The Council should become a mere consultative body, with a budget of perhaps \$25,000, from which directives would go to the individual groups constituting Zionist life in America, the Council itself not assuming responsibility for carrying out the program. If this were tried for a while and did not work, the matter could be reconsidered.

Mrs. Epstein said that she disagreed completely with Mrs. Pool's approach. She said she had never wavered in her belief that in the discernible future the Council must be continued and that it must be more than a consultative body. It is true that the organizations can do a great deal of work individually, but the two things are not mutually exclusive. There is a need for economy and there are other agencies which do some of the work in which the Council once had a monopoly. It is therefore proper that the work of the Council be pruned down to its essentials, but to give up the essentials would be very wrong.

Mrs. Epstein further suggested that the election of officers of the re-organized Council be held over to June instead of May, as called for in the report of the Scope Committee, because many people would be away in May.

Mr. Wertheim said that while he agreed with Mrs. Pool's position, the question had already been voted upon and there was no point in discussing it now. He questioned the representation of the parties in the Council, and said that if the ZOA was to have higher representation than the Labor Zionist Party, it was not fair to grant Mizrachi equal representation with the Labor Zionist Party, whose membership was twice as high. He proposed either that all four major parties be granted equal representation of four members each, or that ZOA have five, Hadassah and Poale Zion four each, and Mizrachi 3.

Mrs. Epstein stated that the National Board of Hadassah objected to the granting of two places each to Hashomer Hatzair and Achdut Avodah. From the point of view of their numbers and strength in America, the two parties that correspond to Mapam in Israel should not be granted four votes. The National Board of Hadassah also believed that on the basis of the status of the Revisionists in Israel it was unjustified to allow them two places on the Council, though Mrs. Epstein disagreed with the Board on this point.

Mr. Segal pointed out that on the Inner Committee of the Council each party would be represented by one member, but that it was completely unjustified to give the combined parties of Hashomer Hatzair and Achdut Avodah the same number of votes as the Labor Zionist Party. The composition of the

Council should be based on the real strength of each party as expressed in the World Zionist Congress. If this is not to be done, then perhaps the General Zionists would agree to accept equal representation with the other three large parties and thus eliminate an evil carried over from the past.

Rabbi Kirshblum said that the Scope Committee was particularly mindful to reflect the changed situation. Accordingly, the Committee had been continually working toward a reduction of the budget, and this was made clear in the course of the consultations with Dr. Goldmann. At the same time, the Committee believed there was an urgent need to maintain a united and effective Council. If we were to depend upon a voluntary consultative body, nothing would be done and each party would go its own way.

With reference to representation, Rabbi Kirshblum said it would destroy the unity and effectiveness of Zionist activity if we disturbed the present formula. There may be justice in demanding a change for one party or another, but if this issue became a bone of contention at this time, the last vestiges of unity would be destroyed. Hashomer Hatzair and Achdut Avodah might perhaps receive three votes between them, as a compromise.

Mr. Frisch suggested that the smaller parties be given the maximum representation that was being asked for, thus fostering a spirit of greater tolerance and of more genuine understanding than had prevailed at many a meeting in the past.

Mr. Tyberg said he could not understand the reasoning behind the effort to reduce the representation of Hashomer Hatzair and Achdut Avodah. Nothing has taken place recently to justify a change in the formula that has prevailed until now. It was a fact that the two groups existed as separate bodies in the United States, and unless and until they were united in this country there was no justification for treating them as a single party.

Dr. Frymer supported the suggestion that each of the three minor parties be granted one vote. He said it was a disservice to the Council to argue that it didn't matter what a party's representation should be. If the Council was to play an important role in the future, representation should be taken most seriously, and an equitable distribution of votes could not possibly allow the two small labor parties the same number of votes as the larger labor party.

Mrs. Epstein remarked that when the two small labor parties were given two representatives each there was no merger in Palestine. But when Mapam emerged as one party, the status quo was affected and this new situation should reflect itself here. Mrs. Epstein suggested that the question not be decided at this meeting but that the Nominating Committee to be appointed be asked to give further study to the question.

Dr. Gold said that the Emergency Council by its very nature must work on the principle of the widest possible coalition. It is therefore advisable that the widest possible representation be given on this Council to all groups in Zionism. Cognizance should be taken of the fact that within the labor movement, within Mizrachi and within General Zionism, there are now new realignments, all of which ought to be represented. It is premature to vote at this time on the detailed composition of the Council. To cite only one instance, Hapoel Hamizrachi, too, is now a separate party in Israel. Further realignments may appear in other parties as well.

Dr. Gold added that a greater danger to Zionism than the attacks from non-Jewish sources was the American Council for Judaism which was impugning the patriotism of all Zionists. The *raison d'etre* of the Council is that it speaks for the Zionist movement as a whole. It is important for the Council to issue a statement to the American public explaining that a shift of emphasis from the political to spiritual and cultural aspects is now taking place in the movement.

Dr. Silver stated that there was general agreement that the Council should be continued, at least until some time in the future. He personally felt that the Council would continue indefinitely since there would be continuing need for American Zionism and this body was speaking for it. There was coming now the battle for or against assimilation of diaspora Jewry. The American Council for Judaism was concentrating on this issue, and American Zionism ought to meet the challenge.

Certain circles in Washington were also intent on eliminating American Zionism from the picture. That would be dangerous, for organized Zionism in America was essential to safeguard Israel for a long time to come.

As far as the immediate future was concerned, we are of course not out of the woods. There is no peace in Palestine, the Arab refugee problem and the Jerusalem issue are still unsettled. A lot remains to be done.

(Full text of Dr. Silver's remarks on file.)

Dr. Silver stated that it seemed to be the conclusion of the body that the Council should continue. There were several items in the report of the Scope Committee that needed to be voted on to formalize this decision, as follows: the continuation of the Council under a changed name (Item 3 in the report); the scope of the Council's activities (Item 4); representation on the Council (Item 5); officers of the Council (Item 6); time of meetings (Item 7); Inner Committee of the Council (Item 8); budget (Item 9).

Items 3, 4, 6, 7, 8 and 9 were voted in order and unanimously approved, with the stipulation in the case of Item 9, suggested by Dr. Silver, that some leeway be given the Council to make minor shifts within the total budget.

On Item 5, representation, a vote was first taken as to whether or not to postpone action on this item. It was voted not to postpone it. Rabbi Kirshblum suggested that the recommendation of the Scope Committee on this subject be rephrased to include the following statement: "That representation on the Council be left at the status quo, with the exception that the delegates-at-large are to be eliminated." This text was adopted, 11 voting for and 8 against.

It was agreed that a Nominating Committee of one representative of each party be appointed, and Dr. Silver requested each party to designate its representative to the Nominating Committee, which would bring its report to the next meeting of the Council.

REPORT BY MR. BEN-HORIN

Mr. Ben-Horin reported on his activities on behalf of the Council involving contact with leading Catholic personalities in this country and abroad, as well as on the work done in connection with the project to re-settle Arab refugees from Israel. All these activities were carried out in consultation with Israeli authorities. He also acquainted the Council with certain important developments of the last two years bearing upon the situation in the Lebanon. (Full report on file)

B.A.

Meeting adjourned 11:30 P.M.

