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American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs, Minutes,
1942.

MINUTES OF OFFICE COMMITTEE MEETING

EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR ZIONIST AFFAIRS

Monday, January 5, 1942.

A meeting of the Office Committee was held on January 5, 1942 at 5:30 p.m. at 41 East 42nd Street.

PRESENT: Judge Levinthal (presiding), Mrs. Halprin, Mrs. Pool, Mr. Szold, Mr. Wertheim.

Dr. Goldmann, Mr. Lourie, Mr. Neumann, Mr. Weisgal.

BY-LAWS

It was agreed that Judge Levinthal and Mr. Neumann should submit a set of by-laws to the next meeting of the Committee. If thought desirable, Mr. Gurfein or Judge Rothenberg should be consulted.

OFFICE COMMITTEE PERSONNEL

It was agreed that Mrs. Jacobs should receive invitations to the meetings of the Office Committee.

JEWISH ARMY COMMITTEE

A letter from Mr. Wechsler dated January 5, 1942 was read, and a reply - based on a draft by Mrs. Halprin - agreed upon.

VISIT OF MR. CHURCHILL

Mr. Neumann reported that he had been in touch with Senator Wagner with regard to a letter to Mr. Churchill on the army matter. Senator Wagner was uncertain whether he would be able to do anything in the matter and he said that he wished to explore the situation further in Washington.

It was agreed that if Mr. J.M. Martin was still in Washington, Mr. Lourie should try to see him there.

WASHINGTON PRESS CORRESPONDENT

At Mrs. Pool's suggestion it was agreed that efforts be made to ascertain the possibility of arranging ^{for} representation of an overseas Jewish publication at the White House Press Conferences.

WASHINGTON OFFICE

The names of possible nominees to represent the Emergency Committee in Washington, and to open an office there, were considered. It was agreed that Mr. Neumann should consult Mr. Kaufmann and Rabbi Breslau with regard to Mr. S. and also ascertain the possibility of his obtaining a few months leave from his present employment. Inquiries should also be made as to whether a non-Jew of first class qualifications might be available to run the American Palestine Committee.

Mr. Neumann read a memorandum outlining major budgetary proposals. It was agreed that a sub-committee to consist of Mr. Neumann, Mrs. Pool and Mr. Szold report back to the Committee with regard to:

- 1) Nominee for Washington
- 2) Non-Jewish appointee to direct American Palestine Committee
- 3) Suitable research man

Mrs. Halprin referred to a telegram sent by Mr. Ben-Gurion to Palestine from which it appeared that Mr. Ben-Gurion contemplated opening a separate office of the Executive in Washington. It was the feeling of those present that this would be undesirable, and should be taken up with Mr. Ben-Gurion without delay.

It was also reported that Mr. Ben-Gurion had arranged to meet with a small group of Jewish Government officials the following day, and Mr. Neumann was instructed to participate in this meeting.

It was unanimously decided that:

- 1) The Emergency Committee open a political office in Washington.
- 2) This should be the only Zionist office for political activity in Washington.
- 3) Dr. Wise be authorized to name a small political committee (it was suggested that the committee have a membership of 3) to coordinate all political activities in Washington, this committee to act not as a policy-making body but as a liason.

1/7/42.

A. Lourie

MINUTES OF MEETING OF EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR
ZIONIST AFFAIRS

January 8th, 1942

A meeting of the full Committee of the Emergency Committee was held on the evening of January 8th at 41 East 42nd Street.

PRESENT: Mr. Lipsky (in the chair); Messrs. Publick, Cruso, Furmansky, Gellman, Wolf Gold, Paul L. Goldman, Grossman, Kowalsky, Segal, Wertheim; Mesdames Benjamin, Epstein, Halprin, Jacobs, Leibel, Schoolman, Pool, Shulman;

Messrs. Ben Gurion, Goldmann, Lourie, Neumann;

Messrs. S. Bernstein, Joseph Cohn, Mereminsky, Naiditch, Weisgal.

BY-LAWS

Pursuant to the resolution on the reconstitution of the Emergency Committee a draft set of by-laws were submitted to the meeting by Mr. Neumann on behalf of the by-laws sub-committee, and after discussion and amendment were adopted as follows, subject to further editorial changes if found desirable and to be confirmed later.

ARTICLE I

NAME - The name of the organization shall be the American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs.

ARTICLE II

PURPOSE AND FUNCTIONS - The American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs (hereinafter referred to as the Committee) shall engage in such activities as it may deem advisable in the interest of the Zionist cause, more particularly in the field of public relations; it shall frame its own policies in relation to the work it carries on; its activities shall be those which are of common interest to the four American Zionist organizations represented in its composition, and it shall at all times endeavor to avoid duplication of effort.

(The above Article was adopted in substance as read subject to editing by the Office Committee).

ARTICLE III

Sec. 1 MEMBERSHIP - The Committee shall consist of the following twenty-six persons:

- (a) Five members designated by the Zionist Organization of America.
- (b) Five members designated by Hadassah, The Women's Zionist Organization of America.
- (c) Four members designated by Poale Zion.
- (d) Four members designated by Mizrachi Organization of America.
- (e) Eight members named at large as follows:

Solomon Goldman
Israel Goldstein
Rose Jacobs
Louis Lipsky

Morris Rothenberg
Abba Hillel Silver
Robert Szold
Stephen S. Wise

Sec. 2 Members designated under groups (a) (b) (c) and (d) shall ordinarily be designated for a period of one year, but each of the organizations concerned shall be entitled to change its representatives on giving two weeks notice. If any member designated by any of the four organizations herein before referred to shall cease to be a member of the Committee, he may be replaced by the organization which designated him. Group (e) members, shall be permanent members of the Committee and shall serve throughout the Committee's existence. If any member of the Committee shall fail to attend three successive meetings, without an excuse acceptable to the Committee, his seat may be declared vacant by the Committee.

(It was agreed to strike out a suggested provision for filling vacancies among members at large).

Sec. 3 The Committee may by resolution invite representatives of other Zionist groups to attend its sessions as observers without vote. Representatives of all Zionist groups entitled to sit at Emergency Committee meetings in the capacity of observers may submit written applications for full membership. All members of the Committee are to be given two week's notice of such application, which may be approved by a majority vote of the members of the Committee.

ARTICLE IV

OFFICERS - The officers of the Committee shall consist of a Chairman, a Secretary and a Treasurer and such other officers as the Committee shall, from time to time, elect.

ARTICLE V

Sec. 1 MEETINGS - Regular monthly meetings of the Committee shall be held on a fixed day to be designated in the first week of each month. Additional special meetings may be held from time to time as may be determined by the Committee, or upon call of the Chairman or upon written request of seven members of the Committee. Notice to all members shall be sent three days in advance of each special meeting.

Sec. 2 A quorum shall consist of ten members.

ARTICLE VI

Sec. 1 OFFICE COMMITTEE - Between meetings of the full Committee, the business of the Committee shall be conducted by an Office Committee to be elected by the Committee and to be composed as follows: two members representing the Zionist Organization of America; two members representing Hadassah, the Women's Zionist Organization of America; one member representing Poale Zion; and one member representing Mizrachi. The representatives of the four organizations which shall compose the Office Committee, shall be designated by the respective groups (a) (b) (c) (d) from among the members of the Committee. In addition to the six thus designated, the following shall also be members of the Office Committee, to wit, the Chairman and Treasurer of the Committee and three members of the Committee to be elected by the Committee. The Office Committee shall elect its own Chairman and such other officers as it may see fit.

Sec. 2 Regular weekly meetings of the Office Committee shall be held at the Office of the Committee in New York City. Special meetings of the Office Committee shall be held from time to time as may be determined by the members of the Office Committee, or upon call of the Chairman of the Office Committee, or upon request, in writing, by three members of the Office Committee.

Sec. 3 A quorum of the Office Committee shall consist of five members.

Sec. 4 The Office Committee, acting under authority from the Committee as a whole, shall have power to open a banking account or accounts in the name of the Committee, to engage executives and other employees and to enter into such other contractual obligations as shall be necessary to carry on its work provided the Committee shall have no power to bind members personally in respect of any obligation undertaken by the Committee.

(This section is to be redrafted by the Office Committee. It shall be made clear that the powers herein designated are exercised by the Office Committee only as agent for the Emergency Committee).

Sec. 5 The Committee and the Office Committee respectively shall have power to pass rules from time to time for the regulation of their respective procedures.

ARTICLE VII

FINANCE -- The expenses of the Committee shall be met out of funds supplied to it from time to time by American Zionist organizations or agencies and/or other Jewish groups or institutions organized and operating in the United States under the laws of the United States or of the several states; it may also receive contributions from individuals. The Committee shall not conduct any business undertaking nor operate with a view to profit.

ARTICLE VIII

AMENDMENT OF BY-LAWS -- Any amendment of these by-laws shall be affected either:

- (a) By unanimous vote of the Committee at a meeting of which at least one week's notice in writing shall have been given to members of the Committee together with notice in writing of the proposed amendment or
- (b) By a resolution adopted by a majority vote at a meeting of which one week's notice shall have been given and which shall further have been ratified in writing by 2/3 of the total membership of the Committee.

(This article is to be amended in accordance with the following motion made by Mr. Segal which was unanimously adopted: If two groups oppose any amendment, no vote can be taken and the matter in question is to be postponed. With this addition the article was accepted as read).

NOMINATING COMMITTEE

It was unanimously agreed that a Nominating Committee consisting of one member designated by each organization shall be constituted immediately and bring in its recommendations for the officers of the Committee. Upon motion made and carried it was agreed that the Office Committee be requested to submit to the full Emergency Committee, at the earliest possible moment, a full list of standing committees.

NEGOTIATIONS WITH NON-ZIONISTS

Dr. Goldmann reported on the history of the negotiations with non-Zionists up to date. At the last meeting the Zionist representatives had submitted a draft program for united action by American Jewry.

Dr. Goldmann outlined the proposals contained in this draft, which included in its terms support for a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine and for the formation of a Jewish army to be recruited in Palestine. To neither of these proposals was serious objection taken by the non-Zionist members. Indeed, one of their representatives had made an impressive plea in support of the Commonwealth aim. Another, while commending the Commonwealth idea, expressed scepticism as to its realization in the face of Arab opposition. A good deal of discussion revolved about the question of procedure during the transition period. Finally it was decided to name a special committee of three non-Zionists and three Zionists who should, on the basis of the program submitted, redraft the program in line with the discussion. Dr. Goldmann believed that there was reason to hope that the negotiations would result in an acceptable united program.

JEWISH ARMY

Mr. Neumann reported on the negotiations with the Committee for a Jewish Army to date. The situation now is as follows: the Office Committee had written a letter setting forth in the most explicit terms the conditions under which the Emergency Committee could cooperate with the Jewish Army Committee.

1. That all political negotiations be under the jurisdiction of the Jewish Agency and the Emergency Committee.
2. That there be no recruiting in America and no propaganda for such recruiting.
3. That the Emergency Committee have a majority representation on the Army Committee.

Mr. Ben Gurion made the point that one sentence in the letter sent to the Jewish Army Committee implied that there should be no recruiting for a Jewish army anywhere except in Palestine. Clearly, it was within the jurisdiction of the Emergency Committee to deal with recruiting in America; it could not deal with proposals for recruiting abroad, e.g. in England or South Africa, and he assumed that the sentence must be interpreted in that sense.

Mr. Cruso questioned whether the Office Committee was authorized to write a letter on behalf of the full Committee which might lead to cooperation with the Jewish Army Committee.

Mr. Grossman associated himself with the view that before the letter was sent it should have been submitted to the full Committee. He said he believed that the record of the negotiations between the Emergency Committee and the Jewish Army Committee was a record of indecision, evasiveness and insincerity. The Jewish Army Committee had behind it a number of young and energetic but inexperienced persons lacking in responsibility. Their methods were unlikely to achieve their purpose but they might do great harm to the Zionist Organization here. He criticized the Emergency Committee for its failure to initiate effective action of its own on a clear-cut and definitive policy. He said that he himself was opposed to any army recruited from Palestine but he wanted 50,000 Jews from America to go to Libya for example.

He urged that an early meeting of the full Emergency Committee be called to discuss action for a Jewish army.

Dr. Goldmann in reply to Mr. Grossman said that Mr. Grossman's criticism that the letter should not have been sent to the Jewish Army Committee without having been discussed by the full Emergency Committee was justifiable; nevertheless the set-up of the Emergency Committee hitherto had been lacking in clarity. He hoped that in the future questions of this nature would be avoided and the position as between Office and full Committee regularized.

The letter had been a compromise between those who were in favor of negotiating with that Committee and those who were against any negotiations. Its purpose had been to formulate the conditions under which the Emergency Committee would cooperate with the Jewish Army Committee so definitively that there could be no question of a doubt. Regarding our own action for a Jewish Army, Dr. Goldmann said that it was apparent that the responsible Zionists in America were categorically against recruiting a Jewish army in America at this time, and this had to be accepted as a fact. It was highly desirable however that the matter come before the full Committee for discussion and decision.

After further discussion it was agreed that a full meeting be called next Tuesday or Wednesday night to take a definite decision on the Committee's attitude to the Jewish army question.

MINUTES OF MEETING OF THE OFFICE COMMITTEE
OF THE EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR ZIONIST AFFAIRS

January 9th, 1942

A meeting of the Office Committee of the Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs was held on Friday afternoon, January 9th, at 41 East 42nd Street, N.Y.C.

PRESENT: Dr. Wise (presiding) Messrs. Eublick, Goldstein, Wertheim; Mesdames Halprin and Pool.

Messrs. Ben Gurion, Goldmann, Lourie, Neumann.

Mr. Ben Gurion reported as follows:

1. Washington

He had met with various Zionists, and with a number of named persons in official life in Washington. His discussion had revolved around three major points.

- (a) How to carry on our political work in America.
- (b) How to win over American public opinion.
- (c) How to strengthen the Zionist movement.

He felt that the two chief objectives of the Zionist movement now were a Jewish army in Palestine during the war and a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine after the war. He said that certain of the more prominent individuals whom he had seen seemed to him over-optimistic concerning the future of Palestine; but they had been friendly and assured him of the sympathy of leaders of the administration.

He further reported that he had asked Mr. Schulson of the Washington office of the Zionist Organization of America to call together a group of young Zionist intellectuals in Washington so that he might explain to them the nature of the political task confronting us. He believed that hundreds of such young intellectual Zionists could be found in America and that their work would be of the utmost significance. He had visited the Congressional Library and found there a fine collection of Zionist literature although there were some glaring omissions. For example, there were no copies of the Hebrew Daily Press.

CAIRO

Mr. Ben Gurion reported on interviews which Mr. Shertok had had with Mr. Bullit, Mr. Lyttleton and other British officials.

The question was raised of a cable sent by Mr. Ben Gurion to the Agency in Jerusalem with reference to expenditures which he might make here. Mr. Ben Gurion said the cable had not been officially submitted to the Office Committee and he therefore did not consider it a matter for discussion. In this connection the whole question of Mr. Ben Gurion's activities in America was raised. He reiterated to the Committee his intention to work in close cooperation with them and to keep them informed of all his activities in Washington. It was agreed that these and other matters be further discussed at a meeting to be held the following day at the Astor Hotel.

A. Lourie

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MINUTES OF MEETING OF THE OFFICE COMMITTEE
OF THE EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR ZIONIST AFFAIRS

January 10th, 1942

A meeting of the Office Committee of the Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs was held on Saturday, January 10th at 6 P.M. at the Hotel Astor.

PRESENT: Mr. Robert Szold (presiding) Messrs. Bublick, Goldstein, Levinthal, Wertheim, Wise; Mesdames Halprin, Jacobs, Pool.

Messrs. Ben Gurion, Goldmann, Lourie, Neumann.

BY INVITATION: Mr. Shetzer

Mr. Ben Gurion said that he was officially submitting to the Office Committee his cable to the Jewish Agency requesting authorization to spend up to \$1,000 a month for his expenses in America. He again repeated that he wanted to work in close cooperation with the Emergency Committee and asked for their specific direction. He said he was prepared to report directly to any Committee which they might designate for this purpose but the one thing he would not do was to be responsible to one person or to clear his appointments through him. He further requested that the Office Committee authorize Miss Cohen to act as his secretary for a period of ten days.

There was considerable discussion on the manner in which cooperation between Mr. Ben Gurion and the Emergency Committee could best be effected.

Judge Levinthal moved and Mrs. Pool seconded the following motion: That the Chairman appoint three members of the Office Committee to be known as the "Steering Committee" and that this Committee ^{to} invite all individual members of the Emergency Committee and also Mr. Ben Gurion ^{and} consult with them ^{to} inform them of any plan any one of them may have in connection with Zionist political activity. It was further agreed that Miss Cohen act as Mr. Ben Gurion's secretary for a period of ten days; the Committee to continue to be responsible for Miss Cohen's salary.

Mr. Neumann reported on his interview with Mr. Steinhardt. He said that Mr. Steinhardt was reluctant to meet with any group officially representing the Zionists but had said that he would meet with one or two of the leaders of the movement separately.

A. Lourie

MINUTES OF MEETING OF THE
AMERICAN EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR ZIONIST AFFAIRS

January 14, 1942.

A meeting of the American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs was held on Wednesday, January 14th at 9:00 p.m. at the office of the Committee at 41 E. 42nd Street, New York, N.Y.

PRESENT: Mr. Louis Lipsky (presiding), Messrs. Bublick, Cruso, Furmansky, Gellman, Paul Goldman, Kowalsky, Segal, Wertheim, Wise; Mesdames Benjamin, Halprin, Jacobs, Schoolman and Shulman. Messrs. Mereminsky, Naiditch, Weisgal.

Dr. Goldmann, Mr. Lourie, Mr. Neumann.

Dr. Josef Cohn, Mr. Isreeli, Dr. Rosenbluth

RECONSTITUTION OF COMMITTEE

It was agreed that official notices on the reconstitution of the Committee be sent to the various organizations concerned and that they be asked to nominate their representatives in accordance with the by-laws. As agreed, the ZOA shall, within a reasonable time, be entitled to ask for reconsideration of any of the by-laws since that body was not represented at the meeting at which the by-laws were adopted. The by-laws are still to be examined by a legal sub-committee and submitted to the full Emergency and Office Committee for acceptance.

The Secretary was asked to obtain the names of the party representatives on the Nominating Committee, to which each organization would name one delegate.

JEWISH ARMY PROPOSAL

The Chairman said that it was desirable that the Emergency Committee define its policy more clearly in regard to the Jewish Army proposal.

Dr. Goldmann reviewed briefly the line adopted by the Executive of the Jewish Agency in its negotiations with the British Government. The proposal finally had been for a fighting force of 10,000 men of which 3,000 would be from Palestine and the rest from other countries, to fight wherever needed. This proposal was rejected by the British Government. The Emergency Committee should go on record as agreeing in principle with this proposal - i.e. in favor of a Jewish army the nucleus of which should come from Palestine, but also to include Jews from abroad who might be free to enlist in such an army.

Mrs. Schoolman said that Hadassah has gone on record as favoring the establishment at this time of a Jewish Military Force based on Palestine, and to include Jews from Palestine as well as other Jews who are free to enlist, but was against any recruiting in the United States at this time.

Mr. Bublick said that Mizrachi also favored the establishment of a Jewish Army based on Palestine, to be recruited elsewhere than in the United States.

Mr. Mereminski said that the military force should be recruited from Palestine and from those in a position to enlist with the consent of their governments; and that we should recruit in America when we receive the authority from the U.S. government.

Mr. Segal contended that "Based on Palestine" is not clear.

Mr. Gellman stated that the resolution as adopted at the Commodore Hotel was submitted to and accepted by Mizrachi and if there were any changes made, at this time, the new proposal would have to be submitted back to his organization.

Mr. Weisgal submitted that the formula adopted by the Jewish Army Committee was an acceptable one, but it depended on the manner of its execution.

Mr. Furmanský referred to the work of the Hechalutz in training young Jews in this country who are ready to go to Palestine to fight or to work, and some of whom are at this time actually on their way to Palestine.

Mr. Neumann put forward a proposal based on the following four points:

1. That we favor and shall exert our best efforts to bring about the creation of a Jewish Army or Jewish Military Force to fight against the forces of aggression, side by side with the U.S.A., Britain and their Allies, and under Allied Command.

2. That we favor that the Jewish Army be organized to operate in Palestine and the Near East with Palestinian Jews as a nucleus.

3. That we favor the enlistment in the Jewish Army of Jews from all parts of the world, whose services are not required by the countries of their citizenship or domicile and whose enlistment in a Jewish Army may be permitted and favored by the governments of their respective countries.

4. That no campaign or propaganda for enlistment in the U.S.A. should be undertaken unless and until conditions here are right for it.

Mr. Neumann added that American Jews should not be encouraged to enlist in a Jewish Army until we get the approval of the government.

Discussion followed on the danger to Zionism in general in the attitude of those who felt that American Jews should not be encouraged to enlist in a Jewish fighting force, even if the American Government were favorable to such enlistment. The point was also made that if we approach Great Britain with the idea that the Army be composed of a nucleus of Palestinian Jews, and the remainder of Jews who for various reasons were not accepted by their countries of residence, it might prejudice our chances of getting a Jewish Army.

Mr. Grossman said that the opinions expressed by those members who oppose recruiting in the United States represented a danger to world Zionism. He appreciated that it might be difficult for American Zionists to approach the American Government with the idea of a Jewish Army, but it should be the duty of the Jewish Agency to do so.

Mr. Cruso said that he was fully in agreement with Dr. Goldmann and Mr. Grossman, and is opposed to points 2 and 4 of Mr. Neumann's proposal.

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Mrs. Halprin urged that the proposal for an Army based on Palestine; but there should be no thought of recruiting in this country in present circumstances. She thought that in this matter only American Zionists should speak for American Jews to the American Government, and that the Jewish Agency or any other body had no right to speak for us.

It was agreed that the following proposal be edited by the Office Committee and submitted to the various organizations incorporated in the Emergency Committee, and returned to the Committee for confirmation:

"To favor an effort to secure the right to form a Jewish army, mobilized and organized in Palestine, to be composed, first of the nucleus of Palestine Jews who have already enlisted or will enlist and, second of other Jews in the world who may legally be free to enlist in such an army, which shall fight under Allied Command for the survival of the Jewish people and the preservation of democracy."

The meeting adjourned at 12:15 p.m.

A. Lourie

MINUTES OF OFFICE COMMITTEE MEETING
AMERICAN EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR ZIONIST AFFAIRS

January 15, 1942.

A meeting of the Office Committee of the American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs was held on January 15, 1942 at 4:30 p.m. at 41 East 42nd St., NYC.

PRESENT:

Dr. Wise (presiding), Messrs. Gellman, Goldstein, Levinthal, Wertheim; Mesdames Halprin, Jacobs, Shulman.

Messrs. Goldmann, Lourie, Neumann, Weisgal.

REPORT FROM MR. BEN-GURION

Dr. Goldmann gave a resume of a written report from Mr. Ben-Gurion on conversations he had had with members of Colonel Donovan's office in Washington.

LETTER FROM JEWISH ARMY COMMITTEE

A further letter from the Jewish Army Committee dated January 14, 1942 was circulated. Judge Levinthal reported that the ZOA Executive at its recent meeting had unanimously resolved that the Emergency Committee be urged to seek an agreement with the Army Committee on the basis of Mr. Lipsky's proposal; that proposal aimed at securing an executive for the Army Committee which should be acceptable to the Emergency Committee. Judge Levinthal also reported that many resolutions and letters had been received from Zionist districts protesting against the failure of the ZOA to associate itself with the Army Committee campaign. Many editorials had appeared in Zionist papers in support of the Army Committee and he had only just succeeded in stopping the Masada from printing an editorial in their journal attacking the Zionist leadership "for letting the Revisionists steal the show."

Mr. Wertheim urged that there be no further negotiations with the Jewish Army Committee.

Mr. Weisgal and Dr. Goldmann supported the proposal that discussions continue with the Jewish Army Committee with a view to arriving at a list of executives, all of whom should be acceptable to the Emergency Committee.

Mr. Gellman added that this was a Revisionist enterprise and that if it was desired to kill Revisionism it was essential that the Emergency Committee should participate in the Army Committee and take over effective control.

Mr. Neumann said that one had to accept as a fact that the Army Committee had won the sympathy of the Jewish "man in the street." The Yiddish press was giving them full support, and they took the line that while they knew who were in effect behind the Jewish Army Committee, it was necessary for the Zionists to get in and take control. The attitude of the ZOA Executive when speaker after speaker had supported the proposal in favor of an agreement with the Army Committee, was illuminating and it should be added that a motion had been adopted there, that if the Emergency Committee discontinued negotiations the ZOA should, on its own, seek an agreement with the Army Committee.

Mr. Wertheim said that under no circumstances would the Poale Zion associate themselves in an agreement with the Army Committee people even if this meant withdrawal of the Poale Zion from the Emergency Committee. The Poale Zion was ready to fight the Army Committee in every city.

Mrs. Halprin said that Hadassah was also very strongly against an agreement with the Army Committee, but she deprecated both the idea of separate negotiations by the ZOA, and the attitude of the Poale Zion in threatening withdrawal. This line of action could only lead to chaos and the disruption of the Committee.

Dr. Goldmann supported this point of view. There was no use talking of Zionist unity if we retort with threats of withdrawal every time an important issue came up. On the other hand, an unfortunate position would arise if the ZOA pursued discussions on its own. He added that he was entirely in favor of negotiations with the Army Committee but did not see how these were possible against the opposition of two of the groups represented on the Committee. Accordingly, he felt the best way out was the creation of our own Army Committee.

Judge Levinthal said that we should not be afraid to sit down with the Army Committee people though we should be suspicious of them, and we must be sure that we obtain the necessary safeguards and that it was not merely formal but actual control which must be sought. He had seen Mr. Ben-Gurion in Washington and the latter had told him that if Mr. Lipsky's condition was fulfilled, i.e. the executive personnel were acceptable to the Emergency Committee, he would not raise any objection.

Dr. Goldstein considered that it was a little surprising that a member of the Emergency Committee should make a proposal for the ZOA to continue discussions on its own against the view of the Emergency Committee. He urged that the only way to escape from the cul de sac in which we now find ourselves was to initiate real action.

Mrs. Jacobs urged that everything reasonably possible be done to achieve unity and to do away with the spectacle of internal dissension.

Mr. Neumann referred to a remark of Mr. Wertheim's in which the latter had said that he was not averse to seeking an arrangement with the Revisionists whereby they return to the Organization. Mr. Neumann thought that the time was ripe for some step in this direction. He mentioned a talk with Dr. Akzin in this connection.

Mrs. Halprin said that Hadassah also thought that this might be a good time to discuss with the Revisionists the question of their return. As to the Army Committee matter, the attitude of the ZOA and Poale Zion had brought in new factors. She suggested that the members of the Committee go back to their groups with a view to seeking new instructions and that the matter be dealt with again at the Office Committee meeting on the following Thursday.

PERSONNEL SUB-COMMITTEE

Mr. Neumann reported on behalf of this Committee which consists of himself, Mrs. Pool and Mr. Szold. The Committee was not yet prepared to make a recommendation regarding a man for Washington, but it was agreed that an administrative assistant be secured to relieve Mr. Neumann as far as possible of routine work. Two names were suggested, one of which met with some opposition. It was agreed that Mr. Neumann investigate further the possibility of engaging Mr. P.

Dr. Wise said that in the circumstances disclosed the salary offered should not exceed \$3,000 per annum.

HADASSAH ACTION RE AID TO UNITED STATES IN MIDDLE EAST

It was reported that Mrs. Pool had been in Washington that day. She had met with George Moore of the Red Cross and also Major Riggs and Colonel Chickering of the Near East Division of the War Department and had discussed with them ways in which the Hadassah might provide effective help to American missions in the Near and Middle East. It was suggested that these discussions might be of interest to the Hechalutz who were seeking to send members of their organization to Eritrea, Egypt, etc. in connection with American directed army and quasi-army works in those areas.

It was agreed that the Office Committee meet again on the following Thursday, January 22, 1942 at 4:30 p.m.

Arthur Lourie.

MINUTES OF OFFICE COMMITTEE
AMERICAN EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR ZIONIST AFFAIRS

January 22, 1942.

A meeting of the Office Committee was held on Thursday, January 22, 1942 at 4:30 p.m. at 41 East 42nd Street.

PRESENT: Mr. Lipsky (presiding); Messrs. Bublick, Cruso, Goldstein, Levinthal, Szold; Mesdames Halprin, Jacobs, Pool.

Messrs. Ben-Gurion, Goldmann, Lourie, Neumann, Weisgal.

By invitation: Mr. Kritzer, Mr. Isreeli.

The meeting was called for 4:30 but owing to the lack of a quorum did not begin until 5 p.m. Mr. Lipsky read a lengthy agenda and it was agreed that there should be a further meeting of the Committee the following day, at 1:45 P.m.

NEW YORK TIMES EDITORIAL

The Anti-Zionist editorial in the New York Times was fully discussed. It was urged that that editorial had created an atmosphere which offered an opportunity for a vigorous campaign on behalf of the Jewish Army. It was agreed that:

1) A letter be prepared for publication in the New York Times, to be signed by Dr. Wise.

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2) A public meeting/be devoted primarily to the Army issue be arranged for Carnegie Hall on Wednesday, February 4.

3) An energetic propaganda campaign in favor of the Jewish Army idea be initiated by the Emergency Committee through the organizations.

4) Telegrams should be sent out over Senator Wagner's signature to members of the American Palestine Committee enlisting their support for the Jewish Army idea.

5) An advertisement which might be linked up with the Carnegie Hall meeting should be placed in the New York Times, or possibly some other newspaper. Mr. Szold and Mrs. Pool voted against this proposal. Mr. Ben-Gurion was against the use of the name of the Emergency Committee in connection with such an advertisement.

6) An appropriation not exceeding \$10,000 be made for the purposes of the campaign, and a sub-committee to consist of Mr. Neumann, Mr. Weisgal, Dr. Goldmann and Mrs. Halprin plan the budget in respect of the campaign, for submission to the meeting the next day.

JEWISH ARMY COMMITTEE

It was agreed that a letter be sent to the Jewish Army Committee indicating that its most recent proposals embodied in a letter dated January 14th are not acceptable to the Emergency Committee, and putting an end to further negotiations.

Mr. Ben-Gurion asked to have recorded with the minutes of the previous meeting, a letter which he had sent to Judge Levinthal on this question.

A. Lourie

CONFIDENTIALMINUTES OF OFFICE COMMITTEE
AMERICAN EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR ZIONIST AFFAIRS

January 23, 1942.

A meeting of the Office Committee was held on Friday, January 23, at 1:45 p.m. at 41 East 42nd Street.

PRESENT: Dr. Goldstein (presiding); Messrs. Cruso, Szold; Mesdames Halprin, Jacobs, Pool.

Messrs. Ben-Gurion, Goldmann, Lourie, Neumann, Weisgal.

MASS MEETING AND ARMY PROPAGANDA

It was decided that a Zionist mass meeting devoted primarily to the question of a Jewish Army should be held in Carnegie Hall on February 4th. A sub-committee composed of Mr. Weisgal, Mrs. Halprin, Dr. Goldmann and Mr. Neumann shall arrange the program.

The whole question of propaganda and publicity for a Jewish Army was discussed. It was agreed that a vigorous campaign was essential. Whether or not advertising space be taken in connection with the campaign was to be left to the discretion of the sub-committee after seeing how far they are successful in obtaining publicity in other ways.

The sub-committee was authorized to prepare a program on the basis of a budget not to exceed \$10,000 in connection with the campaign for a Jewish Army. They are authorized to spend \$5,000 of this immediately (inclusive of the mass meeting at Carnegie Hall) without further authorization from the Office Committee.

PUBLIC RELATIONS

The Public Relations Committee was authorized to appoint a sub-committee to deal with the publication of headline books. This Committee was authorized to spend up to \$2,500 for the purpose of such publications.

ECONOMIC ADVISER

Mr. Szold suggested that the Committee consider the advisability of having a man in Washington who should be able to inform the Emergency Committee of economic and industrial developments as affecting Palestine. In this connection the U.S. Near Eastern missions in Eritrea, Egypt and Iran might be of great interest to us.

It was decided that the Office Committee should meet again on the following Monday, January 26, 1942.

A. Lourie

MINUTES OF OFFICE COMMITTEE MEETINGAMERICAN EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR ZIONIST AFFAIRSMonday, January 26, 1942

A meeting of the Office Committee was held on Monday, January 26, 1942.

PRESENT: Dr. Israel Goldstein, presiding; Mr. Gellman, Mr. Cruso, Mrs. Halprin, Mrs. Jacobs, Mrs. Pool.

Dr. Goldmann, Mr. Lourie, Mr. Neumann.

MEMORIAL SERVICES FOR CHIEF RABBI SCHORR

It was agreed that the Emergency Committee participate officially together with the World Jewish Congress and the Polish-Jewish Federation in a memorial service to the late Rabbi Schorr, to be held at the Congregation Kehillath Jeshurun next Sunday afternoon at 4 p.m. Dr. Wise would speak as Chairman of the Emergency Committee.

YIDDISH PRESS CONFERENCE

Mr. Neumann reported on a luncheon conference with Yiddish editors in which he and Mrs. Halprin had taken part and at which there had been a full discussion on the action taken and to be taken by the Emergency Committee in regard to the Jewish Army issue.

The representatives of the Yiddish press had asked that they be shown privately the exchange of correspondence between the Emergency Committee and the Army Committee. This was agreed to, subject to the condition that the correspondence should not be published. Moreover, copies should not be sent to the editorial offices, but should be shown to them personally at a suitable opportunity.

The Yiddish editors had also suggested that their papers run a campaign for signatures to a declaration in favor of the Jewish Army. Following a discussion in which it was urged that it might be desirable that there be a large-scale campaign of this kind conducted under the aegis of the Emergency Committee, but that the matter should be discussed at a larger meeting of the committee, it was agreed that the proposal that the Yiddish press conduct a petition in their columns be approved. The declarations are to be returnable to the papers themselves and not to the Emergency Committee. It was further agreed that there be a call to action to Zionists in regard to the Army Committee matter to be drafted by Dr. Wise, Mrs. Halprin and Mr. Neumann.

EMERGENCY COMMITTEE COMMUNIQUE FOR JEWISH PRESS

Mr. Gellman reported that he had just returned from the Middle West where he had found that in general very little was known of the work, or even of the existence of the Emergency Committee. It was unanimously agreed:

1) That the editors of the various Zionist journals be asked to print communiques from time to time dealing with the work of the committee and to be issued to them by the committee;

2) That arrangements be made to distribute a confidential report on the work of the committee to a select list.

JEWISH ARMY RESOLUTION BY CONGRESSMAN SOMERS

Mr. Neumann reported that statements had appeared in the Jewish press that Congressman Somers was proposing to push forward with his resolution on the Jewish Army and that he claimed to have substantial support in Congress. Mr. Neumann had subsequently spoken to Congressman Somers' secretary and had expressed doubts as to the advisability of trying to push the resolution at this time. He had also explained to him the position with regard to the Jewish Army Committee, on whose behalf Congressman Somers was speaking that day in Philadelphia. Mr. Neumann expected to be in Washington on Wednesday and asked for directions in taking the matter up further with Congressman Somers.

It was agreed that efforts should be made in Washington to ascertain the chances of passage of such a resolution. It should be indicated to the Congressman that it would be desirable to be sure in advance that the State Department would not put obstacles in the way of the resolution for in that event the rejection would constitute a set-back which might cause serious harm.

DELEGATION TO VISIT ENGLAND

Dr. Goldmann reported that a request had come from London that a leading American Zionist visit England to open the Keren Hayesod campaign and at the same time to take the opportunity to conduct political conversations.

It was moved by Mrs. Pool and unanimously agreed that Rabbi Silver, who had already been approached ^{and} might be available for a visit of two or three weeks, be urged to undertake this mission.

20th ANNIVERSARY U.S. CONGRESS RESOLUTION

On the proposal of Mr. Neumann, it was decided in principle that a plan should be prepared for the suitable recognition of the 20th anniversary of the U.S. Congress resolution approving the Balfour Declaration.

CARNEGIE HALL MEETING

Mr. Neumann raised the question of speakers for the meeting at Carnegie Hall on February 4th. The meeting decided against an invitation to Congressman Somers. It was agreed that Mr. Neumann and Mrs. Halprin should have a talk with Mr. Van Paassen, and if satisfied that it would lead to cooperation on his part with the Emergency Committee and would not be used by Mr. Van Paassen to further the interests of the Army Committee, they should invite him to speak at the Carnegie Hall meeting.

It was also agreed that either Rabbi Silver or Rabbi Liebman of Boston be asked to speak at the meeting; also Mr. Ben-Gurion, alternatively- Dr. Nahum Goldmann.

STATUS OF MR. NEUMANN

It was agreed that this matter should be the first item on the agenda of the next meeting.

SIGNATURE OF CHECKS

It was agreed that pending the appointment of a treasurer and of a functioning budget committee, Mr. Gellman be authorized to sign checks on behalf of the committee, together with the existing signatories.

A. Lourie

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE PUBLIC RELATIONS COMMITTEE
HELD MONDAY, JANUARY 26, 1942, 8:30 P.M.
AT THE HOME OF MR. A. TULIN, 330 W. 72ND STREET

PRESENT: Mrs. Halprin (in the chair) Mrs. Pool, Judge Kross, Mrs. Rosenschn;
Messrs. Chaim Greenberg, Gurfein, Neumann, Rosenblatt.

ADDITIONAL MEMBERS:

Mr. Neumann reported a letter had been received from Judge Rifkind definitely declining to serve, while Mr. Sachs stated that he would like to discuss the matter.

It was decided to recommend to the Office Committee to consider the naming of Mrs. Tourover of Washington, D. C., and possibly also Mr. Mark Eisner.

COMMITTEE ON CHRISTIAN CLERGY:

Mr. Neumann reported that Rabbi Ira Eisenstein and Rabbi Theodore Lewis had agreed to cooperate with Dr. Milton Steinberg in mapping out a campaign of education among the clergy. A meeting of this special committee is to be held shortly.

SHORT-WAVE BROADCAST TO PALESTINE:

Mr. Neumann reported that Prof. W. F. Albright and Dr. Arthur Upham Pope had agreed to serve on a small committee to supervise short-wave broadcasts to Palestine in Hebrew. The matter would now be pursued further.

REPRINTS:

1. Chapter XI - Wythe Williams book: Mr. Neumann reported that Mr. Wythe Williams had agreed to make a condensation of Chapter XI of his book, "Riddle of the Reich", and that a reprint would be made thereafter in accordance with the previous decision.

X 2. Reprint of Dr. Akzin's article in Harper's - "The Jewish Question After the War" - were available and would be distributed.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH MR. BILLIKOPF:

Mr. Neumann reported that Mr. Billikopf was following the work of the Committee closely, returning the minutes with many interesting and valuable annotations. He hoped to have a meeting with Mr. Billikopf soon to discuss several of the suggestions made by the latter.

CONFERENCE WITH MR. EDWARD BERNAYS:

Mr. Neumann reported on a conference he had with Mr. Bernays following

the suggestion of Judge Levinthal. Mr. Bernays suggested that the proper method of procedure was to engage a firm of public relations specialists to make a survey for the Emergency Committee and formulate a general plan of action and specific recommendations.

The Committee felt that such a survey would involve a considerable cost, while it is difficult to judge its ultimate value in advance. No action.

DR. DAS ON NEAR EAST:

Mr. Neumann reported that Dr. Das, who is giving graduate courses at City College on the political problems of the Near East, intends to prepare a summary outline of a book that he would like to write on that subject. The outline would be made available to the members of the Committee if and when it is prepared.

ZIONIST ARTICLES:

Mr. Neumann reported:

1. Life Magazine - Ben-Gurion article - An article on Jewish war efforts in Palestine, over the signature of Mr. Ben-Gurion, had been submitted to Life Magazine, which is now considering it.

2. Wythe Williams - LIBERTY Magazine - Wythe Williams has agreed to write an article for Liberty magazine on the same subject, in the near future.

3. Dr. Niebuhr's paper, Christianity and Crisis, has accepted an article on the Jewish Question and Zionism, written by Eugene Kohn and edited by Mr. Israel Goldberg.

4. The Nation has a series of two articles on the Jewish Question, by Dr. Niebuhr. These articles had been seen by one of our friends before their submission to The Nation. They will appear in the near future.

NEW YORK TIMES EDITORIAL, JANUARY 22, on the "Zionist Army": In connection with this editorial, Mr. Neumann reported:

1. Dr. Petegorsky had drafted Dr. Wise's reply which was revised by Mr. Lipsky and Mrs. Halprin, and printed in The Times on January 26th.

2. An editorial was prepared by Mr. Neumann which was submitted to Mr. Uhl and printed in PM on January 23rd.

3. A letter for the signature of Senator Wagner has been drafted.

4. Mr. Samuel Grafton of the Post has promised Mr. Weisgal to write a column on the Jewish Army question.

5. Boake Carter has undertaken to write a column in The Mirror.

6. Hugh Johnson also has promised to do a column on this subject.

7. Mr. Frank Gannett, owner of a chain of newspapers, has advised his editors to favor our position on the Jewish Army.

8. Arrangements are being made for a mass rally in Carnegie Hall on February 4th.

9. Reprints of Dr. Wise's reply and the two editorials are being made.

PUBLIC RELATIONS MATERIAL:

A kit is being prepared for Zionists throughout the country, containing editorials for out of town papers, addresses, radio speeches and other material for public relations committees, including a manual on public relations.

HEADLINE BOOKS:

Mr. Neumann reported that the Committee on Publications was in favor of commissioning Marie Syrkin to write a book on "Palestine and The War". The Committee felt that an effort should be made to get either Mr. William Hard or Mr. H. Powell, or some other writer to do that particular book, and that Miss Syrkin be invited to write some of the other headline books. In this connection Mr. Gurfein was to communicate with Mr. Powell.

N. Y. U. FORUM OF THE AIR:

Mr. Neumann had reported that Mr. Gurfein had secured the consent of the Forum to place a half hour at our disposal on the evening of February 17th. The offer was accepted and arrangements are being made for a discussion on the "Situation in the Near East", or "Palestine and the War".

YIDDISH JOURNALISTS PRESS CONFERENCE:

Mr. Neumann reported that he had arranged for a press conference with the principal Yiddish writers on Monday, January 26th. Other press conferences will be arranged.

PROF. W. F. ALBRIGHT:

Mr. Neumann reported on a successful luncheon addressed by Prof. Albright in Cleveland - at the UPA National Conference - which was attended by academicians and publicists. Prof. Albright had declared publicly that he had been converted from cultural to political Zionism. Efforts should be made to utilize his influence in academic circles.

NEAR EAST QUARTERLY:

There was further discussion on this subject, following a report of Prof. Albright's affirmative opinion on this project. It was agreed that the matter should be pursued further and particularly that an effort be made to find a group of scholars interested in Near Eastern problems who are friendly to the Zionist cause and willing to cooperate in producing such a Quarterly.

RADIO:

A discussion took place on the importance of developing a com-

prehensive program of activities over the radio networks. Judge Kross and Mr. Gurfein volunteered to study the matter and bring their recommendations to the Committee.

STANLEY HIGH:

✓ It was suggested that Mr. High be consulted with a view to securing his advice on our public relations work and possibly his services as a writer. ?

FUTURE MEETINGS:

In view of the fact that Rabbi Milton Steinberg could not attend meetings on Monday night, it was decided that future meetings be held on alternate Monday afternoons at 5:00 P.M.

Meeting adjourned.

EMANUEL NEUMANN

CONFIDENTIAL

#51 (O.C.)

MINUTES OF MEETING OF THE OFFICE COMMITTEE
OF THE AMERICAN EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR ZIONIST AFFAIRS

January 29, 1942

A meeting of the Office Committee of the American Emergency Committee was held on January 29th, 1942 at 4:30 P. M.

PRESENT: Dr. Wise (presiding) Messrs. Cruso, Gellman, Goldstein; Mesdames Halprin, Schoolman.

Messrs. Ben Gurion (later), Lourie, Neumann

PUBLIC RELATIONS COMMITTEE

It was agreed that Mrs. Turover be nominated to the Public Relations Committee; also Mr. Mark Eisner and Professor Fineman, if willing.

STATUS OF MR. NEUMANN

Mr. Neumann said that he had been with the Committee for some months now but that his status had not been clarified. In addition there were questions of salary which had to be settled. It will be recalled that he had been originally engaged on a part time basis with a possibility in mind that he might also continue his private law practice. In fact, he had been giving all of his time to the work of the Committee. It was agreed that Dr. Wise should name a sub-committee to deal with these questions and to report to the next meeting of the Office Committee.

CARNEGIE HALL MEETING

Mr. Neumann reported that the Hall had been engaged, tickets were being distributed and action taken to publicize the meeting. In regard to program, Dr. Wise would preside; Senator Pepper had agreed to speak and also Mr. Ben Gurion. Neither Dr. Silver nor Rabbi Liebman of Boston were available that night owing to previous engagements. As additional speakers a number of names were suggested as follows: William Green, Max Lerner, George Backer, Frank Kingdon, President Shuster of Hunter College, Waldo Frank and Nahum Goldmann. Opinion was against invitations being sent to Congressman Somers and Mr. Van Passen. The latter was, in any case, speaking elsewhere on behalf of Hadassah that evening.

Mr. Neumann reported that the Legionnaires wished to attend the meeting as a distinctive group and to make a statement. It was agreed (Mrs. Schoolman contra) that they be allowed to make a brief statement prepared in advance in consultation with the Committee.

JEWISH ARMY RESOLUTIONS IN CONGRESS

Mr. Neumann read a letter from Congressman Somers from which it appeared that the Army Committee had not had anything to do with his initiative in setting down the Congress resolution on the Jewish Military Force. As regards pressing the Army resolution, the desirability was again emphasized of ascertaining the chances of acceptance of such a resolution by Congress. It was also suggested that in sounding out the Administration it would be well to await the return of Mr. B.

Mr. Neumann reported that Mr. Boake Carter was writing a syndicated column on the Jewish Military Force the following day.

EMERGENCY COMMITTEE RESOLUTION RE ARMY

A draft resolution on the attitude of the Emergency Committee to the Jewish Military Force based on the proposal adopted subject to revision at the last meeting of the Full Committee was considered. It was agreed that Mrs. Halprin, Mr. Neumann and Mr. Lourie should prepare a further draft in the light of the discussion for submission to the next meeting of the Full Committee. It was also agreed that for the Carnegie Hall meeting a resolution be prepared supporting the right of the Yishuv to fight as a separate military force under its own flag.

CALL TO ZIONISTS

Mr. Neumann read a draft "call to Zionists" to be signed by Dr. Wise and the heads of the organizations. There was some discussion as to the nature of the action in favor of the army proposal that should be undertaken at this time. It was suggested that what was needed first was a campaign of education amongst the Zionists themselves but it was pointed out that work along these lines had been going on for the last year in the Zionist press and on the Zionist platform. Thus in January, 1941, the United Palestine Appeal convention had adopted a resolution in favor of a Jewish Military Force. Similarly at the Zionist Organization convention in September and at other meetings. The statements by Dr. Weizmann, Mr. Ben Gurion and Dr. Bernard Joseph on the subject had also been given wide publicity. It seemed to be agreed that what was wanted now was to educate or non-Zionist opinion. As to the action to that end, the point was made by Mrs. Halprin that the time was not ripe for a dramatic call involving deluging of Congressmen with telegrams, etc. The work, she urged, should be undertaken over ordinary public relations lines which might, of course, include public meetings and suitable approaches to the press. It was agreed that Mrs. Halprin, Mr. Gellman, Mr. Cruso and Mr. Neumann be constituted a sub-committee to reformulate the call to the Zionist public.

REPORT BY MR. BEN GURION

Mr. Ben Gurion reported on an interesting though still highly confidential request to the Jewish Agency by the Navy.

Smaller He also referred to the recent terrorist acts in Palestine which had resulted in the killing of three police officers. The body responsible for this was a section of the Irgun Zvai Leumi. That body had split and it was members of the ~~similar~~ section which had perpetrated these acts. That section had a Nazi orientation. It had sent a man to Syria some time ago to establish ~~where~~ a base for its activities. This man Stern was mentioned in a recent news dispatch as a suspect for whom the police was searching. On the occupation of Syria these people had returned to Palestine. The majority section of the Irgun was not responsible for the murders but were taking advantage of the terror created by the other faction to extract money by threats. In answer to a question he said that these groups were not today affiliated with the Revisionists.

LETTER FROM DR. SILVER

Mr. Neumann read a letter from Dr. Silver urging that action be taken with the American Jewish Committee with reference to the letter of Professor Morris Cohen supporting the Times editorial.

It was agreed that there be a meeting of the full Committee on Thursday ~~xx~~ February 5 at 8:30 and a meeting of the Office Committee on Friday, Feb. 6 at 1:15

CORRECTION OF MINUTES

In the minutes of the Office Committee meeting of January 26 under the heading of "Jewish Army Committee" it should have been recorded that Judge Levinthal voted against termination of the negotiations with the Jewish Army Committee.

A. Lourie

MINUTES OF OFFICE COMMITTEE MEETING
AMERICAN EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR ZIONIST AFFAIRS

Friday, February 6, 1942.

A meeting of the Office Committee was held on Friday, February 6, 1942 at 41 E. 42nd Street, New York City.

PRESENT: Dr. Wise (presiding), Dr. Goldstein, Mr. Wertheim, Mesdames Halprin and Jacobs.

Dr. Goldmann, Mr. Lourie, Mr. Neumann.

REPORT OF CONVERSATION WITH MR. VAN PAASSEN

Mrs. Halprin stated that Mr. Van Paassen had informed one of the Hadassah board members that he had completely revised his opinion of the Jewish Army Committee. He had discovered that letters and telegrams had been sent out under his name without his approval. He knew nothing of the negotiations which had been proceeding between the Army Committee and the Emergency Committee. He was now satisfied that the people behind the group were fascist in character. He was resigning from the Army Committee on Monday.

CONFIRMATION OF BY-LAWS

It was agreed, in accordance with a verbal communication from Judge Levinthal to the secretary, that a clause be inserted in the by-laws which should come up for final confirmation at the next meeting of the full committee, that the organizations represented on the committee be allowed to name proxies to attend in the place of representatives of any group unable to attend at a particular meeting.

STATUS OF MR. NEUMANN

The chairman stated that he was appointing Dr. Goldstein, Dr. Nahum Goldmann and Mrs. Halprin who, together with himself, would act as a sub-committee to make a recommendation in this matter.

POLITICAL MATTERS

(a) Mr. Neumann reported that Ambassador Steinhardt would be leaving this week-end to take up his duties in Turkey. A number of memoranda had been submitted to him for his consideration. It had been suggested to him that he might find it of interest to make contact with Mr. Shertok, and he had also been informed that Mr. Eliahu Epstein was in Ankara as a representative of the Agency.

(b) Army resolution before Congress: It was agreed that inquiries be made among our friends in Washington as to the possibility of favorable action by Congress on a resolution in support of a Jewish army; also that the matter be discussed with Mr. Sumner Welles. Mention was made of the fact that Congressman Somers was known for his anti-New Deal position.

(c) Jewish Army Campaign: A letter from Senator Johnson of Colorado in answer to the Times editorial had been circulated by Mr. Neumann's department. The Times had failed to publish Senator Johnson's reply. The editorial in PM and certain other material had also been circulated. It was proposed to release on

Tuesday or Wednesday messages which Senator Wagner had received in reply to his recent telegram on the Jewish Army. Mr. Neumann's department had prepared a kit of material for distribution, including points for letters, radio talks, feature writers, etc.

d) Call to Zionists : A revised draft was ready. It was agreed that the final version should go out on Monday, signed by the heads of the organizations. Certain amendments were proposed including one emphasizing the importance of the work being carried on through and with the official Zionist bodies.

PUBLIC RELATIONS COMMITTEE

Mr. Wertheim referred to a meeting of Zionists which Mrs. Pool had called in Chicago for public relations purposes. Judge Fisher had put up a strong opposition to the establishment of any public relations committee there. He regretted to say that Mrs. Pool's proposal had been negatived, and urged that the matter be taken up again with the Chicago Zionist leaders.

TELEGRAM FROM DR. GOLDMAN

Mrs. Halprin said she understood that letters had been received by the Committee prior to the Carnegie Hall meeting from Dr. Solomon Goldman and from Judge Fisher. She felt that these should have been circulated to the members since they bore on the desirability of organizing such a meeting at all. Mr. Neumann stated that as far as he was aware no such letter had been received from Judge Fisher. A wire had come from Dr. Goldman when the preparations for the meeting were well advanced, speakers had been engaged, and the office was working at full pressure, and he regretted that by an oversight the wire had not been circulated.

INFORMATION LETTER

Reference was again made to the proposal which had been favored at the previous meeting for a regular (possibly monthly) summary of current developments which should be circulated in the form of a confidential bulletin.

With regard to the distribution of such a bulletin Mr. Neumann said that he was loath to deal directly with the constituencies (i.e. the various public relations Committees) although Rabbi Breslau had urged last year that the Emergency Committee should undertake such direct communications.

It was agreed that the maintenance of contacts with the Public Relations Committees through this bulletin should be given consideration by the Organizations.

ANNIVERSARIES OF ZIONIST SIGNIFICANCE

It was stated that in the current year there would be celebrated:

- a) the 25th anniversary of the Jewish Legion
- b) the 20th anniversary of the U.S. Congress Resolution on the National Home policy.
- c) 25th anniversary of the Balfour Declaration.

With regard to the first, Mr. Neumann asked for directions as to whether an effort should be made to get Congress to reaffirm its position as of 1922. The changed political situation would make such action more difficult, though on the other hand it might be easier in one way since what would be asked was a reaffirmation of a policy previously adopted.

Dr. Goldmann said that if it would require months of concentrated work to obtain the passage of such a resolution he doubted the desirability of putting all the stress on our political work on this one job. It would be more important if we could obtain approval for a resolution on the Jewish Military Force.

After further discussion it was agreed that there would be no objection to consulting the majority and minority leaders on the matter. So far as the State Department was concerned, however, the only point to be taken up with them at this stage should be that of the attitude of the administration to the resolution in regard to the Jewish military force. It was also agreed that it would be desirable to arrange for speeches in Congress on the anniversary of the passage of the resolution.

It was further agreed that efforts should be made to arrange a national radio hook-up in commemoration of the anniversary of the Congress Resolution.

As regards the second, the Jewish Legion Anniversary, it was proposed that a dinner be organized under the auspices of the Committee. It was agreed that Dr. Goldmann, Dr. Goldstein, Mrs. Halprin and Mr. Wertheim, together with Mr. Neumann, should give consideration to this proposal with a view to the possibility of arranging a dinner celebration, and report back to the Committee.

LETTER OF PROF. MORRIS COHEN TO TIMES RE JEWISH ARMY

Two letters had been received from Dr. Silver urging that in view of Professor Cohen's official position on the Peace Institute of the American Jewish Committee, the matter of his letter to the Times should be taken up officially with the last-named body.

It was agreed that a communication be addressed to the Chairman of the American Jewish Committee to inquire whether the Professor's letter had been written with the sanction of the American Jewish Committee or of their Peace Institute of which he was the chairman.

COMMITTEE'S RESOLUTION ON JEWISH MILITARY FORCE

A revised draft of the resolution provisionally adopted at the last meeting of the full committee was read as follows:

"BE IT RESOLVED that the American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs, representing the organized Zionist movement in America, records its wholehearted endorsement of the proposal for the formation in Palestine of a Jewish military force to fight side by side with Great Britain, the United States and the other United Nations. The Emergency Committee will use its best efforts to secure for the Jews of Palestine the right to raise such a military force, to comprise Palestinian Jews, including those already serving with Jewish units in the Near East, and such Jews from other countries, including stateless Jews, as may be legally free to enlist in such a Force. "

A letter was read from Judge Levinthal criticizing the inclusion of the reference to "stateless Jews". It was pointed out that at the meeting of the full committee at which the matter was considered, a heated discussion had taken place on this point, and it was then decided to include such a reference in the resolution. The resolution as read was recommended for adoption to the full committee.

PRESS ITEMS

Mr. Neumann reported that Mr. Frank Gannett had come out in wholehearted support of a Jewish Military Force and had published an excellent leader on the subject (which will be circulated) in his chain of newspapers. A press conference was also planned on the same subject in the near future.

COMMITTEE FOR A JEWISH ARMY

Mr. Neumann reported that from information received by him, the Committee apparently had a good deal of money to spend. To the five rooms they were already occupying, they were now adding a further three. He had been informed that they had \$25,000 with which to work and were spending at the rate of \$10,000 a month. Mr. Strelsin had given them money and had also secured money for them from others and they were now forming an Executive Committee of fifteen members. Following the Emergency Committee conference with members of the Yiddish press, Mr. Grossman—on behalf of the Army Committee, had called a similar conference and read to them the exchange of correspondence between the Emergency Committee and the Army Committee. He understood however that Mr. Meckler of the Morning Journal would take the position that the parity proposal put forward by the Army Committee was one the Zionist leadership could not be expected to accept.

Mr. Neumann added that the Zionists should be apprised of the character of the group behind the Army Committee, but that he thought an open fight with them was undesirable.

There was some discussion on Mr. Grossman's action in joining the Army Committee. It was pointed out that he had been invited to attend the meeting of the Office Committee at which a final decision was to be taken on the negotiations with the Army Committee, but that he had failed to attend. Mrs. Halprin added that the Army Committee, in their approach to people, were going out of their way to poison them against the Zionist leadership.

It was agreed that a letter be sent to Mr. Grossman signed by Dr. Wise, asking for an explanation of his action in joining the Army Committee once he was aware of the attitude to that body of the Emergency Committee; and asking further how he could reconcile his position as a member of the Army Committee with membership of the Emergency Committee.

It was agreed that Dr. Goldstein and Mr. Neumann should try to see Mr. Van Paassen, if possible before Monday, as it was understood that he was leaving town that day. Reference was made to Mr. Van Paassen's letter to the "Reconstructionist" in which he stated that the Zionist leadership had last year interviewed Lord Halifax and informed him that they were against raising a Jewish force. The Secretary was instructed to search the minutes in order to see if there was anything in the record which might have a bearing on this allegation.

APPLICATIONS FOR MEMBERSHIP ON THE EMERGENCY COMMITTEE

Letters were read from the Order Sons of Zion and the Hapoel Hamizrachi asking for representation on the Committee. It was stated that the Order Sons of Zion has an agreement with the ZOA in terms of which they enjoy certain representation on the committees of that body, but that they operate as a separate organization. It was pointed out that if representation were accorded the Order Sons of Zion, other bodies like the National Workers Alliance would also

seek representation; again, if the Hapoel Hamizrachi were included in the Committee, groups like Habonim and Junior Hadassah would also claim representation. It might open the way for an embarrassing number of other applications.

It was agreed that a letter be sent to the bodies concerned expressing regret that the Committee was unable to accede to their request, placing stress on the political side of the Committee's work and urging that they seek representation through the Mizrachi and ZOA respectively.

HECHALUTZ LOAN

A letter was read from the Hechalutz requesting that the balance of \$840 of an original loan of \$1,840 made to the Hechalutz by the Emergency Committee in May 1940 be converted into a grant in aid. Criticism was expressed of the failure of the Hechalutz to carry out its obligations. It was finally agreed that they be absolved from further payments but that the opinion of the Committee, that their attitude indicated an improper appreciation of their responsibilities, be incorporated in the letter to them.

DISCUSSIONS WITH NONZIONISTS

Dr. Nahum Goldmann reported on the meeting which had taken place on Friday, January 30 between subcommittees of the Zionist and non-Zionist negotiating bodies. He read the draft proposals as they now stood.

Unanimous agreement had been reached on the Galuth issues. As regards the Palestine matters, Mr. Maurice Wertheim (the non-Zionists had been represented by Mr. Wertheim, Mr. Medalie and Mr. Held) said that the non-Zionist negotiating committee wished the negotiations now to assume a more formal and official character; accordingly they were apprising the American Jewish Committee officially of the negotiations and further discussions would be conducted on behalf of the Committee itself. A sub-committee had now been appointed by the American Jewish Committee to make recommendations to the full Executive Committee and only after consideration by that body would the discussions with the Zionists be resumed. That might take several weeks.

Mr. Wertheim had urged that the Jewish Army proposals should be taken off the agenda on the ground that they had nothing to do with the Peace Program. He added that there was great opposition within the Committee to that proposal. It was pointed out that since a united program of action was envisaged, the failure to come to an agreement on this particular matter might be a source of friction, as it was not one which the Zionists could give up. It had also been made clear by Dr. Goldmann that so far as the Commonwealth issue was concerned, if the non-Zionist representatives came back with a negative attitude to this also, it was as well that they should know that there would be no basis for further discussions.

VAAD BITACHON

A letter was read from the Vaad Bitachon stating that it had transmitted close to \$45,000 to Palestine but that there was still outstanding \$4,000 due from Mizrachi (balance on a note), \$8,500 from the Labor Group, and, contingent upon the collection of these sums, Hadassah was retaining \$15,000 promised to the Vaad Bitachon.

Mr. Wertheim said that it was impossible to talk of going out now for a further separate campaign for the Vaad Bitachon. They had had a combined campaign

with the Hechalutz of the proceeds of which, \$17,000 or \$18,000 had gone to the Hechalutz and the rest to Bitachon. They could not do any more.

It was agreed that the matter should be referred to Mr. Ben-Gurion.

EXPENSES OF COMMODORE HOTEL MEETING

It was agreed that Rabbi Heller should be re-imbursed for expenses incurred by him in respect of the meeting called by Dr. Wise on December 18 at the Hotel Commodore.

POLITICAL COMMITTEE

Mrs. Halprin urged that a political committee be set up to give consideration to a number of fundamental problems. There were a host of committees which were giving thought to post-war questions and it was desirable that the Zionists should also do some thinking - e.g. on such matters as the Federation idea, the implications of the Commonwealth proposal, etc. The Committee as presently constituted was swamped by matters of detail and would always be so swamped. Possibly this committee might be called a post-war aims committee.

It was agreed that the matter be deferred to a fuller meeting and the hope was expressed that Mr. Ben-Gurion, Judge Levinthal and Dr. Silver would be present at a discussion of this subject.

A. Lourie

MINUTES OF MEETING OF PUBLIC RELATIONS COMMITTEE
HELD MONDAY, FEBRUARY 9, 1942, at 5 P.M.
At 41 East 42nd St., New York.

PRESENT: Mrs. S. W. Halprin (in the chair), Mrs. David de Sola Pool, Dr. Milton Steinberg, Messrs. A. Tulin, D. Wertheim, Emanuel Neumann; Dr. D. Petegorsky, by invitation.

Excuse for absence was received from Mr. M. Gurfein.

CALL TO AMERICAN ZIONISTS ON JEWISH MILITARY FORCE

The final draft of the call to be issued by the Emergency Committee to all American Zionists on the subject of a Jewish Military Force in Palestine was read and certain changes suggested.

✓ COMMITTEE ON CHRISTIAN CLERGY

✓ Dr. Steinberg suggested that Rabbi Philip Bernstein, of Rochester, who has a very intimate and extensive acquaintanceship among the Christian clergy, be asked to take the chairmanship of this Committee, on which Rabbi Ira Eisenstein and Rabbi Theodore Lewis had already agreed to work with Dr. Steinberg.

✓ Mr. Neumann reported that Rabbi Bernstein was prepared to come to New York for a few weeks to participate in this work.

It was moved by Mrs. Halprin and seconded by Mrs. Pool that Rabbi Philip Bernstein be asked to come to New York to meet with Dr. Steinberg and work out a program of action on the spot. This motion was unanimously approved.

✓ Dr. Petegorsky suggested that Rabbi Max Arzt, who is now lecturing as the Jewish representative for the Conference of Jews and Christians, be co-opted on the Committee which is to deal with Christian clergy. Mr. Neumann proposed that Prof. Albright's help be solicited, since he would be in New York during the coming few weeks when he was to give a series of lectures, and that a small number of key people among the clergy should be asked to meet Prof. Albright. It was agreed that it was most important to contact the key people among the Christian clergy.

✓ NEW YORK CHAPTER OF AMERICAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE

Mr. Tulin reported that he had the nucleus of a New York Chapter prepared. He planned to use his personal friendships which he had built up in New York. He suggested the names of Charles Burlingham, Grenville Clark and Walter Pitkin, with perhaps one of the first two mentioned as chairman. He believed that these names would guarantee the interest of others.

It was decided that Mr. Tulin and Mr. Neumann meet the following day to discuss the matter further and that Mr. Tulin would invite Judge Kross, Mr. Rosenblatt and Mr. Gurfein to be present at this meeting.

RADIO TIME

Mr. Neumann reported that we were to have a half-hour on the N.Y.U. Forum of the Air, on Station WEVD, on February 17th, from 10:00 to 10:30 P.M., and that Prof. Albright and Dr. Fope will participate in the broadcast, together with Dr. Nachum Goldmann and Mr. Neumann. It was agreed that a recording should be made of this broadcast.

Mr. Neumann further reported that Judge Levinthal had urged that radio programs on a much larger scale should be arranged. He had further suggested that all the various Zionist groups might join in buying radio time for a year.

With regard to the broadcast which is being arranged for April, on the 20th Anniversary of the United States Congress Resolution approving the establishment of the Jewish National Home in Palestine under British Mandate, Mr. Neumann reported that the suggestion had been made to obtain the services of Mr. Corwin, the radio script writer who had prepared the excellent Bill of Rights broadcast. Mr. James Wise, with whom Mr. Neumann had discussed this program, was of the opinion that Dorothy Backer would be the best person to work with Mr. Corwin. Mr. Wise had also suggested Merrill Dennison, another radio script writer, if Mr. Corwin cannot undertake it. Another name suggested was that of Mr. Phil Cohen, who is also doing some work for Mr. MacLeish.

Mr. Neumann is to discuss the whole question of the Anniversary radio program with Mr. Israel Goldberg.

HEADLINE BOOKS

At the previous meeting of the Public Relations Committee it had been decided that an effort should be made to get either Mr. William Hard or Mr. H. Powell to write the book on "Palestine and The War". Mr. Neumann reported that Mr. Hard had been away on a tour but would return to Washington Wednesday. The earliest he could be seen would be Friday. Mr. Gurfein, who was to have contacted Mr. Powell, had not yet done so since he understood that Mr. Hard was to be approached first.

Mr. Neumann suggested that in the meantime Marie Syrkin should be asked to start with the book on the Arab question. Mrs. Pool and Mrs. Halprin thought that the first book to be published should be written by a non-Jew of note. Dr. Petegorsky pointed out that in the case of a headline book the most important thing was the subject and the fact that the material presented was authoritative, rather than the name of the author. He was of the opinion that the advantage to be gained by having the book prepared by someone who was thoroughly familiar with the subject matter would be much greater than that derived from having the name of an outstanding non-Jew attached to the book. He also stressed the importance of setting several people to work on headline books simultaneously, pointing out that if four people were given assignments two books would result, and if two people were asked to do books we might get none.

Dr. Petegorsky also pointed out that the Penguin people were beginning to publish books in the United States and that it might be possible to have them accept a manuscript.

No decisions were taken.

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ZIONIST YOUTH COMMISSION'S REPRINT OF EXTRACT FROM PEEL COMMISSION REPORT

Mr. Neumann reported that Dr. Bardin had had a reprint made for the Zionist Youth Commission of that part of the Peel Commission report which dealt with the historical survey of Zionism up to the Balfour Declaration. Mr. Neumann felt that this was a very useful pamphlet and he suggested that the Public Relations Committee order it in large quantities. The cost would be $5\frac{1}{2}$ cents per copy.

It was decided to ask Dr. Bardin to hold the type a little longer, pending the study of the pamphlet by other members of the Public Relations Committee.

FUTURE MEETINGS

Since meetings in the afternoon could not be attended by a number of members of the Public Relations Committee, it was decided to revert to the evening meeting, possibly holding an occasional meeting in the afternoon. The next meeting is to take place Monday evening, February 23rd, and the following one a week after that.

Meeting adjourned.

MINUTES OF OFFICE COMMITTEE MEETING
AMERICAN EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR ZIONIST AFFAIRS

Thursday, February 12, 1942

A meeting of the Office Committee was held on Thursday, February 12, at 4 P.M., at 41 East 42nd Street, New York City.

PRESENT: Messrs. Szold (in the chair), Publick, Goldstein, Levinthal, Wertheim ;
Mesdames Halprin, Jacobs and Pool.

Messrs. Ben-Gurion, Goldmann, Lourie and Petegorsky.

RESIGNATION OF MR. RESS

Exchange of correspondence between Mr. Ress and the secretary was read. In a letter dated February 11th Mr. Ress informed the Committee of his resignation.

ASSISTANCE TO MRS. JABOTINSKY

It was reported that Mr. Naiditch, in a letter to the Committee, copy of which had been sent to the Hadassah, had urged that the payments of \$50. per month agreed to by the Committee should be increased to \$100. This was apart from the \$35. monthly provided by the Matz Foundation.

Mr. Ben-Gurion said that he would cable to the Zionist Executive in Jerusalem urging them to allocate a pension of \$100. a month to Mrs. Jabotinsky. He felt that these payments should not be made by the Emergency Committee, which had received funds for specific work not covering allocations of this kind.

Mrs. Pool stated that Hadassah had had the matter before them at their last Board meeting but that they could not spare monies for this purpose.

It was agreed that pending a reply from the Jerusalem Executive, Mr. Ben-Gurion and Mrs. Pool should decide between them how the next payments should be provided.

STATEMENT BY MR. BEN-GURION

Mr. Ben-Gurion read to the Committee the text of a telegram which he had received from Jerusalem in reply to his own cable with reference to the allocation of funds for work in Washington, as follows:-

"EXECUTIVE APPRECIATES IMPORTANCE YOUR SETTLING WASHINGTON APPROVES YOUR PROPOSAL BUT TRUSTS COORDINATION EMERGENCY COMMITTEE ASSURED WOULD APPRECIATE INFORMATION THIS REGARD ALSO VIEW REVISIONIST PUBLICITY REGARDING OPEN CONFLICT BETWEEN YOURSELF AMERICAN FRIENDS SUGGEST USE FAR AS POSSIBLE ZIONIST OFFICES WASHINGTON...."

Mr. Ben-Gurion also reported that the J.T.A. and the Jewish Press Service had issued mischievous reports in regard to his setting up a separate office in Washington, the source of which should be traced. The Revisionist papers had embellished these stories, and from wires received from England and ~~South Africa~~

Trueman

it appeared that a good deal of concern had been aroused abroad on the basis of false information.

Adherence to United Nations Declaration: Mr. Ben-Gurion referred to the notice issued by the State Department with reference to the adherence of various authorities which are not governments to the United Nations Declaration. Mr. Ben-Gurion had cabled the Jewish Agency Executive in London asking whether they propose to take action in this connection, and the same day had received a cable from Dr. Weizmann asking that action be deferred until his arrival in America. Following a consultation with friends whom he (Mr. Ben-Gurion) had seen in Washington, who agreed that the Agency should record its adherence to the Declaration, a formula had been worked out, as follows:

"The Jewish Agency for Palestine notes with satisfaction that the American Government, as the depository of the Declaration of Principles of the United Nations, invites the support of all liberty loving peoples to the principles of that Declaration. I am authorized by the Executive of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, which was established and exists by virtue of Article IV of the Mandate for Palestine, to file with you a statement of adherence to the principles of that Declaration."

The text of this had been cabled to Dr. Weizmann.

In answer to an inquiry, Mr. Ben-Gurion said that the statement of adherence would be signed by Dr. Weizmann and that following transmission to the State Department it would, after a suitable interval, be given publicity.

Mr. Ben-Gurion went on to say that the main purpose of his going to Washington was to study what could be done there and in what way. Apart from the State Department, he had tried to find out whether there were other agencies which might help in shaping policy on Palestine. One such Department was that of Col. Donovan, Co-ordinator of Information. He had already reported on an interview he had had with that Department. He had offered them the cooperation of the Jewish Agency in various directions so far as their work in the Middle East was concerned. Naturally, though, as he had explained, this could not be behind the back of Great Britain. The Department had sent a special man to the Middle East and he was in contact with representatives of the Jewish Agency.

Mr. Ben-Gurion reported further on an interview which he had had with Mr. Bullitt. One point of interest which had emerged was that for the time being the Federation idea was dead. Apparently neither among the Arabs nor among the British was it seriously considered at present.

Mr. Ben-Gurion had also seen Judge Rosenman and at the latter's request had sent him a memorandum on the problem in Palestine.

Discussions with non-Zionists: Mr. Ben-Gurion said that the Zionist movement in this country, with the full approval of the Zionist Executive, was conducting negotiations with the American Jewish Committee. He did not know whether those negotiations would succeed, but he believed that there was a real possibility. Were unity on post-war aims to be achieved with the American Jewish Committee, it would be a matter of the first importance. Mr. Ben-Gurion had received a copy of the Congress Bulletin, the editorial of which made

reference to the American Jewish Committee and the effect of which might be very injurious to any prospects of unity. Directing the Congress were leading members of the Emergency Committee, who must be deemed responsible for such an editorial, even if they had not read it. It was a mischievous article which could do great harm to Zionism. Mr. Ben-Gurion repeated that it would be of the greatest importance if we could get the support of the American Jewish Committee and although the Congress was of course not under the direction of the Emergency Committee, the American Jewish Committee knew that the Congress leaders were on this Committee and he did not see how they could conduct two policies.

This view was generally endorsed by those present.

Dr. Goldmann said that the editorial arose out of an address by Mr. Wertheim, the new chairman of the American Jewish Committee, in which he referred to that body as the power house of moral strength of the Jewry of this country. The editorial was intended to contest the claim of the Committee to be a dominant factor in Jewish life here. Dr. Goldmann agreed, however, that the article was, to say the least, unnecessary.

It was agreed that the matter should be discussed with Mr. Lipsky and Dr. Wise, urging that it was undesirable to go into polemics with the American Jewish Committee at this time. It was also ^{suggested} ~~agreed~~ that the Emergency Committee organizations represented in the Congress should take up the matter there.

The question was discussed as to whether a letter disassociating the Emergency Committee from this editorial be sent to the American Jewish Committee or, alternatively, that Mrs. Pool convey to them informally the feeling of the Emergency Committee that the editorial did not represent the views of the Committee. It was decided that before such action be undertaken the matter be discussed with Mr. Lipsky and Dr. Wise.

Dr. Goldstein pointed out, in conclusion, that Mr. Wertheim, as chairman of the Committee, was undoubtedly facing great difficulties in his own group in regard to the discussions with ourselves, and that it was of real importance that we should do whatever we could to strengthen Mr. Wertheim's hands.

UNITED STATES NORTH AFRICAN MISSIONS

Mrs. Pool reported further on Hadassah's action in regard to the North African missions (see Minutes of Meeting of Jan. 15, 1942). Colonel Chickering and Major Riggs were now in Cairo. The Hadassah representatives in Jerusalem had been informed of the contact established here. Mrs. Pool added that Hadassah was contemplating an offer to the Red Cross to represent them in Palestine.

PAN-ARAB CONFERENCE

Dr. Goldstein stated that reports had appeared in the Yiddish press of a proposed Pan-Arab Conference among the sponsors of which would be Saudi Arabia. Mr. Ben-Gurion said that he had no information at all on this subject and it was agreed that inquiries should be made. It was also agreed that press items of special interest should be circulated to members.

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DARIEN REFUGEES

A report which had been received from Palestine on the deplorable condition of the interned refugees from the Steamship "Darien" was read to the meeting; also a telegram from Dr. Wise to Lord Halifax requesting that he receive a delegation on this subject, and the reply from Mr. Malcolm stating that Lord Halifax was at present away from Washington but that the matter would be put before him on his return. It was reported further that the matter had been taken up with Lord Moyne in London, but that the latter had given a negative reply to the representations made to him for the release of these people, and even to the request that the threat of deportation which continues to hang over them should be withdrawn. There was reason to believe that the situation in Palestine was much more tense even than the report indicated. An additional reason for approaching Lord Halifax had been that it was believed that he had been helpful in obtaining the reversal of the decision with reference to the "Patria" refugees.

The question arose as to whether it was desirable to ask Senators on the American Palestine Committee to intervene. It was urged that everything possible to emphasize the gravity of the matter be done because if, as a result of the existing situation, a crisis developed in Palestine (which was by no means impossible), it might do grave harm to the British cause. Doubt was expressed as to whether the aid of the Senators should be invoked at this time, in view of their official position, but it was finally agreed that the matter be put to Senator Pepper and to Senator Wagner as to whether an intervention on their part with the Embassy would be proper and if the answer was in the affirmative the final decision be left with the officers.

In addition, it was agreed that the intervention of Mr. William Green be sought and also the aid of Mr. Pickett of the Quakers, Mr. James MacDonald and Dr. Atkinson of the World Church Peace Union. Dr. Petegorsky mentioned that Prof. Tawney had come to Washington as an unofficial advisor to the British Embassy on labor matters and might be helpful.

STRUMA REFUGEES

A cable from Dr. Ebner, head of the Rumanian Immigrants Organization in Palestine, describing the terrible plight of the 700 refugees on the Steamship "Struma", which had been stranded outside Istanbul for the past two months, was read. Mr. Lourie reported on the conversations between Dr. Rosenbluth and himself, and Mr. Levitt of the J.D.C., in which it had been suggested that a joint delegation on behalf of the J.D.C. and of the Emergency Committee should interview the Turkish Ambassador with a view to obtaining the right for the to land. Mr. Levitt had pointed out that one difficulty would be that the J.D.C., which had already sent remittances to maintain the refugees on board, might be asked by the Turks to give an indefinite undertaking to maintain these people in Turkey. He did not know whether the J.D.C. would be in a position to give such an undertaking.

It was agreed that representatives of the Emergency Committee should see the Turkish Ambassador on this matter, if possible with J.D.C. representatives, otherwise alone.

LETTER FROM COMMITTEE FOR A JEWISH ARMY

A letter from the Committee for a Jewish Army, dated February 9th, was read, ~~but no action was taken.~~ *It was decided to take no action.*

LETTER FROM MR. VAN PAASSEN TO DR. WISE

The Committee was informed of the contents of a letter from Mr. Pierre van Paassen to the Committee for a Jewish Army announcing his resignation from that body. Copies of this letter had been sent to Dr. Wise and to Miss Juliet Benjamin. Mr. van Paassen had subsequently, in answer to a telegram from Dr. Wise, asked that no publicity be given his letter as he proposed to make a statement.

Judge Levinthal reported that a press reporter had telephoned Mr. van Paassen while he was in Chicago to inquire as to whether he had in fact resigned from the Committee. Mr. Brainin had spoken to the reporter and informed him that Mr. van Paassen had not resigned but that if he did do so it would be only because of lack of time.

Dr. Goldmann referred to a conversation he had had with Mr. Strelsin of the Committee for a Jewish Army. There was now a possibility of getting such people as Strelsin and van Paassen to cooperate with us, but in that case arrangements must be made to enable them to participate actively in the work on behalf of the Jewish army. It was agreed that if Dr. Goldmann's surmise proved correct it would be desirable to establish a sub-committee to take charge, under the general direction of the Emergency Committee, of the Jewish army campaign.

WASHINGTON REPRESENTATIVE RE U.S.A. NEAR-EASTERN MISSIONS

The chairman said that he thought it might be of value to have in Washington a representative whose business it should be, not to lobby in political matters on our behalf, but to inform the Committee of matters that were going on which might be of interest to it. He thought that this might be of sufficient importance to justify the appointment of a full time representative. It was agreed to take the matter under advisement for fuller discussion on another occasion.

KING-CRANE COMMISSION DISCUSSION

Judge Levinthal said that Miss Pearl Franklin had taken part in a discussion at the University of Chicago on the King-Crane Commission, in which several members of that Commission had also participated. Miss Franklin had been alone in supporting the Zionist point of view. In the course of the discussion it had been repeatedly stated by some of the speakers that they were in touch with the State Department and that use was being made of data which had been collected by that Commission. Miss Franklin would be sending him a full report of which he would inform the Committee.

The Chairman remarked that he himself had appeared before the Commission in Palestine and that a more unjudicial body it would be difficult to imagine.

LETTER TO AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

It was decided, in view of a report from Mrs. Pool, that the letter to the American Jewish Committee which it had been agreed to send in reply to Prof. Morris Cohen's letter to the Times, be not sent.

HERALD TRIBUNE REPORT

Reference was made to a report which had appeared in the Herald Tribune January 31st, from which it appeared that Dr. Weizmann had favored the creation of a Jewish unit in the American army. Mr. Ben-Gurion said that this was of course false. Mrs. Pool urged that a letter be sent to the American Jewish Committee informing them that that was so. If the Committee knew that the Zionists themselves were opposed to the idea of a Jewish unit in the American army we might be able to calm much of their fears.

It was agreed finally that Mrs. Pool be authorized to inform the American Jewish Committee of the fact that when the matter was raised in the Emergency Committee the whole Committee was unanimous in its opposition to such a proposal.

MR. VAN PAASSEN'S LETTER IN THE "RECONSTRUCTIONIST"

It was agreed that the question of a suitable reply be left to the officers.

COMMUNICATION FROM DR. WISE

A communication was read from Dr. Wise informing the Committee that to his regret he would probably not be able to attend any meetings for a period of two or three weeks, due to his absence from New York on doctor's orders.

NEXT MEETINGS

It was decided to hold a meeting of the full committee Thursday night, February 19th, at 8.30; the date of the Office Committee meeting to depend on interviews to be arranged in Washington.

ARTHUR LOURIE

MINUTES OF OFFICE COMMITTEE MEETING OF THE AMERICAN EMERGENCY
COMMITTEE FOR ZIONIST AFFAIRS

Thursday, February 19, 1942

A meeting of the Office Committee of the American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs was held on Thursday, February 19th at 1:15 p.m. at 41 East 42nd Street, New York.

PRESENT: Dr. Goldstein (presiding); Mesdames Halprin, Jacobs, Schoolman, Mr. Wertheim.

Dr. Goldmann, Mr. Lourie, Mr. Neumann, Mr. Weisgal.

DELEGATION TO EMBASSY RE "DARIEN" REFUGEES:

As reported at the last meeting, Lord Halifax had been asked to receive a delegation from the Emergency Committee with reference to the refugees interned from the S.S. "Darien." Mr. Malcolm had informed Mr. Neumann when he was in Washington on Wednesday that all that the Ambassador could do, would be to transmit to London such facts as might be submitted to him, as he himself had no information on the subject. It was nevertheless felt desirable that the delegation should call on Lord Halifax and an appointment had been arranged for Tuesday morning, February 24th at 11 A.M.

It was agreed that the delegation consist of Judge Levinthal and Dr. Goldstein. If Dr. Goldstein was unable to participate, Mr. Neumann should take his place.

Mr. Wertheim reported that he had been in touch with Mr. William Green of the American Federation of Labor. The latter had been much moved by the report on the state of the refugees and was planning to communicate with Mr. Bevin.

It was agreed that Mr. Pickett be invited to write to the Ambassador with reference to the refugees. It was also agreed that James MacDonald be asked to join the delegation, and that Mr. Neumann should inquire from Senator Wagner and Senator Pepper as to whether they would find it possible to intervene with the Embassy.

OPEN LETTER FROM MR. MONTOR TO AMBASSADOR:

It was reported that considerable offense had been taken by the Embassy to Mr. Montor's "Open Letter" to Lord Halifax, published in the Jewish Press Service. The opinion was expressed that an intolerable position was created when the Executive Director of an important Zionist body felt himself at liberty to publish letters of this kind without any consultation with the responsible political leaders. It was impossible to separate such an official from the office which he held.

It was agreed that the matter be discussed in the light of this criticism with Mr. Montor personally by Dr. Goldmann. The Chairman suggested further that when a new chairman was elected to the Office Committee, it would be desirable for him to call together the various Zionist administrative officials for a discussion of "Zionist morale."

S.S. "STRUMA" REFUGEES:

Mr. Neumann reported on a conversation he had had with the Turkish Ambassador with reference to the "Struma" refugees. The Ambassador had suggested that this was a matter in which the Red Cross and the Red Crescent should interest themselves. These bodies had international status and backing and there was some possibility in the Ambassador's view that their intervention might be effective. It was agreed that the Joint Distribution Committee be informed of this conversation.

Mr. Neumann had also had a talk on Zionism with the Ambassador; he had found the latter far from well-informed on the development of the Jewish National Home and in general negative in his approach.

JEWISH ARMY CAMPAIGN:

Mr. Neumann reported on various action which had been taken as follows:

1. Reply by Dr. Wise to the "Times" editorial
2. The Carnegie Hall meeting
3. Publication of telegrams of support in response to Senator Wagner's telegram
4. Mr. Shertok's statement in the "Times", publication of which was due to action taken by officers of the Committee
5. Editorials and articles in the papers of Mr. Frank Gannett, as a result of the initiative of Rabbi Philip Bernstein.
6. There had also been a good many references to the Jewish Army matter by radio commentators including Messrs. Hershey, Steele, Boake Carter, Wythe Williams, Albert Warner and the Trans-Radio News.
7. A full kit of information material had been prepared by the Public Relations Department and distributed to the organizations.

Mr. Neumann suggested that it might be worth while to try to arrange a nation-wide hook-up on the Jewish Army subject. The time for such a program probably could be obtained gratis though expenditure might have to be incurred for speakers. These should, if possible be recognized military experts.

It was agreed that a sum not exceeding \$500.00 be authorized for the purpose of this broadcast.

COMMITTEE FOR A JEWISH ARMY:

Dr. Goldmann said that in consequence of a meeting he had had the night before with members of the Society for the Advancement of Judaism, it was his impression that not enough had been done to make clear to the public that the Zionist organizations were not connected with the Committee for a Jewish Army. The letters sent out by Hadassah and the Zionist Organization of America to their key people were not sufficient from this point of view.

It was agreed that a statement be prepared for publication, on behalf of the Emergency Committee, in the New Palestine and other Zionist publications, and possibly the general Jewish press, to the effect that in answer to inquiries that had been received it was desired to make clear that the Zionist bodies were making no appeal for funds in connection with their campaign on behalf of a Jewish military force.

EMERGENCY COMMITTEE RELEASES:

Mr. Neumann drew attention to the fact that the official Zionist publications were not always ready to respond to requests for the publication of important Emergency Committee releases; thus - the editor of the New Palestine had not been able to promise him that the "Call to Zionists" would appear in the current number. The Yiddish press was being very cooperative as far as the Emergency Committee was concerned. It had given excellent publicity to the "Call to Zionists."

MR. VAN PAASSEN AND THE JEWISH ARMY COMMITTEE:

Correspondence between Dr. Wise and Mr. Van Paassen on the Jewish Army Committee was reported to the Committee. Mr. Van Paassen had sent a letter to the Jewish Army Committee informing them of his resignation which was stated to be final and irrevocable. It was now learned that Mr. Van Paassen had withdrawn his resignation. It was agreed that the secretary communicate with Mr. Van Paassen with reference to the latter's allegation that the official Zionist bodies had informed Lord Halifax of their opposition to the raising of a Jewish Army.

Mrs. Halprin reported on a conversation that Mr. Ben-Gurion and herself had had with Mr. Strelsin.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH MR. GROSSMAN:

Correspondence with Mr. Grossman regarding his membership on the Committee for a Jewish Army was reported.

It was agreed that the matter be reported to the full committee with a view to its being referred back to the Office Committee for further action.

LETTER FROM MRS. POOL TO AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE:

A revised draft of a letter from Mrs. Pool to Mr. Maurice Wertheim of the American Jewish Committee with reference to the report in the Herald Tribune regarding a Jewish unit in the American army, was read and approved.

PAYMENT OF AUDITOR:

It was agreed that Mr. Zvi Levavy be appointed auditor to the Committee at a fee of \$100.00 for the 1941 audit, and of \$40. per quarterly audit for 1942.

A. Lourie

CONFIDENTIAL

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MINUTES OF MEETING OF THE OFFICE COMMITTEE OF THE AMERICAN
EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR ZIONIST AFFAIRS

February 26, 1942

A regular meeting of the Office Committee of the American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs was held on Thursday, February 26, 1942 at 41 East 42nd Street,

PRESENT: Judge Levinthal (presiding) Mrs. Epstein, Mrs. Jacobs, Mrs. Shulman; Dr. Goldstein, Mr. Wertheim, Mr. Szold (late).

Mr. Ben-Gurion

Mr. Lourie, Mr. Neumann

REPORT OF INTERVIEW WITH LORD HALIFAX

Judge Levinthal reported on the interview with Lord Halifax in connection with the release of the prisoners of the "Darien" from internment camps at Athlit. The Emergency Committee had been represented by Judge Levinthal, Dr. Goldstein and Mr. Neumann. They had presented a memorandum setting forth the facts in the case. (memorandum attached).

The Ambassador seemed to be impressed with the facts as presented and promised to make a faithful report to his government. He said that he did not fix policy, but that he would communicate with London at once. It had been pointed out that the labor shortage in Palestine should be considered in addition to the humanitarian reasons for releasing the Darien prisoners. Also that 135 prisoners from the Patria had enlisted with the British Army as soon as they were released, and that the first casualty at Tobruk was one of these prisoners. In the course of the conversation, it was indicated by the Zionist representatives that pending a reply from London nothing would be done to give publicity to the matter.

S.S. "STRUMA"

The question of protest action in regard to the S.S. "Struma" which sank off the coast of Istanbul with 750 refugees from pogrom in Rumania, bound for Palestine, was discussed from the following angles: would publicity in this case be regarded as a breach of faith by the British Embassy, inasmuch as in the course of the interview on the "Darien" the delegation had committed itself to withholding publicity critical of the behaviour of the Palestine administration in regard to the refugees. On the other hand American Jewry could hardly be expected to maintain silence in the face of this shocking tragedy. Mr. Neumann said that it had been indicated by the Embassy (in a conversation between Mr. Berlin and Mr. Lourie) that the Embassy would regard an attack on the basis of the "Struma" as a "declaration of war" between them and ourselves and we must be prepared to face this.

Mr. Ben-Gurion emphasized that the Darien and the Struma were identical cases. He felt strongly that any undertaking given the British Ambassador had to be kept and said nothing be done which might be construed as a breach of faith. However, he said, the matter cannot be passed over in silence, not because we are Jews or Zionists but because we are human beings. America, he asserted, must be considered equally guilty with Great Britain, as one of the most powerful of the United Nations. He referred to the forthright statement issued by the Jewish Agency in London and urged that Americans appeal to their own government in the name of common humanity. He urged further that messages be sent to the Prime Minister of

England and to the President of the United States expressing the indignation and horror of Americans that such incidents as the Struma and the Darien could be allowed to happen in the middle of a war being fought for the principles of democracy and freedom.

This recommendation was accepted.

Mr. Ben-Gurion further recommended that a letter be sent to Lord Halifax informing him that since the interview with him, news of the sinking of the Struma had been received. Reference should be made to the statement of the Jewish Agency published in England. Lord Halifax should be told that the feelings of American Jewry are so aroused, that it is imperative that he communicate with His Government immediately urging them to order the release of the prisoners of the Darien.

This recommendation was unanimously accepted.

Mr. Wertheim reported that the Poale Zion was calling a meeting for Sunday and he urged that the Committee should call a meeting under its own auspices.

JEWISH ARMY COMMITTEE

The following motion was unanimously carried: that a statement be issued to the press stating that the Emergency Committee has no connection with the "Jewish Army Committee". Also, that it is opposed to the collection of funds for the army campaign. Moreover, the work of the "Jewish Army Committee" does not help, but on the contrary can be very harmful to the cause of the Jewish army.

Judge Levinthal was obliged to leave early and vacated the chair. After a brief adjournment the meeting reassembled under the chairmanship of Mr. Szold.

REPRESENTATIVE IN WASHINGTON

The Chairman reported on a recent visit to Washington by Mr. Baroway of the PEC. The PEC were interested to assist Palestine Potash in obtaining the services of an expert on the production of magnesium of which there were vast quantities in the waters of the Dead Sea. In present circumstances it was extremely difficult to find such a man. In the course of his inquiries Mr. Baroway had made a number of contacts of interest and importance from the Palestine point of view. In describing some of these Mr. Szold emphasized the urgent need for a man in Washington who should keep in touch with developments which might concern our work in Palestine and in this connection both Mr. Szold and Mr. Neumann recommended that Mr. E. be approached.

INTERVIEW WITH SUMNER WELLES

Mr. Neumann reported that he and Dr. Nahum Goldmann when in Washington the previous day had seen Mr. Welles and in the course of their conversation had expressed the desire of Zionists to be of help to the war effort in the Near East. Mr. Welles had thereupon arranged an appointment for Mr. Neumann for the week-end with General Lee, head of the Intelligence Branch of the War Department.

MINUTES OF MEETING OF OFFICE COMMITTEE
AMERICAN EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR ZIONIST AFFAIRS

Tuesday, March 3, 1942.

A meeting of the Office Committee of the American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs was held on March 3, 1942 at 2:30 p.m. at 41 E. 42nd Street.

PRESENT:

Dr. Silver (presiding), Messrs. Bublick, Goldstein, Wertheim; Mesdames Halprin and Pool.

Dr. Goldmann, Mr. Lourie, Mr. Neumann.

"STRUMA" DISASTER

In accordance with the action of the previous meeting a cable to Prime Minister Churchill of England had been drafted and was submitted for the approval of the Committee. The cable was accepted in substance and authorization was given for sending it, subject to further editing. A similar cable is to be sent to the President of the United States.

It was further decided that as Dr. Silver is leaving for London, it would be well to have his name in addition to that of Dr. Wise signed to the cable. It was agreed that Dr. Silver's name as Chairman of the meeting be included.

Mrs. Halprin requested the opinion of the Committee on the proposal of Hadassah to send a separate cable concerning the children on the Struma who were entitled to Youth Aliyah certificates. The Committee authorized Hadassah to send a separate cable on behalf of its National Youth Aliyah Committee, at its discretion.

With regard to further action, there was a discussion on the desirability of:

1. Holding a large mass meeting, or alternatively a memorial service.
2. Arranging for a formal delegation to call on the Acting Secretary of State to present a memorandum requesting that the United States Government intervene with Great Britain with a view to obtaining a change in policy on the part of the Palestine administration to avoid any repetition of the Struma disaster.

The latter proposal was unanimously accepted.

As regards a meeting, it was resolved that there be no mass meeting in New York, but that an impressive religious service be held - if possible in Temple Emanu-El, and if that could not be secured, in Temple B'nai Jeshurun. In New York the question of a mass meeting should be considered again only after the memorial meeting had taken place. In addition, the leading communities throughout the country are to be informed of the memorial meeting, and requested to hold similar meetings. Reference may be made in the material to be sent out, to the possibility of arranging public meetings if the local communities should so prefer, but without making any recommendation in that connection.

Mr. Neumann was authorized to proceed with the arrangements and program for the memorial meeting.

DR. SILVER'S TRIP TO LONDON

It was reported that Dr. Silver is leaving for London on Friday to open the Keren Hayesod campaign there and to represent the Zionist cause in discussion with English political leaders. Dr. Silver said that he would be glad to have any instructions or suggestions. Mrs. Pool suggested :

- ✓ 1. That Rabbi Silver make every effort to counteract reports made in London by Rabbi Lazon.
2. That he ascertain what sort of studies are being made in London in regard to Zionist Peace Aims and that he bring back whatever material he could secure.

INDEPENDENT JEWISH PRESS SERVICE

Dr. Goldmann reported that he had discussed with Mr. Montor his open letter to Lord Halifax which had appeared in the Independent Jewish Press Service. Mr. Montor had taken the position that he had a right to publish any articles he chose in his personal capacity. Moreover, he pointed out that the Emergency Committee had never taken any interest in the Independent Press Service. It was decided that press releases issued by Mr. Montor allegedly in his personal capacity were to be discussed by the UPA inasmuch as he was employed by them.

The Palcor statement under a London date-line on Viscount Cranborne was discussed. There was good reason to believe that the statement issued here gave a wrong impression of the new Colonial Secretary. Moreover, the telegram had apparently been concocted locally and had not come from London. It was decided that Mr. Ben-Gurion be asked to write a letter to the Palcor Office requesting that items of a political nature be communicated to a responsible officer of the Emergency Committee before publication.

DR. GOLDMANN'S REPORT

Dr. Goldmann reported that he and Mr. Neumann had a discussion with the Acting Secretary of State in which the following matters were discussed:

- a.) The visit to Lord Halifax on the release of the Darlen internees.
- b.) The attitude of the United States Government to a Jewish Army. On this point Mr. Welles said that the matter was to be judged on the basis of military rather than political considerations and should be considered with the United States Military authorities before any position is taken.
- c.) The capacity of Palestine to absorb the bulk of the post-war Jewish emigration from Europe. Mr. Welles, with all his admiration for what had been achieved in Palestine, expressed his skepticism at the possibility of absorbing there perhaps 5,000,000 refugees. He was informed that the studies of the Institute of Jewish Affairs indicated that there would not be more than one and a half million Jews who would go to Palestine from post-war Europe. The Under-Secretary said that in any event the more Palestine could absorb the better. But he believed that the possibility of other countries should be investigated. A memorandum on the findings of the Institute of Jewish Affairs is to be sent to him.
- d.) Pan-Arab Conference. The Under-Secretary said that if any negotiations were being carried on in this direction this government would be informed and he

would have communicated in that connection with the responsible Zionist authorities. However, at the moment, he did not know of any such negotiations but would inquire.

e) Mr. Welles was informed of the wish of the Zionists to be helpful in any way possible in the war-effort in the Near East, and as an instance, important intelligence work which the Jewish Agency had carried out for the British authorities was mentioned. Mr. Welles was much interested and said he would arrange for Mr. Neumann to see the right people in the War Department.

MR. NEUMANN'S REPORT

Mr. Neumann reported on an interview he had with Mr. Bullitt. A separate note has been made on his conversation.

At the instance of Mr. Sumner Welles, Mr. Neumann subsequently saw Colonel Cunningham of the Chief of Staff's office of the Military Intelligence Service who had just returned from West Africa. He found him interested and sympathetic and discussed with him various possibilities for cooperation.

Mr. Neumann further reported that he had met with Mr. Stone, one of the editors of the "Nation" in Washington who had said he would try to have an editorial on the "Struma" in the "Nation" and possibly an article in the "Free World". He may, if he has time, also prepare one of the "Headline Books" for the Public Relations Department.

Mr. Neumann also talked with Pierre Cot who is very sympathetic to the Zionist program.

ARAB-JEWISH RELATIONS

Mrs. Pool referred to the fact that some time ago a special Committee on Arab-Jewish Relations had been appointed by the Emergency Committee but it had not been functioning. A Committee to study this problem had been set up by Hadassah under the chairmanship of Mrs. Jacobs. However, Hadassah believed that this was not a function of any one organization but should be undertaken by the Emergency Committee. She reported that Dr. Wise, with whom she had discussed the matter in Florida, agreed with her and she asked that the matter be brought up for discussion at the next meeting.

MEDICAL ASSISTANCE IN SYRIA

Mrs. Halprin reported that the Bikur Cholim in Damascus had asked Hadassah for medical supplies. A recent reply from the British High Command in Syria had informed Hadassah that its generous offer to send medical supplies and personnel to Syria was very much appreciated, but it would be impossible for Jewish doctors from Palestine to secure entry visas to Syria at this time.

PERSONAL STATEMENT BY MR. NEUMANN

Mr. Neumann said he had informed Dr. Wise some time ago that he would be unable to continue his work with the Emergency Committee under existing conditions. No action had been taken in regard to his request and he had now to inform the Committee that he would like to be relieved of his duties within a month. The Chairman expressed the keen regret of those present that circumstances should have arisen such as to cause Mr. Neumann to reach the decision of which he had informed the Committee. It was agreed that the sub-committee consisting of Mrs. Halprin, Dr. Goldstein and Dr. Goldmann should meet with Mr. Neumann as soon as possible in order to arrive at some definite proposal for submission to Mr. Neumann and to the Committee.

A.L.

MINUTES OF OFFICE COMMITTEE OF THE AMERICAN EMERGENCY COMMITTEE
FOR ZIONIST AFFAIRS

March 11, 1942

A meeting of the Office Committee of the American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs was held on Wednesday, March 11th at 4:30 P.M.

PRESENT: Judge Levinthal (presiding) Mesdames Halprin and Pool; Messrs. Publick, Greenberg, Szold, Wertheim, Wise.

Messrs. Ben-Gurion, Goldmann, Neumann, Weisgal

"STRUMA" DELEGATION

Dr. Goldmann reported on an informal meeting which had been held that morning with the representatives of the American Jewish Committee and the Jewish Labor Committee to discuss a memorandum to be submitted to the State Department on behalf of the Emergency Committee, the American Jewish Congress, the American Jewish Committee, the B'nai B'rith and the Jewish Labor Committee, requesting the government of the United States to use its good offices with the British government to the end that Palestine be opened to Jewish refugees, and a repetition of the "Struma" disaster avoided:

1. There was general agreement on the tenor of the draft memorandum submitted. But the suggestion was made that a letter, which might be published, be prepared, and a memorandum attached.
2. The proposal had been made that the delegation to Mr. Welles be composed of one member of each organization. Dr. Wise and Dr. Goldmann, on behalf of the Emergency Committee objected to this arrangement, and it was agreed that two members of the Emergency Committee, Mr. Wertheim of the American Jewish Committee, a designee each from B'nai B'rith, the American Jewish Congress and the Jewish Labor Committee compose the delegation.

After Dr. Goldmann's report there was considerable discussion on the following points:

- a. Representation of all parties on the delegation.
- b. The inclusion, as a matter of principle, of a woman in the delegation.

The opinion was expressed that the composition of each delegation must be considered on its merits - it is not always possible for each party to be represented; sometimes, further, it is important that a woman be part of the delegation, sometimes it is not. In this particular case, the feeling was that a woman should be part of the delegation, not representing Hadassah as a party, but representing American Zionist women. However, the actual designation of the additional member of the Emergency Committee is to be left to Dr. Wise, who is to head the delegation.

Mr. Publick recorded the dissatisfaction of Mizrahi at not being included in the delegation.

MASS MEETING RE "STRUMA"

Mr. Neumann reported the program for the mass meeting in Mecca Temple. The following are the scheduled speakers: Senator Johnson of Colorado, Professor Niebuhr

Mrs. Lowdermilk, Rabbi Heller, Mr. Ben-Gurion and Rabbi Brod of Antwerp. Dr. Wise is to preside. Mr. Neumann said that he had been asked to include a representative of Hadassah and the parties in the program.

Mr. Bublick recorded the protest of Mizrachi that Rabbi Brod had been selected to represent orthodox Jewry without previous consultation with Mizrachi. It was explained to Mr. Bublick that Rabbi Brod had been selected, not as a representative of orthodox Jewry, but as a refugee and recent arrival from Europe.

Dr. Wise pleaded that the Emergency Committee consider urgent political problems and not waste its time considering petty matters concerned with party rivalries.

It was agreed that Mr. Neumann be instructed to proceed with the program of the meeting and to include among the speakers a Zionist woman representative.

Mr. Neumann further reported that:

- a. The sub-committee for contacting clergymen had been set up and was functioning.
- b. Arrangements were being made to have a number of Senators protest against the Struma disaster from the floor of the Senate.
- c. A cable had been sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury asking him, as a Christian clergyman, to protest against the Struma incident.
- d. A memorial meeting in Temple B'nai Jesurun is being arranged for Sunday. Mr. Neumann was authorized to proceed with the arrangements.

POLITICAL COMMITTEE

Mr. Ben-Gurion said that America was becoming more and more the important factor in this war, and that not only the present, but the future of Palestine was involved in the political action taken now. He did not believe that the present set-up of the political work of the Emergency Committee was satisfactory. Apart from this there were certain instances where political action had been taken where consultation with himself might have been desirable but where he had not even been informed as to what was pending until afterwards. He had cooperated with the Emergency Committee, and he requested that it also cooperate with him, as a member of the Executive. He recommended that a small body be set up for political work, representative of American Zionism as a single unit, without regard to parties, which together with the members of the Zionist Executive, meet and work daily. He suggested that Dr. Wise as chairman of the Emergency Committee, and he, as chairman of the Executive be empowered to appoint a sub-committee to bring in recommendations for the organization of such a political committee. The present lack of coordination within the Emergency Committee, and between the Emergency Committee and the Executive was injurious to Zionist interests.

Mrs. Halprin recalled the decision to set up a political steering committee, to work with Mr. Ben-Gurion but said that this would not be adequate for the work that had to be done. She supported Mr. Ben-Gurion's suggestion for an active political committee.

It was unanimously agreed that the Chairman of the Emergency Committee and the Chairman of the Executive be authorized to appoint a sub-committee and bring back recommendations for the setting up of a political committee to direct all political work.

CHAIRMAN OF THE OFFICE COMMITTEE

The suggestion was made that the election of a Chairman of the Office Committee and the personnel of the political committee be left until the arrival of Dr. Weizmann. However, the consensus of opinion was that to bring Dr. Weizmann into a discussion of personnel would be a great disservice to him and that it would be well to have this matter settled so that he could work with a fully organized committee when he came.

Judge Levinthal was unanimously elected as chairman of the Office Committee.

The question of electing someone to serve in his absence was tabled.

DR. WEIZMANN'S VISIT

It was agreed that at the end of April a three day conference of all American Zionists be called to discuss purely political matters with Dr. Weizmann. In connection with this conference, there is to be a dinner, as proposed by the ZOA Administrative meeting. Zionists from Canada, Mexico and South America are also to be invited.

The Chairman was empowered to appoint a committee to bring in specific recommendations for arrangements and plans for the conference and dinner.

MEETING

It was agreed that the next meeting of the Office Committee be held on Friday, March 13 at 1:30.

A.L.

MINUTES OF MEETING OF OFFICE COMMITTEE

AMERICAN EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR ZIONIST AFFAIRS

Friday, March 13, 1942

A meeting of the Office Committee of the Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs was held on Friday, March 13, 1942 at 2:00 p.m.

PRESENT: Dr. Wise (presiding), Mrs. Halprin, Mrs. Pool, Mr. Bublick, Dr. Goldstein, Mr. Greenberg, Mr. Lipsky, Mr. Szold.

Mr. Ben-Gurion, Dr. Goldmann, Mr. Lourie, Mr. Neumann, Mr. Weisgal.

MEETING AT MECCA TEMPLE

There was general discussion on the meeting which had been held the night before in Mecca Temple in connection with the sinking of the Struma.

It was noted that no newspaper had published a news item on the meeting, and it was agreed that Mr. Neumann's department should try to ascertain the reason for the boycotting of the meeting by the entire metropolitan press, though reporters had attended the meeting. Mrs. Halprin stated that the fact that the meeting was only moderately well attended despite very considerable advertising contradicted the statements made by various members of the committee that the "Jüdische Gass" is clamoring for mass meetings; in any case too many such meetings had been held in the past months for effectiveness. Mr. Lipsky and Mr. Wertheim pointed to the successful meeting organized by the Poale Zion a few days after the disaster, as indicating ^{that} the delay in holding the Mecca Temple meeting had dissipated to some extent the spontaneous desire of many people for an immediate public reaction.

Mr. Neumann reported that editorials on the sinking of the "Struma" had appeared in the New York Times and in the "Nation."

ZIONIST CONFERENCE

Mr. Weisgal reported the receipt of the following letter from Judge Levinthal.

"Dear Meyer,

Subject to the approval of the Office Committee of the Emergency, I should like to ask you to take charge of the administrative work in connection with the proposed convening of a three-day Conference of Zionists of America to be held some time in April after the arrival of Dr. Chaim Weizmann.

In connection with this Conference, it is proposed to have a function in honor of Dr. Weizmann under the auspices of the Zionist Organization of America. It is desired that the latter function be ^{one} culminating event in connection with the All-Zionist Conference.

A Policy Committee will be appointed that will cooperate with you in the arrangement of this Conference.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed)

Louis E. Levinthal

There was some discussion as to the procedure adopted by Judge Levinthal. It was pointed out that Judge Levinthal had written the letter just before he had left for a tour of the country on behalf of the ZOA and had not had time to bring the matter personally before the meeting as he would otherwise have done. Mr. Neumann took exception to the procedure on the ground that Mr. Weisgal had been delegated to arrange a conference which properly belonged under the Public Relations department without previous consultation with or approval of the Committee. He said that such methods could lead only to organizational confusion.

It was emphasized that Judge Levinthal had not appointed Mr. Weisgal to arrange the Conference, but had suggested it, "subject to the approval" of the Office Committee. Mr. Weisgal said, further, that he did not seek this job, but had been pressed for several weeks to undertake the arrangement for a dinner to be given to Dr. Weizmann and he had refused to undertake this unless he at the same time had complete charge of the arrangements for the conference, with which the function for Dr. Weizmann was to be associated. He said that if the Office Committee endorsed Judge Levinthal's recommendation, he would be glad to serve provided it were understood that he be in complete charge of all arrangements, and that any committee which might be appointed be considered a policy committee only, and not a working committee.

After considerable discussion, the Office Committee authorized Mr. Weisgal to take charge of a three-day Zionist Conference and dinner to Dr. Weizmann. It was further agreed that a committee consisting of one representative of each of the four organizations be appointed to lay down the policy of the Conference.

There was further discussion on the question of the dinner to Dr. Weizmann, as to whether it should be held under the auspices of the ZOA or under the auspices of the Emergency Committee which is to call the Conference. Mr. Szold pointed out that the ZOA Executive committee had already decided to give a dinner to Dr. Weizmann at which it was hoped to raise a considerable amount of money. He believed that no change should be made in these plans without consultation with Judge Levinthal.

Mr. Bublick, Mrs. Pool and Mr. Wertheim all expressed themselves as having no objection to the dinner being held in connection with the needs of the ZOA, provided the Conference were called under the auspices of the Emergency Committee, as representing all Zionist parties.

The following decisions were made:

1. A three-day conference of Zionists of America is to be held some time at the end of April primarily to discuss political problems with Dr. Weizmann. The conference shall be called "Conference of the Zionist Organizations of the United States". Members from Canada, Mexico, etc. are to be invited.
2. It shall be called under the auspices of the American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs.
3. In connection with the Conference a banquet to Dr. Weizmann shall be arranged under the auspices of the ZOA.
4. Mr. Weisgal was authorized to secure Dr. Weizmann's consent to these suggestions by cable.

MR. NEUMANN

It was recalled that some time ago the praesidium of the Office Committee had been requested to discuss the matter of adjusting Mr. Neumann's salary. In view of the fact that this committee had neglected to bring in a recommendation, the committee recently appointed to consider the status of Mr. Neumann, now recommended that he be given \$1,000 which shall be deemed to cover the adjustment for the last 12 months. This recommendation was ~~was~~ accepted. It was understood that this adjustment does not affect any future arrangements for Mr. Neumann's salary.

ARAB-JEWISH RELATIONS COMMITTEE

Mrs. Pool proposed that the Arab-Jewish Relations Committee of Hadassah should properly be a committee of the Emergency Committee, which should take over responsibility for it.

Dr. Goldmann said that he would be in favor of such a committee of the Emergency Committee, but wanted the personnel and the terms of reference defined.

Mrs. Pool said that the committee, under the chairmanship of Mrs. Jacobs, included in its membership Professor Salo Baron and Prof. Oscar Janowsky; Dr. I.B. Berkson, Dr. Halkin, Dr. Schloessinger; Mrs. Pool, Mrs. D. Greenberg, Mrs. Halprin and Mrs. Rosensohn. Thus far the terms of reference had been:

1. The collection of all available material on the subject in America and Palestine, and
2. the analysis of the various relevant documents.

Miss Lotta Levensohn had been engaged in Palestine to secure material and Mr. Moshe Perlman had been engaged to do research work in New York. The budget allotted was \$4,000 annually, but this was not sufficient to cover the needs of the committee,

It was unanimously agreed that a committee consisting of Mr. Ben-Gurion, Mrs. Halprin and Dr. Goldmann discuss the terms of reference with Mrs. Jacobs, the chairman of the Arab-Jewish Relations Committee of Hadassah.

It was further understood that if this committee should come under the aegis of the Emergency Committee, nothing that has been done heretofore by the Committee shall be considered binding upon the Emergency Committee, so far as the Emergency Committee is concerned, the sub-committee on Arab-Jewish Relations would in effect begin de novo. In addition, it was agreed that no public statement of any kind be issued by the Arab-Jewish Relations Committee without the approval of the Emergency Committee.

Mrs. Pool was asked to request her Board to continue the \$4,000 subsidy allocated for the Arab-Jewish Relations Committee, in the event that it be taken over by the Emergency Committee.

ECONOMIC ADVISER IN WASHINGTON

Mr. Szold moved that authority be given to employ Mr. Rehaviah Lewin-Epstein for economic work in Washington and New York for six months at a salary which should be on the basis of \$100 per week, if he were in New York. This does

not preclude the possibility that Mr. Lewin-Epstein be used also for political work, but Mr. Levin-Epstein is to be retained primarily for economic work, and securing information from Washington to be used by us.

Mr. Neumann said he had hoped that Mr. Lewin-Epstein might at any rate for the time being serve as a general representative of the Committee in Washington on all matters, since such a person had not yet been engaged.

Mr. Szold said that he wanted it thoroughly understood that the appointment of Mr. Lewin-Epstein for economic work in Washington in no way superseded or conflicted with the necessity for having a man therefor public relations and political work.

The Committee authorized the employment of Mr. Lewin-Epstein on the basis outlined.

The date of the next meeting was set for Wednesday, March 18 at 4:30.

Arthur Lourie.

Louis E. Levinthal
606 City Hall
Philadelphia

March 13, 1942

His Excellency
His Britannic Majesty's Ambassador, Viscount Halifax,
The British Embassy
Washington, D.C.

Dear Lord Halifax:

In acknowledging receipt of your letter of March 4th, I wish to thank you for cabling to London concerning the release of the "Darien" refugees. We are sincerely grateful to you also for your personal expression of sympathy for the victims of the "Struma" disaster.

We are keenly aware of the importance of the point made in the concluding phrases of your letter. In the present struggle with the Nazis it is indeed of vital concern that no rift should be allowed to develop among the forces aligned against them. I can assure you further that as Jews we are all deeply anxious to make a maximum contribution to the joint effort. That was true no less of the men and women on the "Struma" who had hoped not only to find in Palestine a refuge, but also the opportunity to play their part in the struggle against their oppressors. One hundred and fifty survivors of the ill-starred "Patria" are at this moment fighting as soldiers against the Nazis. May I say, however, that insofar as your letter failed to indicate any appreciation of the reasons for the Jewish reaction, it was deeply painful to me?

Suppose that English men, women and children, fortunately escaping from the Japanese atrocities at Hong Kong (and I can assure you that the massacres in Bucharest, in Jassy, in the Bucovina and in Bessarabia were no whit less terrible) were after weeks of perilous travel to have arrived at last, at the end of their resources, in the Dutch East Indies, only to be turned away to certain death because they had not complied with the immigration formalities - would not the whole British world have cried out in horror and in anger? And for the "Struma" refugees, Palestine was not just Java, it was the oneland to which, in their innocence, they hoped they could go as of right.

That is why men like Dr. Weizmann, like the heads of the Zionist Executive in Jerusalem, like the leaders of the movement here, who have time and again shown their admiration for and, indeed devotion to Britain, reacted with such bitterness to the action of the Palestine Administration and of the Colonial Office in refusing entry to the "Struma" refugees.

Obviously, the primary responsibility for the fate of the refugees lies with the Nazis. In the resolution of the Administrative Council of the Zionist Organization of America, at its meeting in Philadelphia on March 8th, a copy of which I enclose, that point is emphasized. The fact remains, however, that but for the attitude of the Palestine Administration these people might still be alive; and if indignation against the British authorities is high, it is because Britain - which is dedicated in the fight for a better world to the wiping out of Nazi tyranny - cannot be measured by the same standards as that tyranny itself.

We American Zionists certainly realize that confidence in the British Government is essential to the morale of the American people in the war in which we are engaged as allies. But we cannot ignore the fact that the task of maintaining that confidence and of inspiring faith in the oldest democratic country in Europe must be founded in the first place on the action of the British Government itself.

With renewed assurance of my personal esteem, I am,

Faithfully yours,

(Signed) Louis E. Levinthal

MINUTES OF OFFICE COMMITTEE MEETING
AMERICAN EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR ZIONIST AFFAIRS

Wednesday, March 18, 1942.

A meeting of the Office Committee of the American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs was held on Wednesday afternoon, March 18 at 4:30 at 41 E. 42nd St.

PRESENT: Dr. Wise (presiding), Messrs. Bublick, Greenberg, Goldstein, Lipsky, Wertheim; Mesdames Halprin and Shulman.

Messrs. Ben-Gurion, Goldmann; Lourie, Neumann, Weisgal.

JEWISH ARMY

Mr. Neumann reported that pursuant to the statement in opposition to a Jewish Army issued by 57 reform rabbis he had secured a contrary statement from Rabbi James Heller, President of the Central Conference of American Rabbis; he had also circularized 1,000 rabbis, 300 of whom had already responded indicating their endorsement of the Jewish Army. It was agreed that announcement of the support of these rabbis be given publicity through paid advertising space in the New York Times on Friday morning and in the New York Herald-Tribune the following Monday. The names of all rabbis endorsing the Jewish Army are to appear in the advertisement. The advertisements should be of the same size as those on the "Struma" meeting.

REFUGEE ALLOWANCES

It was agreed that the \$1300 originally allocated for the transportation of refugees and refunded by Thomas Cook & Son should be used as part of a fund for monthly allowances to general Zionist refugees in this country.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON STATUS OF MR. NEUMANN

Mrs. Halprin reported the following:

a) An adjustment in Mr. Neumann's salary for the past year had been made by the Office Committee at a previous meeting and that matter was closed.

b) Mr. Neumann's salary henceforth should be at the rate of \$8,000 per year.

c) As regards Mr. Neumann's status in the committee, the question had arisen as to whether Mr. Neumann should be appointed director of the Committee. Mrs. Halprin drew the distinction between the control of policy which would include the planning of program and which should be in the hands of a political committee, and the Public Relations work which was in fact the biggest job which the committee had to face. For this latter work Mr. Neumann was uniquely qualified and the recommendation of the committee was that he should continue as director of Public Relations. Naturally there were points at which political action and public relations overlapped and these questions would be adjusted in consultation.

Mr. Neumann stated that as he understood it, the sub-committee had not reached any clear decision and was not in a position to make a definite recommendation. Thus, one suggestion had been that he should be Executive Director; a second that he be jointly responsible with Dr. Goldmann for carrying out political action decided on by the Committee. Dr. Goldstein also stated that in his view there had been no clear decision on the part of the sub-committee.

Dr. Goldmann stated that at its meeting on March 11, the Office Committee had decided that the Chairman of the Office Committee and the Chairman of the Zionist Executive should together make recommendations to the Office Committee for the setting up of a political committee. In the light of that action of the Office Committee the whole situation had to be viewed differently. Mrs. Halprin agreed and stated that she had pointed out at the last meeting of the sub-committee on Mr. Neumann's status that the setting up of a special political committee put the matter on a different plane. Mr. Neumann should be urged to continue in charge of Public Relations. Referring to Dr. Goldstein's statement, Mrs. Halprin said that the sub-committee had in any case been against the appointment of Mr. Neumann as Executive Director.

Mr. Neumann said that there were three separate questions involved:

- a) Public Relations
- b) Political work
- c) General Executive Direction of the work of the Committee.

Mr. Neumann said that when he had first come to the Emergency Committee he had thought that Dr. Goldmann would be the Executive in charge of the office. In fact, however, there was no Executive Director responsible for carrying out the instructions and action of the Office Committee. The result was that the work of the Committee was not organized rationally and that there were a series of irritations, deficiencies and delays. He said that even if he were to agree that his work should be confined solely to Public Relations, the situation existing because of a lack of an Executive Director would still have to be remedied. Moreover, he did not know where to draw the line between Political work and public relations work. For example, at the moment he was trying to get members of the Senate to speak from the floor on the Struma disaster. This was definitely Public Relations work but it was also Political work.

However, all of these problems might be ironed out, but something else had come up which altered the situation radically: The Chairman of the Office Committee, supported by the Office Committee, had appointed Mr. Weisgal to organize the three day conference of American Zionists without previous consultation with the Director of the Public Relations department. This conference was definitely a public relations enterprise and the Chairman of the Office Committee had simply chosen to take the matter out of the hands of the Public Relations Dept. without regard to his own position. As a matter of fact, Mr. Neumann said that in informal talks with Mr. Weisgal it had become immediately apparent that the organizing of the conference was closely linked up with the work and plans of the Public Relations Committee.

Mr. Neumann further pointed out that in limiting his activity to Public Relations work solely he would be doing what he was not completely qualified to do in the sense in which the Committee understood it. He said that he was not a press agent; he was not good at organizing large meetings and that these activities were not in his sphere.

He would therefore like to request the Emergency Committee to make arrangements to find a suitable person to take his place and have him relieved of his duties at the earliest possible moment. He said that in the light of these circumstances the matter of his salary became irrelevant.

Mrs. Halprin said she believed that Mr. Neumann's position on the question of the arrangements for the conference and dinner was correct. She said that organizationally it was not right that the organization of this conference be taken out of the jurisdiction of the Public Relations Department and she

recalled that at the previous meeting when the matter was up for discussion many of the members of the Office Committee had expressed this point of view. Mr. Neumann's statement, therefore, that his attitude had been completely disregarded, must be read in the light of that fact.

Dr. Wise pointed out that in view of Mr. Weisgal's special relation to Dr. Weizmann for whom the conference and dinner were being arranged, it was not illogical that he should be asked to be in charge of these special functions. He did not believe that either Judge Levinthal or the Office Committee meant that Mr. Weisgal would not work in close cooperation with Mr. Neumann and his department.

Mr. Weisgal said that he wished to repeat what he had previously said on this subject: He had neither sought nor did he now seek the job and if his withdrawal would in any way help in arranging matters with Mr. Neumann or would help the Zionist cause, he would be glad to withdraw.

A discussion followed on the question of Mr. Neumann's position as Director of Public Relations, in the course of which the distinction was drawn between Public Relations as a service agency for political action, and control of the political policy of an organization.

Mr. Neumann at this point asked to have it made clear that he had never suggested that he be given control of the political work of the Emergency Committee. However, he asked the Emergency Committee to give serious consideration to the organization and administration of the actual work which had to be done. He said that quite apart from personal considerations the Emergency Committee should plan how it would function from the point of view of the executive and administrative aspects of its work. The only sound procedure he thought he was to have an Executive Director whose task it would be to see that the instructions of the political committee are carried out.

Mr. Ben-Gurion said that he thought the issue was being confused. Inasmuch as he and Dr. Wise had been authorized to bring in recommendations for a Political Committee and these recommendations had not yet been brought in, he could not see that the discussion of Mr. Neumann's status on political matters was before the Committee.

Dr. Goldmann urged that the eternal discussion of whether or not there should be an Executive Director be discontinued. The discussion was being burdened by too many side issues. He felt that the question of Mr. Weisgal's appointment to organize the conference and dinner was not relevant inasmuch as it could easily be arranged that he work in close cooperation with Mr. Neumann. It was impossible for Zionist organizations, because of the nature of their problems and personnel, always to function according to a blueprint. He said that this was a time to be completely frank. It was his understanding that the question was whether or not Mr. Neumann should become Executive Director of the Emergency Committee. He would consider Mr. Neumann's resignation a deplorable loss, and would urge Mr. Neumann not to press the question of appointment as Executive Director but to continue as Director of Public Relations.

Mr. Neumann said that he would not consider appointment as Executive Director. Dr. Goldmann said that if this was so then there was nothing further to discuss.

Mr. Wertheim urged that the discussion be postponed until Mr. Ben-Gurion and Dr. Wise had brought in their recommendations for the setting up of a Political Committee and he further urged that Mr. Neumann retain his position as Director of

Public Relations. At this point, Dr. Wise left and Mr. Lipsky took the chair.

Dr. Goldstein urged that the matter be postponed until the return of the Chairman of the Office Committee.

Mr. Wertheim said that in principle he did not agree in postponing any action until the return of the Chairman inasmuch as he might frequently be absent and the work of the Committee had to continue.

Mr. Neumann said that he had hoped to turn over all his pending activities to Mr. Lourie who might then take over, as soon as possible.

Mr. Lourie said that he did not want to leave either Mr. Neumann or the Office Committee with the impression that if Mr. Neumann did this he would take over his work. He said that at the least he would urge Mr. Neumann to continue for another few months until a new man was found. He himself could not fill the gap.

Mrs. Halprin said that if Mr. Neumann felt the lack of an Executive Director to be so deplorable, certainly the lack of a Public Relations Director would be even more deplorable. Moreover, she said that if the lack of an Executive Director was the reason for his leaving surely that was as much the responsibility of the Office Committee as of Mr. Neumann.

Mr. Neumann reiterated that he had never asked or proposed that he be made Political Director of the Emergency Committee and that he would have been willing to work under a competent and qualified Executive Director. He asked to have recorded that he disclaimed responsibility for the inactivity of the Emergency Committee with which he had been charged by Zionists throughout the country.

Dr. Goldmann pointed out that the inactivity or shortcomings of the Emergency Committee could certainly not be blamed on Mr. Neumann. He made the following proposal: That the officers of the Emergency Committee and the Chairman of the Public Relations Committee should again take up the question with Mr. Neumann.

A motion that the matter of the resignation of Mr. Neumann be referred for further consideration to a Committee as proposed by Dr. Goldmann was unanimously carried.

Dr. Goldstein informed the Committee that as a representative of the ZOA he would refer the whole question of Mr. Neumann as Executive Director or Director of Public Relations to the ZOA Executive.

FRENCH PALESTINE COMMITTEE

Dr. Goldmann reported on a letter which he had received from Justin Godart formerly a leading member of the French Senate and head of the French Palestine Committee, requesting a subsidy for the continuation of pro-Zionist work in France. After discussion it was agreed that a grant of \$600 per annum be made for this work.

ADDENDUM TO MINUTES OF FEBRUARY 12 - re: Pension to Mrs. Jabotinsky -

Mrs. Pool said that she was ready to recommend to the National Board of Hadassah that a grant for the needs of Mrs. Jabotinsky be made out of the Shekel monies payable by Hadassah to the Executive in Jerusalem.

A. Lourie.

MINUTES OF OFFICE COMMITTEE MEETING
AMERICAN EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR ZIONIST AFFAIRS

Monday, March 23, 1942.

A meeting of the Office Committee of the American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs was held on Monday, March 23, at 1:30 p.m.

PRESENT : Dr. Wise, (presiding); Mr. Lipsky, Mr. Wertheim, Mrs. Halprin, Mrs. Pool.

Mr. Ben-Gurion, Dr. Goldmann; Mr. Lourie, Dr. Petegorsky, Mr. Schulson, Mr. Weisgal.

ACTION ON STATEMENT OF REFORM RABBIS IN RE JEWISH ARMY

Mrs. Pool asked to have recorded Hadassah's displeasure and distress that the statement of the reform Rabbis in support of a Jewish Army was publicized in the form of a paid advertisement. She also recalled that Hadassah had requested that its name never be used without previous consultation.

Mrs. Halprin pointed out that she had attended the meeting at which the decision to publish the ad had been made, but had arrived late. However, no one had mentioned the matter to her and she had known nothing about it until the next day.

The chairman suggested that a brief review of all decisions be made before the end of each meeting, so that all those present might be informed of action taken.

CONFERENCE AND DINNER TO DR. WEIZMANN

Dr. Goldmann reported the meeting of the sub-committee on the Zionist Conference to be held with Dr. Weizmann:

1. It had been proposed that the meeting be held in Atlantic City.
2. It was agreed that representation to the Conference be as follows:
Hadassah- 75; ZOA - 75; Poale Zion- 45; Mizrachi- 35.
3. The Poale Zion and Mizrachi members of the sub-committee had taken strong objection to the ZOA tendering a dinner under its auspices alone, as part of a Conference called by the Emergency Committee.

Considerable discussion followed Dr. Goldmann's report. Mrs. Pool reiterated, on behalf of Hadassah, that if the ZOA could be helped to wipe out its deficit through the dinner, then Hadassah had no objection.

Mr. Wertheim stated that people will come from all over the country for a Conference which would be a symbol of unity. A ZOA sponsored dinner as part of such a Conference would not be in consonance with the spirit of unity.

Mr. Schulson reported the discussion at the ZOA executive committee meeting as follows: It was decided to hold the dinner in abeyance until Dr. Weizmann's arrival when the matter will be discussed with him. The Conference should be held over until the end of June.

Mr. Weisgal said that March 13 the Office Committee had decided to have a Conference and dinner, which he was to arrange. In accordance with this decision Judge Levinthal and he had sent a detailed cable to Dr. Weizmann asking his approval of these plans to which a reply had already been received indicating Dr. Weizmann's acceptance of all these plans. The Emergency Committee,

Mr. Weisgal stated, should deal with the situation in the light of these facts and not be influenced in its decision by extraneous issues.

Mrs. Halprin said that if the dinner under the auspices of the ZOA were to be a fund-raising function, Hadassah would insist that matters be first cleared up so far as the UJA is concerned.

After some further discussion the following motion was unanimously approved: To continue preparations for an extraordinary Zionist Conference under the auspices of the Emergency Committee to be held at the earliest possible moment consonant with the wishes of Dr. Weizmann.

Mr. Ben-Gurion said that American entry into the war had created new and urgent problems for us. Either the proposed conference was important or it was not. If it was important that such a conference be held, he failed to understand that the ZOA should wish to postpone it because of a fund-raising dinner. Palestine was in grave danger and our efforts to do anything to help might be too late. There are not four Palestines - one for Hadassah, one for ZOA, one for Mizrahi and one for Poale Zion. There is only one Palestine and our first responsibility was as Zionists and not to party interests.

The chairman requested Mr. Schulson to communicate to Judge Levinthal the substance of the views expressed and said that he himself would write to him, so that he would appreciate the advisability of holding the Conference at the earliest possible moment.

There was some further discussion on arrangements for the Conference. It was agreed that Mr. Weisgal arrange the Conference, under the direction of a sub-committee of the Office Committee and with the understanding that the financial arrangements are to be in charge of the regular officers of the Emergency Committee.

The opinion was expressed that the conference should be held in New York. Dr. Wise and Mrs. Pool expressed disapproval of the Waldorf-Astoria as the meeting place for the Conference.

Later in the meeting Mr. D'zold telephoned to say that he had received a telegram from Judge Levinthal stating that in his view Mr. Weisgal would be the most suitable person to arrange the dinner.

RED CROSS

Mrs. Pool reported that Hadassah had made an appointment with Mr. Norman Davis, head of the Red Cross, to discuss with him the proposal to make available to the army Hadassah's hospital facilities in Palestine with the possibility that some parallel arrangements might be made with the Red Cross.

POLITICAL COMMITTEE

With reference to the proposal for the setting up of a political committee, it was reported that it had been very strongly felt by the National Board of Hadassah that its President must be a member of such a committee.

RESIGNATION OF DR. PETEGORSKY

Dr. Wise invited Dr. Petegorsky to make a statement to the Committee on the reasons for his resignation. Dr. Petegorsky said he had come to the Committee ten weeks ago after resigning a position on the staff of Antioch College. He had taken this step with some reluctance but he felt that this was a critical moment in world affairs and that it was his duty as a Jew to accept the offer that had been made to him. Dr. Petegorsky proceeded to criticize the functioning of the Committee on the ground of inefficiency and of irresponsibility on the part of people who should be responsible. Decisions would be taken and then revoked on inadequate grounds. The Committee concerned itself too much with details. Its concepts of the functions which it should perform seemed to him inadequate. There was further a lack of information and research. In the circumstances he felt that his energies could be used to better purpose in other fields. At the request of the Chairman, Dr. Petegorsky added that he would be glad to draw up a memorandum indicating what in his view was required to produce more effective action on the part of the Committee.

A. Lourie.

Mizrachi Organization of America
1153 Broadway
New York, N. Y.

March 12th, 1942

Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Chairman
Emergency Comm. for Zionist Affairs
41 East 42nd Street
New York City

Dear Dr. Wise:

It was with immeasurable disappointment that our Administrative Committee learned that the Mizrachi Organization of America received only one place on the Office Committee of the Emergency Committee while the Poale Zion have received an additional place, though it was done under a different label.

It is the unanimous opinion of our administration that such action cannot possibly be accepted by organization, since it reduces us unjustifiably to a position of least significance.

We have always been of the opinion that the Emergency Committee should, indeed, give equal representation to all Zionist groups, being, as it is, a body which does not seek to rule by majority vote, nor does it want to impose its will on minorities. It is rather an agency for the expression of the united will as well as a medium for the united action of the sum totality of organized Zionist opinion. If, however, it has been decided to have major and minor groups, we finally consented to such procedure.

It is, however, we repeat, most unwarranted to advance the representation of one of the so-called minor affiliates of the Emergency Committee and leave our position in status quo. If, for the sake of expediency, it was found more practical to add several members to the list of "virilists" we cannot and shall not yield to the apparent supposition of the Emergency Committee that we have no individual or individuals who can qualify for this category, although we are generally confused as to what makes one a "virilist" in so far as the Emergency Committee is concerned.

We definitely do feel and are utterly convinced that we have a number of individuals who are most representative of Zionism in general and religious Zionism in particular and are considered simultaneously the spokesmen of orthodox Jewry in this country.

It is painful to say it, but we must state most clearly that we cannot and shall not accept the status which you have assigned us and we shall be forced to take action should the situation remain unchanged in regard to our representation, something which we hope will become unnecessary by your proper reconsideration and adjustment of the matter.

With assurance of our deep appreciation for your indulgence and consideration, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Rabbi Max Kirschblum
Executive Secretary

mk/rlp

MINUTES OF OFFICE COMMITTEE MEETING
AMERICAN EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR ZIONIST AFFAIRS

April 7, 1942.

A meeting of the Office Committee of the Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs was held on Tuesday, April 7 at 1:30 p.m.

PRESENT: Dr. Wise (presiding), Mr. Bublick, Mr. Gellman, Mr. Greenberg, Judge Levinthal, Mrs. Shulman, Mr. Szold, Mr. Wertheim;

Mr. Ben-Gurion, Dr. Goldmann; Mr. Lourie, Mr. Neumann, Mr. Weisgal.

CONFERENCE

Mr. Weisgal, in submitting a tentative program for the forthcoming conference reported that the UPA had planned a Conference of the National Council in New York on May third in New York, which would culminate with a dinner in honor of Rabbi Silver. He thought this would seriously interfere with the plans for the Zionist Conference and therefore conferred with Mr. Montor with a view to working out a mutually satisfactory arrangement. Mr. Montor had agreed to a tentative proposal which was made subject to the approval of the Office Committee, to cancel the UPA function if the Sunday afternoon of the Zionist Conference would be devoted to the UPA Council and the dinner to Dr. Weizmann presided over by Dr. Silver.

The Office Committee unanimously agreed that this be done.

Mr. Weisgal then submitted a draft program for the Conference. Considerable discussion followed his presentation.

Mr. Szold said that the program as submitted was quite contrary to his conception of a working Conference, which he had understood to be the nature of the proposed Conference. He thought Mr. Weisgal's program would prevent, rather than encourage, serious consideration of pressing Zionist problems.

In reply to Mr. Szold's criticism, Mr. Weisgal pointed out that no conference does real thinking, except as a result of previous plans and forethought. He believed that his program was a synthesis of the wishes previously expressed by the Office Committee, that the Conference be designed both for internal working out of Zionist problems, as well as with a view to impressing general public opinion.

Mr. Ben-Gurion said that while he thought Mr. Szold unduly critical of the program, he believed that much thinking had to be done before the Conference. He pointed out some omissions from the Program:

1. How to make American Zionism a more effective force.
2. How to achieve internal unity and to secure the interest of American Jewry for Palestine.
3. Hebrew education and culture
4. Women did not have a large enough place on the program.

He suggested specifically that sub-committees be set up immediately to study the problems to be presented at the Conference. He recommended that there be three such sub-committees to study:

- A) Political problems of Zionism - i.e. relations with Mandatory Power, Arab-Jewish relations, Jewish Army etc.
- B) Political action in America
- C) How to strengthen Zionism in America- Internal unity, Zionist education; the conquest of American Jewry for the Zionist idea.

He said that if we were clear on precisely what we want to do, we have a chance for success, and the success of the Conference depends on what we do between now and then.

Mr. Gellman said that he agreed entirely with Mr. Szold. He believed that Mr. Weisgal's program was another ZOA Convention and left no room for discussion from the floor by the delegates. He also protested that Mizrachi had no place on the program.

Mr. Neumann said that he had the impression from Mr. Weisgal's program that he had started with persons, rather than with the problems. He did not believe that such a program was conducive to real thinking and constructive action. He pointed out that in his opinion there were two omissions; namely, Zionist political action on the American scene and a report of the work of the Emergency Committee for the past two and a half years.

Mrs. Shulman said she found the program ^{stimulating and} in line with her conception of what the program should be.

Mr. Szold suggested that the first three days be eliminated - the Friday night service, Oneg Shabbat, etc. He proposed that after the necessary introductory speeches, commissions be set up to work for two days and then bring in their reports. He believed that we had to choose between a working conference and one designed for publicity purposes - he did not believe that trying to serve both purposes would serve either.

Mr. Wertheim believed that a program could be worked out to serve both purposes. He supported Mr. Gellman's demand that Mizrachi be represented on the program in a unified Zionist Conference.

Various other suggestions were made and it was finally agreed to refer them to the standing Conference Committee which should endeavor to redraft the program in line with the criticisms expressed. It was further agreed that the standing Committee set up the three sub-committees as outlined by Mr. Ben-Gurion. These committees shall, from time to time, report to the Office Committee.

Conference
It was further agreed that the / Committee be authorized to spend a maximum of \$3,000 for the Conference. Should some unforeseen emergency involve additional expenditures, this would have to be authorized by the Office Committee.

AMERICAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE DINNER

The Chairman read a letter from Mr. Neumann pointing out that a dinner of the American Palestine Committee was scheduled for some time late in April or early in May. In view of the resignation of Mr. Petegorsky, his assistant, and his own forthcoming departure, he urged that some provision be made for arranging this dinner. He recommended that, if Judge Levinthal approved, Mr. Schulson and Mr. Shetzer of the Washington Office be asked to take charge of this dinner.

Judge Levinthal said he had no objections and it was decided that Mr. Schulson and Mr. Shetzer be requested to undertake the arrangements for the dinner, and to consult with Mr. Weisgal on the date. A maximum expenditure of \$600.00 was authorized.

Mr. Neumann reported that Mr. Josephus Daniels would write the introduction to Professor Hanna's book on Palestine and that various revisions which had been proposed to the author had been accepted by him (see previous minutes). The question of whether the Emergency Committee was to take a number of books at a reduced price was referred to Mr. Szold and Mr. Neumann.

✓ Mr. Neumann further reported a plan for a research project on the agricultural absorptive capacity of Palestine. It was agreed that a sum be allocated to cover the expenses of this project after Mr. Szold and Mr. Brodie had looked into the matter.

MIZRACHI

A letter from Mizrachi was circulated requesting that since the Poale Zion had, in effect, two members on the Office Committee, they also be represented by two members. It was pointed out in reply that Mr. Greenberg was a member of the Office Committee in his individual capacity and not as a representative of the Poale Zion.

It was further pointed out that inasmuch as the question of representation on the Office Committee had been decided by the full Emergency Committee, any change would have to be referred to the full Committee. Mr. Gellman was requested that the Mizrachi take no action in the matter, until it had been discussed by a full meeting of the Emergency Committee, at the earliest possible opportunity.

YOUTH CONFERENCE

A request from the National Council of Zionist Youth Organizations for a sum of \$500 to be used in connection with a proposed youth conference was reported. It was decided to postpone consideration of this question, until each of the constituent organizations had considered the matter.

BUDGET

The treasurer reported that there was a sum of \$2,600 on hand and that \$62,000 were still due for the year 1941-42.

NEXT MEETING

It was decided to hold ^{the} /next meeting of the Office Committee on Tuesday, April 14 at 6:30.

A. Lourie

STRICTLY
CONFIDENTIAL

REPORT BY DR. WEIZMANN
TO THE OFFICE COMMITTEE

Friday, April 17, 1942.

A meeting of the Office Committee of the Emergency Committee was held on Friday, April 17 in order to hear the report of Dr. Weizmann. The following were present:

Dr. Wise, presiding; Messrs. Lipsky, Greenberg, Goldstein, Wertheim, Mesdames Epstein, Jacobs, Pool, Schoolman.

Mr. Ben-Gurion, Dr. Goldmann, Messrs. Lourie, Neumann, Weisgal, Shetzer, Montor, Goldberg, Isreeli.

Apologies were received from Judge Levinthal and Mr. Szold.

DR. WEIZMANN'S REPORT

Dr. Weizmann opened his remarks by saying how happy he was to be amongst his American friends again, and to take this opportunity of expressing his gratitude for the sympathy extended to him in his distress as well as for the extraordinary efforts exerted on his behalf to take him and Mrs. Weizmann out of the "galuth of Lisbon."

He also wished to express the gratitude of the British Zionists for having sent Dr. Silver to them. He believed Dr. Silver's visit was extremely useful from both sides - for him to see in England Zionists continuing their Zionist work in the face of all difficulties, and for them to see a friend from America - which is not as yet in such dire circumstances as England. Dr. Weizmann went on to say that Dr. Silver's trip was a signal success - he was brilliant in his speeches - simple, impressive and carrying deep conviction to very fastidious and critical audiences. Although Dr. Silver went through a terrific grind - travelling in England today was achieved under conditions of inconvenience - he did not hesitate. He had found ruined cities but he did not find ruined Jewish communities. The Keren Hayesod campaign was a great success - \$100,000 was being sought and it would no doubt be raised. Dr. Weizmann expressed the hope that it would be possible to arrange for such visits by other American Zionist leaders.

OUTLOOK FOR THE FUTURE

Dr. Weizmann then went on to a general report. The year that passed was one of complete frustration - whatever was attacked, whatever energy and skill was expended in order to carry something through to a conclusion - in the end became Dead Sea fruit. There was only one melancholy comfort in all that - Britain had handled its own affairs, its imperial affairs, so badly it would have been surprising had ours prospered; when we see them cutting into their own flesh every day, we cannot expect much understanding from them for affairs which may appear to them to be outside their own compass. However, Dr. Weizmann went on, the hope was not dimmed, nor our expectations or confidence diminished in our destiny through the temporary setbacks thus suffered.

Dr. Weizmann said it was impossible to describe the world in which they lived in Europe. Here life is normal - there it deteriorates every day, with even the elementary necessities becoming more difficult to obtain - bread, coal, transport, etc. And Zionist work, which is something that looks to the future and requires a strong imagination to overcome the present, is extremely difficult under these circumstances.

There were two things which in Dr. Weizmann's opinion justified one's confidence. One is the very weight of the tragedy, the gravity of the problem which, no matter how much one would like to put it off for the future, is inescapable. People realize that sooner or later it will have to be faced. This was beginning to be the attitude even of those who were not otherwise deeply concerned with the problem - Mr. Eden, for instance. Mr. Churchill had once said to Dr. Weizmann, "Why are you so worried? When we win the war the Jewish position will be restored." He seemed to imagine that after the war we shall be as we were - there may be 200,000 or half-million victims, but on the whole he seemed to think the Jewish position would be restored to normalcy. Mr. Eden had apparently shared his point of view. Dr. Weizmann said it took him a very long time to explain to Mr. Eden that the disintegration of the Jews of Europe to their position before the war is an impossible thing.

Dr. Weizmann had also had talks with Benes and Sikorski. They both told him that from their point of view it is not credible that the Polish or Czech Jewish community would be simply restored to their previous positions. Mr. Benes explained there were 300,000 Jews in Czechoslovakia, with the greatest group in Slovakia - but this has been very much thinned out because they were being sent off to Poland. He described the following situation which existed in his country: The Germans have confiscated Jewish property and given a certain aspect of legality to their robbery with token payments and the exchange of papers, etc. He explained a Czech Quisling was at the head of this and that after the war he, Benes, would oust him. Benes also pointed out that after the war economic conditions would be hard and this is when anti-Semitism raises its head. He explained that to attempt to restore the status quo at that time would make matters worse and that the only way to overcome the situation would be for the government to confiscate and take over all landed property no matter who owned it and make a complete redistribution. In this process, he explained, some Jews would fall out and about one-third of them would not find a place in the new Republic. He made the assurance however, that they would compensate the Jews financially for their losses, and the money thus paid would be used for immigration and establishment of Jews in Palestine. Mr. Benes said he wanted to see a great Jewish Palestine - he would have to see Mr. Eden (Dr. Weizmann said he knew that Benes had seen Eden) and impress upon him the necessity of opening wide the gates of Palestine. Dr. Weizmann added that no one who knew Mr. Benes could suggest that he was in any way anti-Semitic.

As for Mr. Sikorski, who also claimed to be a friend of the Jews, he too anticipated that not all the Jews of Poland could be re-absorbed. If we were to apply the ratio of one-third suggested by Mr. Benes, to other countries - there would be at least two to three million Jews who will have to be taken care of.

When Dr. Weizmann saw Eden for the second time, the latter said he had seen Mr. Benes and complained "It's not fair what they are saying". Dr. Weizmann replied that whether it was fair or not, it was a hard, solid fact which must be reckoned with. It was only after the third talk with Mr. Eden, which lasted for a long time, that the latter asked, "Have you got a solution?" Dr. Weizmann replied that he had. He said this was the first time they had gotten to talk about the subject of Palestine itself. They discussed all the surrounding problems - and Dr. Weizmann had the impression that the effect of this pressure even on a virgin and not friendly mind had made a dent.

SIGNIFICANCE OF AMERICA'S RESPONSIBILITY

As a result of many such conversations, not all of them with official spokesmen, Dr. Weizmann had come to the conclusion that the British did not feel themselves strong enough any more to solve this problem by themselves. Their formula is that

they alone cannot handle it - but together with the Americans they can, provided the Americans not merely give advice and directions, but actually join in the responsibility. This, Dr. Weizmann said, was the crux of the whole situation. He had discussed this also with some of the younger and thinking members of the government who were really worried about the problem of the Jews and of Palestine, and they too stressed the fact that American joint responsibility was needed to help solve it. He believed that this would be part of the joint general responsibility which the Anglo-Saxon world would in the end have to accept particularly in the Middle East. Dr. Weizmann stressed the importance of this point.

IMPORTANCE OF PALESTINE'S ROLE IN WORLD PICTURE

Dr. Weizmann continued by giving a summary of some of his impressions: To people here, the Middle East in the last war before America joined it, was a savage country of no importance. Today the Middle East, and particularly Palestine and the Suez Canal are one of the approaches to the Western Hemisphere. One can attack America as much from the Suez Canal and the Indian Ocean as from the Panama Canal. Vital interests are affected as long as the Middle East remains a domain for international intrigue and uncivilization. Conditions there may affect vitally the general stability which it is hoped to maintain after the war. The Near East will be one among many sections of the world which will need stabilization. In achieving that stabilization Jewish work in Palestine will play an increasingly important role. This was another reason why Dr. Weizmann believed that in spite of the temporary set-backs, we have a role to play, particularly if we can impress upon American statesmen the value and the importance of the stabilizing effect of the reconstruction which we have undertaken in this part of the world, from the Euphrates to the Nile. There is no doubt that the alliances entered into by Britain with the Arab countries, Egypt, Syria and Iraq are valueless. As long as the Libyan campaign is in a state of equilibrium and as long as England is successful, there will be no betrayal; but as soon as England fails in that campaign, there will be betrayal.

ATTITUDE OF BRITISH

Dr. Weizmann said that they (the British) were compelled to realize today that we were right, and this realization bothered them. We were pricking their conscience. He referred to Mr. Churchill's remark that he never wanted to see Dr. Weizmann on the plea that when they meet, in 99 cases out of 100 they think the same way.

Referring to the British Jews, Dr. Weizmann said that they believe today more warmly than ever that the Jewish future is in Palestine. The Keren Kayemeth is getting large sums of money through investments made in London for Palestine. One reason is perhaps also that the conversion of American securities into sterling has resulted in the repatriation of large sums, some of which is now being re-invested in Palestine. Dr. Weizmann said he had already mentioned to Dr. Goldstein that he believed an investment movement could also be introduced in America. He said further that this would help solve political problems because today land can be bought even in the forbidden zones.

Dr. Weizmann reiterated his conclusion that with American support behind us we are likely to achieve success.

He went on to say that our difficulties with the British are also in part due to the difficulty of the problem itself from their point of view - first, the difficulty of making it understood at all by a "goy"; and secondly, because England is a Moslem Empire. It has the largest number of Mohammedans in the world. That

problem is beginning to assume an entirely different aspect because a solution for India is coming. Also Malaya and the other Far Eastern colonies will either be lost or will be ruled under different auspices in the future. Thus the quantity of Moslems in the British Empire may well be reduced by about two-thirds. This of itself will bring about a reduction of the pressure of the Moslems. After all, very considerable pressure had come from the Indian Moslems. Dr. Weizmann was convinced therefore that if we get American statesmen really to understand the problem, and if we get the American Jews into line, we would face a much brighter future. It was important however, not to desist from our work for a moment. Dr. Weizmann said that in Palestine work continued at an increased pace and the country, which is today a real arsenal of democracy, is making a greater contribution proportionately than many another great center of democracy.

THE JEWISH ARMY

On the question of the Jewish Army, Dr. Weizmann said the struggle had not been given up. On the contrary- the army might perhaps be nearer than we thought. There is no influx of New Zealand and Australian troops into the Near East, therefore from a purely military point of view people may be inclined to accept the idea with greater alacrity than before.

Dr. Weizmann reported that in this connection Mr. Winant had been sympathetic and helpful, but unfortunately he had had to leave. He had insisted that the army would come - it was a just thing.

Dr. Weizmann said that we had suffered from the general failure of the year just passed, which he felt was the darkest yet. But he was confident there would be a turn this summer and that our own affairs would also take a turn for the better. It was for this reason that he was particularly anxious to get to Palestine after his visit here.

NEGOTIATIONS WITH NON-ZIONISTS

Dr. Weizmann stated that in the negotiations with the British non-Zionists he did not find as good a reception as we had found here. They are much more "die-hardish" than the people here, but their stubbornness was in inverse ratio to their importance. Dr. Weizmann thought that if things were straightened out in the negotiations here- they in England would follow suit. Although they were not as harmful as they were twenty years ago, Dr. Weizmann found that certain attitudes, for instance that of Mr. Eden, were probably influenced by people like Mr. Anthony de Rothschild, whom Eden considered an expert on Jewish affairs.

Dr. Weizmann reported that he had met earlier that day with Mr. Maurice Wertheim. From their talk he realized that it would not be all "plain-sailing" here. However, he did think that Mr. Wertheim was the best chairman that the American Jewish Committee could have selected from their group.

PROGRAM OF ACTION

Dr. Weizmann pointed out that there were various avenues for activity here: Palestine itself, reconstruction of the Middle East, the negotiations with non-Zionists, the creation of general good-will and of an informed public opinion in this country, creation of a special fund for the work which we have to do along these lines, and so on. Dr. Weizmann said he believed we were sufficiently well-trained to deal with all these problems and he would be happy to make whatever small contribution it was within his power to make.

THE COLONIAL SECRETARY

Dr. Weizmann mentioned that the new Colonial Secretary "belongs to the family", he is a Balfour- a Cecil by origin. He said that Lord Cranborne is a distinguished man, strong willed and of high moral principles. However, his first speech in the House of Lords had not been of good augury and Dr. Weizmann said he had it out with him later. He had told Lord Cranborne that the Colonial Office's responsibility meant nothing because the Administration did what they liked. The Administration was in the position of having power without responsibility. While the White Paper could not be changed publicly now, the situation could be changed to such an extent as to establish the possibility of effective cooperation between us and the Colonial Administration on one side, and the Palestine Government on the other. Dr. Weizmann added further that he considered MacMichael as unfit to preside over the destinies of Palestine. He said he had seen many Colonial Secretaries and High Commissioners and in the end they all seemed very much alike to him, so he had no reason to be too optimistic that Lord Cranborne would bring the Goulah. However, he was a change from what had gone before and we could perhaps expect a smoother relationship than heretofore.

But it was only the great events of the present day, events which were changing the world and changing the empire and also inflicting great injuries on Jewry itself, that would ultimately change our situation and for that we must get ourselves ready.

STRICTLY
CONFIDENTIAL

MINUTES OF OFFICE COMMITTEE MEETING OF THE AMERICAN
EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR ZIONIST AFFAIRS

Wednesday April 22, 1942

A meeting of the Office Committee of the Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs was held on April 22, at 4:30 P.M. at 41 East 42nd Street.

PRESENT: Judge Levinthal (presiding), Mesdames Jacobs, Pool, Rosensohn, (substituting for Mrs. Halprin) Shulman; Dr. Goldstein, Mr. Szold, Mr. Wertheim, Dr. Wise, Dr. Goldmann, Mr. Lourie; Mr. Weisgal.

REPRESENTATION AT THE CONFERENCE:

Mr. Wertheim reopened the question of the representation of the four parties to the forthcoming Zionist Conference. He suggested that representation be as follows: 75 each from Hadassah and the ZOA, and 60 each from the Poale Zion and Mizrachi, which would maintain the proportion provided for by the by-laws of the Emergency Committee.

Dr. Goldstein proposed as an amendment that, inasmuch as Poale Zion recognized the right of Mizrachi to equal representation with them, the number be fixed at 75, 75, 45, and 45.

Mr. Wertheim did not accept this amendment, pointing out that such equalization of the Poale Zion and Mizrachi was arbitrary and unfair to the former and did not take into consideration the relative strength of the two organizations. His own proposal was based on the idea of acceptance of the position existing in the Emergency Committee. Dr. Wise urged that there be equal representation for all parties in the interests of harmony and unity. Such equalization would set no precedent, but would be an "ad hoc" arrangement for this Conference, which, in any case, has no voting powers, but is to meet for consultation. Mrs. Pool said that Hadassah had accepted 5, 5, 4, and 4 as the basis of representation on the Emergency Committee, because it considered the Office Committee the really authoritative body, not because it believed that to be a fair representation of the numerical strength of the parties. She did not believe, however, that to give equality of representation to all parties would be democratically just.

Mrs. Rosensohn deplored the action of Mizrachi in withdrawing, no less than the threat of Poale Zion to withdraw if Mizrachi were allotted the same number of delegates to the Conference as they, on a basis other than that of full equality for all parties, or on the basis of 5, 5, 4, and 4. However, she supported Dr. Wise's motion for equality of representation in the interests of harmony and unity.

Mr. Szold said that harmony as a result of threats was no harmony at all. He pointed out that the Jewish State Party and others might, on the basis of equality, be entitled to 75 representatives. However, he emphasized that if equality were the basis of representation, then it must be made absolutely clear that no votes were to be taken at the Conference. He suggested that a fair basis for representation would be on the basis of paid-up membership.

Mr. Weisgal pointed out that Mizrachi's attitude had been unreasonable. The original suggestion of representation on the basis of 75, 75, 45 and 35 had been accepted by the sub-committee including the Mizrachi representative and was reasonable. It had later been confirmed by the Office Committee. Therefore, this action should not be changed because of the subsequent attitude of the Mizrachi.

Mrs. Jacobs said she would regret very much if those who represented Jewish religious life were eliminated from the Zionist picture. After considerable discussion, it was finally decided by vote that:

1. No votes shall be taken at the Conference on questions of major policy except by unanimous agreement and,
2. Representation to the Conference shall be on the basis of equality for all parties. On this question, Mrs. Pool asked to be recorded as not voting. Mr. Weisgal was authorized to inform the parties that each is entitled to 75 representatives at the Conference.

PROGRAM FOR CONFERENCE:

Mr. Weisgal presented the program for the Conference as revised by the sub-committee. The following suggestions and comments were made:

1. That in the sessions devoted to the American-Zionist scene, ample time be devoted to a thorough discussion of public relations and the technique which might best be used for creating pro-Zionist public opinion in America.
2. That the proposed statements on various aspects of the political problem be part of the discussions following the speeches of Dr. Weizmann and Mr. Ben-Gurion. This would allow time for a special session on current problems in Palestine: economic, political, etc.
3. That an opportunity be given for a discussion of the question of the possible reintegration of the Revisionists into the World Zionist Organization.
4. That there be a discussion on inter-organizational problems. The sub-committee on the Conference was congratulated on the program as presented and was asked to consider the new suggestions made and to incorporate them, if possible.

The consensus of opinion was that this Conference is to be a consultative, deliberative gathering. Dr. Goldstein suggested that the theme be one of unanimity in the Zionist movement, inasmuch as it is the first time in a generation when Zionists of all parties will meet together to discuss common problems. It was further understood that concrete problems such as a single Zionist publication, etc. are not to be dealt with on the floor of the Conference, but are matters for sub-committees to report on in the regular course of the work.

DINNER TO DR. WEIZMANN:

The question arose as to the sponsorship for the forthcoming dinner to Dr. Weizmann. The dinner was not being given under the auspices of the Emergency Committee but invitations to the sponsorship list had gone out under Dr. Wise's signature. Dr. Wise and Judge Levinthal were authorized to discuss the matter further in view of the interest the ZOA had had in holding the dinner under their auspices.

MR. NEUMANN'S LETTER:

Mr. Lourie read to the Committee a letter from Mr. Neumann reporting on his work in Washington with Dr. Weizmann.

JEWISH ARMY COMMITTEE:

Dr. Goldmann brought to the attention of the Committee the fact that the Jewish Army Committee is arranging a large dinner in New York on May 3rd in honor of Pierre VanPaasen. He recommended that Zionist districts be instructed not to attend. After some discussion it was decided that it would be undignified so to instruct Zionist groups, who had already been unequivocally informed that the Emergency Committee, representing the four organizations, had dissociated itself from the Jewish Army Committee. Judge Levinthal and one representative from each of the parties are to discuss the whole matter of the Jewish Army Committee with Dr. Weizmann.

REFUGEES IN ISTAMBOUL

Dr. Goldmann reported that two small boats with Rumanian-Jewish refugees aboard were in Constantinople. One had already cleared the Dardanelles and the other was still in Turkish waters. It was agreed that the Turkish Embassy in Washington be requested to ask his government to admit the refugees to Turkey pending the receipt of certificates for Palestine, and, further to request the State Department to use its good offices with the Turkish Government in supporting the request.

HADASSAH

Mrs. Pool reported the completion of successful negotiations with the War Department which had gratefully accepted Hadassah's offer to place at the disposal of the United States Government its personnel and facilities in the Middle East. Discussions in this matter were also proceeding with the Red Cross. Mrs. Pool further reported a cable from Miss Szold informing Hadassah that the Turkish government had granted transit visas to 170 Rumanian children with certificates for Palestine. In this connection it was agreed that there was no objection to inviting the Turkish Ambassador to an annual meeting of the National Youth Aliyah Committee of Hadassah to be held at the home of Mrs. Roger W. Straus.

The meeting was adjourned at 7:00 P.M.

A.L.

MINUTES OF OFFICE COMMITTEE MEETING
AMERICAN EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR ZIONIST AFFAIRS

Wednesday, April 29, 1942.

A meeting of the Office Committee of the Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs was held on April 29 at 41 East 42nd Street, New York.

PRESENT : Judge Levinthal, presiding; Mr. Greenberg, Mrs. Pool, Mrs. Rosensohn, Dr. Silver, Mr. Szold, Dr. Wise.

Dr. Goldmann, Mr. Lourie, Mr. Neumann, Mr. Weisgal.

REPORT OF MR. NEUMANN

Dr. Weizmann's work in Washington:

Mr. Neumann reported that Dr. Weizmann had conferred with Mr. Sumner Wells, Lord Halifax, Mr. Winant and Mr. Donald Nelson. Mr. Winant had asked for a memorandum on the Jewish Army which had been prepared.

Mr. Szold suggested that an interview with the Chief of Staff be sought, with a view to clarifying the situation with regard to a Jewish Military Force in Palestine.

Publications:

Mr. Neumann reported that Professor Hanna's book was to be issued soon at \$2.50. In view of the fact that at the instance of the Emergency Committee various changes had been made in the text and an introduction prepared by Josephus Daniels, he believed the Emergency Committee should guarantee the sale of some of the volumes.

Mr. Szold pointed out that the book was not Zionist propaganda. In fact its thesis was the irreconcilability of the Jewish and Arab claims to Palestine. However, in view of the circumstances, he believed we were committed to take some of the books. It was agreed that Mr. Szold and Mr. Neumann be given discretion to spend from \$300 to \$500 for the purchase of copies of the book.

Mr. Szold also reported that upon investigation he believed that the book which Dr. Lowdermilk had undertaken to prepare on Palestine's absorptive capacity would involve various expenditures. He was convinced that some one would have to be employed to do the spade work for Dr. Lowdermilk, in addition to clerical assistance. He said that he thought the project worth spending some thousands of dollars on. It was agreed that the project was an important one, and Mr. Szold was authorized to draw, as he saw fit, for necessary help in preparing the volume. He and Mr. Neumann are to look about for a suitable candidate to assist Dr. Lowdermilk.

Mr. Neumann brought to the attention of the Committee the anti-Zionist article by Mr. Van Ess appearing in the current issue of Asia. He said he would try to secure the cooperation of Miss Pearl Buck and others to have a pro-Zionist article published in Asia.

Contacts with Indians and Chinese

Mr. Neumann suggested that it would be worthwhile for Zionists to secure the friendly cooperation of the Chinese and the Hindus. In connection with the Hindus he emphasized that great caution would have to be exercised lest the

British in any way misconstrue our support of their cause.

Dr. Goldmann said that the Chinese representatives in Geneva had been consistent friends of the Jewish National Home. The Chinese were a powerful moral force, whose friendship and cooperation it would be well to secure. He agreed too, that it would be well to proceed with the utmost discretion in any negotiations with the Hindus.

JEWISH ARMY COMMITTEE

Dr. Goldmann reported that, according to a previous decision, the matter of reopening negotiations with the Jewish Army Committee had been discussed with Dr. Weizmann. Dr. Weizmann had expressed the opinion ^{that} in view of the fact that the influence of the Jewish Army Committee was daily growing stronger and that their activities were causing confusion in the minds of our friends, if a way could be found, without sacrificing principles, to come to an understanding with them, it should be done. Dr. Goldmann said that he would be prepared to have a preliminary talk with Mr. Strelsin of the Jewish Army Committee if he had the support of the Emergency Committee. He said that if we did not come to some mutual understanding, we would find many disciplined Zionists falling into the hands of the Revisionists. If, he said, the Jewish Army Committee would undertake to remove all members of the Irgun from positions of responsibility on its Executive Committee, and agree to an Executive Director approved by us, he thought a way could be found for cooperation and strongly urged that this be done.

Dr. Silver said that purely on the merits of the case, he would also urge that in the interests of American Zionism a way be found to cooperate with the Jewish Army Committee, which, if allowed to continue, would have serious effects on the American Zionist movement.

if

Mr. Wertheim pointed out that if we were active and strong enough ourselves, we would not need to cooperate or compromise with the Jewish Army Committee; if we were to do it because of our weakness in the matter of the Army it would be dangerous.

Mrs. Pool and Mrs. Rosensohn also objected to the reopening of any negotiations with the Army Committee.

By a majority of one it was voted not to reopen negotiations with the Jewish Army Committee.

Mrs. Rosensohn suggested that the matter was too vital to be decided by the Office Committee and recommended that it be referred to a full meeting of the Emergency Committee. It was so agreed.

MIZRACHI

The question of an additional representative of Mizrachi to the Office Committee was referred to a full meeting of the Emergency Committee.

CONFIDENTIAL

MINUTES OF MEETING
AMERICAN EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR ZIONIST AFFAIRS

May 5, 1942.

A meeting of the American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs was held on Tuesday evening, May 5, 1942.

PRESENT: Judge Levinthal, presiding; Messrs. Cruso, Goldstein, P.L. Goldman, Furmansky, Rabbi Levinthal, Linsky, Rothenberg, Segal, Wertheim; Mesdames Benjamin, Gottesman, Feder, Jacobs, Pool, Shulman, Mr. Itzkowitz.

Dr. Goldmann, Mr. Lourie, Mr. Neumann, Mr. Weisgal, Judge Rosenblatt. Miss Leibel, Mr. Isreeli, Judge Rosenblatt.

REPORT OF DR. GOLDMANN

Dr. Goldmann reported, on behalf of the Office Committee, as follows:

1. He reported on information received with reference to the visit to England of the High Commissioner.
2. Two boats with Roumanian refugees had landed in Turkey. One of the boats with 18 passengers on board was now en route to Palestine. Certificates had been granted them with the consent of the Government. It was believed that this change in the policy of the Colonial Office and the Palestine Administration was a result of the pressure exercised in the case of the "Struma". In that connection Dr. Weizmann had formally and emphatically conveyed to the new Colonial Secretary his opinion of the unfitness of the High Commissioner for his post.
3. Dr. Weizmann and Mr. Ben-Gurion had both reported various interviews held in Washington on behalf of the Jewish military force. Field Marshall Sir John Dill had been seen and had shown a positive attitude. Lord Cranborne, the New Colonial Secretary, and Mr. Casey, who had been put in charge of Near East affairs, might both be regarded as unprejudiced in our affairs and there was some hope that they might be more helpful than their predecessors in the matter of the Jewish Army.

REPORT BY MR. NEUMANN

Mr. Neumann supplemented Dr. Goldmann's report as follows:

1. Dr. Weizmann had discussed the matter of the Army with the Under-Secretary of State. The letter had indicated that the matter was complicated in the eyes of the military authorities by the fact that the multiplicity of national units in the Middle East was at times a source of difficulty. A senior official in the State Department, on the other hand, expressed confidence that the matter of the Jewish ^{contingents} was getting somewhere, though he offered no specific information.
2. Senator Edwin Johnson had made a speech on the floor of the Senate at the instance of the Jewish Army Committee. He had previously promised to speak on the matter of the "Struma" from the Senate floor but had been advised by official quarters to refrain from so doing in the present rather embarrassed state of relations with the British. Mr. Neumann added that, in general, it was difficult to define with any clarity the attitude of official circles in Washington, since the attitude of various individuals in the government were often conflicting on our matters.

3. Dr. Weizmann had seen Lord Halifax, Mr. Donald Nelson, Mr. Winant, Mr. Wallace and Ambassador Litvinoff.

4. American Palestine Committee Dinner:

Plans for the dinner on May 25th were proceeding. Senator Wagner is to preside and the main address of the evening is to be delivered by Dr. Weizmann. Thirty minutes of radio time had been arranged for, ten minutes of which would be taken by special broadcasts from London.

5. Rabbis Milton Steinberg and Philip Bernstein were continuing to do effective work among the Christian clergy, including the formation of a committee. Mr. Neumann suggested that something along the same lines might be done in organizing academicians sympathetic to Zionism.

6. Dr. Lowdermilk is to prepare an authoritative study on Palestine, and Professor Harlow is to prepare a volume addressed to the Christian world presenting the Zionist picture from that point of view.

In this connection Judge Levinthal announced that the ZOA was planning to publish a collection of Justice Brandeis's pamphlets and speeches on Zionism, the introduction of which would be written by Justice Frankfurter.

Judge Rothenberg proposed that the time was ripe for a publication on "The Zionist Case" which should be prepared by some outstanding historian. The public relations committee is to consider this suggestion.

MIZRACHI

Mr. Lourie reported on correspondence with the Mizrachi requesting two members on the Office Committee.

After discussion it was agreed on the proposal of Mr. Wertheim that in order to meet the Mizrachi request, the category of members at large on the Office Committee be eliminated altogether, and it was resolved to amend Article VI Section 1 to read:

ARTICLE VI, Section 1: " OFFICE COMMITTEE .

Between meetings of the full Committee, the business of the Committee shall be conducted by an Office Committee to be elected by the Committee and to be composed as follows: three members representing the Zionist Organization of America; three members representing Hadassah, the Women's Zionist Organization of America; two members representing Poale Zion; and two members representing Mizrachi. The representatives of the four organizations which shall compose the Office Committee shall be designated by the respective groups (a)(b) (c) (d) from among the members of the Committee. In addition to the ten thus designated, the following shall also be members of the Office Committee, to wit, the Chairman and Treasurer of the Committee. The Office Committee shall elect its own Chairman and such other officers as it may see fit."

Several of those present asked to have it recorded that in their view the procedure adopted by the Mizrachi to gain their point was an undesirable one, but that in the interests of unity they were willing to grant them their request.

CONFERENCE DECLARATION

A draft of the resolution to be presented to the Conference was read and discussed. Various suggestions were made, and it was decided that a sub-committee redraft the resolution in accordance with the sense of the recommendations and proposals.

A.Lourie.

AMERICAN PALESTINE TRADING CORP.

1140 BROADWAY, NEW YORK

May 13, 1942.

Dr. Chaim Weizmann
President, World Zionist Organization
Hotel St. Regis
New York, N.Y.

Dr. Dr. Weizmann:

I respectfully beg to submit the following data pertaining to AMPAL-AMERICAN PALESTINE TRADING Corporation, its' objects, activities and achievements:

In order to avoid chaos and misrepresentations in the sale of Palestinian securities in this country, particularly in the solicitation of investments, and to prevent competing activities among the usual circles of Zionists and friends, and with a view to establishing a market for sound Palestine securities in the United States, it was decided in Palestine in December 1941 to establish an American investment corporation, the main objects of which would, inter alia, be to issue and sell its' own stock and Bonds in U.S. Dollars, and to co-ordinate and centralize the handling of exports from the U.S.A. to Palestine, and, after the war, to act as the underwriters for Palestinian undertakings in the financial market in the United States.

The capital raised through sale of shares and bonds in the U.S.A. would be either invested in securities of, or loaned to Palestinian Public institutions controlled by the Jewish Agency and/or the Histadruth. In view of the fact that Palestine is in the Sterling area, it was decided that, for the duration, Ampal would invest its funds in various Palestinian projects only through the fund-raising agencies in the U.S.A., in order to ensure repayment in Dollars. For example, the main two sources of investment for Ampal would be the Keren Kayemeth for new land-purchases, water supply, etc., and the Keren Hayesod, Gewerkshafen etc., for other purposes. Thus, of the funds already raised by this corporation, \$50,000 was loaned to the JNF against their notes, and similar loan to Mekorot is under negotiation.

It is believed, that if an American corporation engaging in investment and trading activities, will become a permanent factor in the U.S.A., large amounts of capital will be attracted. Also, by centralizing and coordinating the Palestine purchases in this country, this corporation will eventually be in a position to obtain credit, particularly in commodities, which will be so urgently required after the war for our work in Palestine. It is obvious that the United States will be the only available source of supply for machinery, equipment, raw material etc. for Palestine, and it should be borne in mind, that most credits extended by U.S. Governmental agencies, such as the R.F.C., Export-Import Bank and others, to foreign countries prior to the Lend-Lease Act, were handled by similar Trading Corporations. For instance, credits to China were handled by the America-China Trading corporation, to Finland by the American Finnish Trading Co., and to Russia by Amtorg.

The founders of this Corporation believe that it will be much easier to obtain credits, both in cash and commodities, in this country, through such a Trading Corporation, rather than through charitable fund-raising organizations, for the following reasons:

(1) No American Bank or Insurance Co., or any business house for that matter, will ever extend credit to a charitable organization,

(2) If a loan is floated by either the Keren Kayemeth or the Keren Hayesod, who are beneficiaries of the U.J.A., objection would undoubtedly be raised by the other beneficiaries of the U.J.A.

(3) In the event of a large loan already being floated, the Bonds must usually be of large denominations, thus precluding small investors from participating.

(4) Any loan must, per force, have a time limit, and the organization floating it cannot go on indefinitely soliciting investments.

If such a loan is floated by an investment corporation, whose permanent task it is to solicit investments, no objections could be raised by any fund-raising agency, shares of small denominations are offered in any amount, thus attracting large numbers of small investors, there is no time limit to its activities and there are a number of additional advantages in handling commercial orders from Palestine.

In order to make possible the attainment of the aforementioned objects, it would be necessary to make this the Zionist Investment and Trading Corporation. The establishment of this corporation was decided upon in Palestine in December 1941, and if it were not for travelling difficulties, Dr. Arthur Ruppin was scheduled to go to the United States for this purpose. The corporation was registered under the Stock Corporation Laws of the State of New York on February 6, 1942, and since the registration, we have sold in three cities over \$100,000 worth of stock and there is no doubt, that if our activities will be helped by the Zionist movement, we may expect to raise considerable funds for financing our work in Eretz Israel.

We enclose a concise prospectus of this corporation stating its objects and aims. The following were nominated in Palestine and now serve as the Board of Directors:

Dr. Albert K. Epstein,	Chicago Ill -	President
Edmund I. Kaufmann	, Washington, D.C.-	Chairman of Board
Chas. Brown	Los Angeles, Cal.	Vice-President
Louis Segal	New York City, N.Y.	" "
Dr. Herman Seidel	Baltimore, Md.	Vice-Chairman
Abraham Dickenstein	New York	Secretary-Treasurer.
Benjamin R. Harris	Chicago, Ill.	Director
Isaac Hamlin	New York	"

We shall be very grateful to you if you will please give this matter your esteemed attention and bring it before the Zionist movement in America.

Always at your services to furnish any additional information, we remain,
dear Dr. Weizmann,

Respectfully yours,

(Signed) A. Dickenstein
Secretary.

At the request of Dr. Weizmann I attach copy of a letter to him from Mr. Dickenstein. In his note to me Dr. Weizmann states:

"I believe that it would be of great value if the Emergency Committee and the two fund-raising institutions would take note of the contents of this letter and cooperate with Mr. Dickenstein. He has made a modest beginning, but I am assured that with the help of the ZOA this thing can grow to considerable dimensions. If, in England, we have succeeded in obtaining investments in land through the incorporation between private interests and the JNF, it would probably be possible to do it here on a much larger scale. I can not help pointing out that the time for purchasing large tracts of land is now; later on prices will probably soar to great heights."

A.L.

CONFIDENTIALMINUTES OF OFFICE COMMITTEE MEETING
AMERICAN EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR ZIONIST AFFAIRS

Wednesday, May 13, 1942.

A meeting of the Office Committee of the Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs was held on Wednesday, May 13, 1942, at 4:30 P. M. at 41 East 42nd Street, New York.

PRESENT: Judge Levinthal, presiding: Mr. Bublick, Mr. Gellman, Mr. Greenberg, Dr. Goldstein, Mrs. Jacobs, Mr. Lipsky, Mrs. Pool, Mrs. Rosensohn, Mr. Szold, Mr. Wertheim, Dr. Wise.

Dr. Weizmann, Mr. Ben-Gurion, Dr. Goldmann.

Mr. Lourie, Mr. Neumann, Mr. Weisgal.

DR. WEIZMANN'S REPORT:

Dr. Weizmann reported on an interview with Ambassador Litvinoff who had shown a warm and apparently sympathetic interest in our problems. Dr. Weizmann had also had an encouraging interview with Mr. H. In addition, Mr. Neumann had arranged for Dr. Weizmann to see Senator Wagner and three or four other senators. Senator Wagner had requested a memorandum on some of the matters raised and this was being prepared. Dr. Weizmann also saw Field Marshall Dill.

Dr. Weizmann recommended that some of the papers read at the Extraordinary Conference be published in pamphlet form, especially those of Mr. Ben-Gurion, Mr. Dickenstein, Mr. A. K. Epstein and Dr. Silver.

Dr. Weizmann went on to say that a good deal of our energies had been focused on the Jewish Army question, and rightly so, but he did want to bring to the attention of the Committee also another matter of importance. There are to-day 600,000 dunams of land available for sale in Palestine. Acquisition of this land would be of very great value - ultimately also from the political point of view, and a campaign should be organized to that end. Dr. Weizmann referred to a scheme involving private investment which had been introduced with great success in England. Dr. Weizmann reported that this scheme might not be suitable for American conditions but the National Fund here would no doubt give it full consideration.

Dr. Goldstein stated that he had presented the matter to the Conference and was sure that if Dr. Weizmann would assist him and that if the Emergency Committee would lend its official sponsorship to the project, a great deal of money could be raised for the purchase of the large areas now available.

REPORT OF MR. BEN-GURION

Mr. Ben-Gurion reported on various items of information he had recently received from Palestine:

1. The idea of an Arab Federation continues to meet with the strong opposition of the French in Syria, and among the Arabs themselves there are great divergencies of view. For the time being accordingly, further progress in

that direction on the part of protagonists of the Federation idea among members of the Palestine administration has been deferred.

2. The Palestine administration continues to pursue a policy of seeking to come to terms with the Arab extremists. They are considering a plan to create an Arab Agency to parallel the Jewish Agency. It was believed that the High Commissioner may have gone to London to discuss this plan with the Colonial Office.

3. The shortage of labor in Palestine is becoming more and more acute. On the other hand further demands are being made by the British for man-power in connection with the war. Palestine Jewry has provided technicians for Syria, Iraq, Iran and Eritrea. At such a time, the continued internment of the "Darien" passengers in Atlit remains a serious problem.

4. Jewish Military Force: Mr. Ben-Gurion said he felt it his duty to point out again the urgency of effective political action in this country in connection with the Jewish army matter. The feeling in Palestine is that the danger is coming nearer. While it is not in our power to remove the danger, nor will an additional 30,000 soldiers be decisive in the war, they may be decisive in a Middle East battle. And such a battle may be decisive for the whole future of Palestine. He said he was convinced that appropriate political action on the part of Jews and Zionists in America could bring a change in attitude on the part of the British on the question of the Jewish army. Thousands of Jews, mobilized in time in Palestine, could, perhaps, save Palestine. It was the zero hour, and in Mr. Ben-Gurion's opinion this matter constituted the most important task confronting American Zionism today. Moreover, if organized Zionists do not start to work in a responsible and effective way, the activities of the Jewish Army Committee would not only strengthen that body at the expense of the Zionist organizations, but would only do harm to the cause. The Zionists here must make their voices heard in the press, in the Senate and elsewhere. There was again an opportunity in that men like Casey and Auchinleck, now at the head of affairs in the Middle East, were not prejudiced against the proposal, and he believed that effective action might still be taken.

Naval Units: Mr. Ben-Gurion reported that the British Navy had requested the Jewish Agency for 1,000 men for a naval unit to guard the Suez Canal. The request had been made despite the opposition of the Palestine Administration. The Administration did, however, succeed in introducing here, too, the principle of parity as between Jews and Arabs, though in this case it had no practical meaning. It had been arranged that:

1. Jews will serve in Jewish naval units.
2. There will be Jewish officers and non-commissioned officers.
3. They will be sent to the Far East only if they consent.
4. Their pay and family allowances are to be on the same scale as the British receive (i.e. unlike the Army arrangements).

NEGOTIATIONS WITH NON-ZIONISTS

Judge Levinthal said he had the impression that Mr. Wertheim believed we were stalling in our negotiations with the non-Zionists. It was pointed out that there was no justification for such a feeling on the part of Mr. Wertheim, inasmuch as it was three months after the meeting on December 19th before he communicated with us, nor had any written proposals been received on behalf of the American Jewish Committee for consideration by the Zionists.

Dr. Weizmann said he would be glad to cooperate in any way with the Committee in these negotiations, but he did not consider it wise to carry on private conversations. Mrs. Pool urged that we formulate the program which we want them to accept, rather than have them formulate a program.

Dr. Goldmann emphasized the fact that in all the conversations no commitments had been made and no formal memorandum drafted.

Mr. Ben-Gurion said it was a matter which could not, in any case, be hastily concluded, but that it was important there should be clarity and agreement on our part as to what we wanted. He reported that he had been invited to address the Jewish Labor Committee and had accepted the invitation.

Mrs. Pool suggested that the resolution passed at the Conference might be used as the Zionist formula and that it be sent to Mr. Wertheim as reflecting our program.

Mr. Szold suggested that a covering letter be prepared to go with the resolution and that Mr. Wertheim be informed that such a letter was being written. At a meeting of the sub-committee the letter should be presented by Dr. Weizmann. Mr. Szold said he believed that a more effective method than sending the letter "cold".

This suggestion was unanimously accepted, and Mr. Lipsky was asked to draft the letter.

Mrs. Pool requested that she should be included on the sub-committee.

On the question of so-called "political nationalism" on which the non-Zionists were placing great emphasis, the point was made that what the American Jewish Committee really wanted was the dissolution of the World Jewish Congress. Various members present expressed the view that this was not a matter which the Emergency Committee representatives could or should consider.

VITAMINS FOR PALESTINE

Mrs. Pool brought up the question of supplying vitamin B for the children of Palestine, since it had been brought to her attention that there were a number of cases of pellagra and beri-beri due to improper nutrition as a result of the war.

Dr. Weizmann pointed out that the vitamin complex necessary to combat pellagra was made from yeast, of which Palestine had a large quantity. The Sieff Institute was in a position to manufacture the necessary vitamins on an adequate scale and it seemed obviously better to have this done in Palestine than to obtain the vitamins here and then ship them there.

FOLLOW UP OF CONFERENCE: Appointment of sub-committees

Mr. Szold suggested that the chairman of the Office Committee be authorized to appoint a sub-committee to follow up the matter of an American Zionist Federation which had been brought up at the Conference. This was agreed. He further recommended the appointment of a sub-committee on the matter of a single Zionist publication to represent all parties. This was agreed.

At the suggestion of Mr. Szold it was also decided to appoint a sub-committee to explore the possibilities of arranging for a small working Conference of Zionists from different parts of the country.

EXPENDITURES ON OFFICE ACCOUNT

It was agreed that the treasurer be authorized to exercise jurisdiction in regard to expenditures on routine office matters, such as salary adjustments, employment of stenographic staff, etc.

Such authorization was granted, with the proviso that no single item exceed \$200.00.

BOOK BY PROFESSOR HARLOW

The treasurer was authorized to spend up to \$500.00 in connection with a book to be written by Professor Harlow of Smith College presenting the Zionist program from the point of view of a Christian. In this connection it was agreed that there should be a sub-committee of the Office Committee on publications.

ARAB-JEWISH RELATIONS

Mrs. Pool read portions of a letter which was being sent by Hadassah to the Office Committee with reference to the matter of the Arab-Jewish Relations Committee.

It was agreed this should be taken up at the next meeting.

CONFERENCE REPORT

Mrs. Pool proposed that a single issue of the Hadassah Newsletter, the New Palestine and the Jewish Frontier be devoted to a common report on the Conference and to be issued jointly. Her proposal was warmly received, but the practical difficulties, such as printers' contracts, etc. seemed to be insurmountable and no action was taken.

A.L.

MINUTES OF OFFICE COMMITTEE MEETING
AMERICAN EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR ZIONIST AFFAIRS

Wednesday, May 20, 1942.

A meeting of the Office Committee of the Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs was held on Wednesday, May 20, at 4:30 P. M.

PRESENT: Judge Levinthal, presiding; Mesdames Epstein, Jacobs, Pool;
Mr. Gellman, Dr. Goldstein, Mr. Greenberg, Mr. Wertheim, Dr. Wise.

Dr. Goldmann, Mr. Lourie, Mr. Neumann, Mr. Weisgal.

NEGOTIATIONS WITH NON-ZIONISTS

The draft of a letter to Mr. Maurice Wertheim, in accordance with the decision of the previous meeting, was presented.

The letter included the Resolution passed at the recent Conference as an appendix, and a quotation from a speech of Dr. Goldmann's at the Conference. There was considerable discussion on the inclusion of this quotation. Mrs. Jacobs believed that it was inadvisable to include Dr. Goldmann's statement as though it were the authoritative definition and formulation of the Zionist position.

It was finally agreed to incorporate the Conference Resolution in the body of the letter and also the quotation from Dr. Goldmann's speech. As far as the latter was concerned, endorsement by the Committee should be limited to the phrase "no dissent from this statement was expressed at the conference". It was decided further that the letter should not be presented at the meeting but sent to the non-Zionists in advance as this was likely to facilitate discussion.

FINANCIAL REPORT OF THE CONFERENCE

Mr. Lourie reported that the expenses for the Conference were within a few dollars of the amount budgeted for.

Dr. Wise expressed to Mr. Weisgal the Committee's deep appreciation for his management of the Conference.

MR. NEUMANN'S REPORT

1. Mr. Neumann reported on plans for the dinner of the American Palestine Committee as follows:

- a. Two to three hundred acceptances had already been received.
- b. It had been arranged that representatives of various foreign governments should give brief greetings.
- c. Senators Wagner and McNary were to be present. Sir Norman Angell was invited to speak and the main address of the evening would be delivered by Dr. Weizmann.
- d. Radio addresses by Lord Wedgwood, Arthur Greenwood and Pierre Cot had been arranged.

2. In a talk with a senior official of the State Department, Mr. Neumann had learned that there was a possibility that an American Commission would be sent to

the Near East some time in the fall.

3. The University of Chicago is to conduct a seminar on Near East Affairs, financed by the Harris Memorial Foundation. Four lecturers and 25 guest experts are scheduled to speak. The lecturers include Professor Gibb of England, well known as a pro-Arab; Mr. MacLurray, former United States Ambassador to Turkey, Professor Quincy Wright and Mr. Malcolm MacDonald.

It was agreed that efforts be made to have the Zionist point of view represented at the seminar.

4. Publication of Professor Howard's book on the King-Crane Commission might be expected shortly. ✓

5. In a talk with the new head of the Near East Division of the Office of the Coordinator of Information, Mr. Neumann had discussed the possibility of arranging for broadcasts to Palestine to be made in Hebrew. There was some hope that this would be done.

6. Mr. Neumann again recommended that it would be timely to undertake the publication of a survey and report on Palestine to be sponsored possibly by a group of distinguished Americans, perhaps the American Palestine Committee. It was suggested that before making plans for this, the matter be discussed with Dr. Berkson, who is about to undertake a Palestine research project financed by the Esco Fund.

Mr. Neumann and Mr. Szold were authorized to engage an assistant to Mr. Neumann, to replace Mr. Petegorsky.

COURT OF HONOR

It was decided to request Judge Rosenblatt, Mr. Maiditch, and Dr. Blumenfeld to constitute themselves a Court of Honor in the case of Mr. Thursz and Mr. Subotnik.

A. L.

MINUTES OF OFFICE COMMITTEE MEETING
AMERICAN EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR ZIONIST AFFAIRS

Wednesday, May 27, 1942.

A meeting of the Office Committee of the Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs was held on Wednesday, May 27, at 41 East 42nd Street.

PRESENT: Judge Levinthal (presiding); Mr. Gellman, Mr. Greenberg, Mrs. Jacobs, Miss Leibel, Mr. Lipsky, Mrs. Rosensohn, Mr. Szold, Mr. Wertheim;

Dr. Goldmann, Mr. Lourie, Mr. Neumann, Mr. Weisgal.

NEGOTIATIONS WITH NON-ZIONISTS

Mr. Weisgal reported that he had shown Mr. Wertheim the letter (including the conference declaration) which the Emergency Committee had decided to send to the Non-Zionist Sub-committee as a basis for discussion at the next meeting. Mr. Wertheim had doubted the advisability of the letter, and had submitted a formula defining Jewish nationalism.

Mr. Weisgal read to the Office Committee the draft of a statement submitted by Mr. Wertheim for acceptance. There was considerable discussion on the statement. Mr. Gellman said that any effort to define Jewish nationalism was likely to produce more conflicts than peace. Zionists and non-Zionists should find common ground on work for Palestine without seeking agreement on ideological definitions. Mr. Greenberg said that he would hesitate to define what Jewish nationalism is but that we could say what it is not. He personally would be ashamed to make a statement of loyalty to the United States of the kind envisaged by the non-Zionists, which in itself conveyed suspicion that that loyalty was being impugned. He suggested that it be stated that we are prepared to accept the spirit of their formula subject to agreement on the Palestine program.

Mrs. Rosensohn agreed with Mr. Greenberg's point with regard to a statement of loyalty to the United States. Dealing with another point made, however, she thought that it was necessary to let the non-Zionists have something in writing. Dr. Goldmann was of the opinion that from the beginning of the discussion at the next meeting with the non-Zionists it should be insisted that they deal with the Palestine program, as he believed that they were very far from agreement with us on that and that it was desirable to clarify the position at this stage. Agreement should rest on a program of action, and not of definitions. Judge Levinthal agreed that this might be desirable but he doubted whether it would be sufficient for the purposes of agreement with the non-Zionists to omit reference to that point which was troubling them most.

Mrs. Jacobs agreed that it would ordinarily be bad taste for an American to emphasize his loyalty to the United States in the way proposed, but she thought that the implications of Zionism are such that some consideration must be given to the views of non-Zionists in this regard.

Mrs. Rosensohn asked to have recorded the strong exception taken by Mrs. Pool and others to the calling together of the meeting of the Zionist-non-Zionist negotiating committee on a Friday evening.

Mr. Szold said that he believed that there had been some progress as a result of the negotiations. If the formula prepared by the non-Zionists had been given to him "cold", his reaction, too, would have been to regard it as a

bar to agreement, but the formula had to be viewed in the light of the history of these discussions. He would like to make a practical suggestion. He thought that a talk between F and R might offer a way out. It should be possible to convince R that a statement in the present form was not desirable. Mr. Szold thought that the negotiations had shown that there were no fundamental obstacles to agreement with the non-Zionists, though the existing formulation might not be satisfactory.

It was finally agreed that a letter be sent to Mr. Wertheim stating that the draft submitted by him indicates that the two bodies are in substantial agreement, although the formulation still called for careful consideration; that Friday's meeting of the sub-committee should proceed to a consideration of the Palestine part of the program and that after an agreement in principle shall have been reached, the formulation of the program as a whole be submitted to a committee of two.

REPORT ON AMERICAN PALESTINE CORPORATION (AMPAL)

At the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. Dickenstein of Ampal reported on the activities of the corporation. A memorandum submitted by Mr. Dickenstein to Dr. Weizmann had been previously circulated to the members of the Committee. Mr. Dickenstein amplified the points made in this memorandum and urged the importance of creating an investment body which would attract private capital to Palestine on a large scale. He urged that this would be a means of providing a part of the very large funds which would be required in order to effect Jewish mass immigration and settlement after the war.

Mr. Dickenstein also emphasized that a trading corporation such as Ampal would be able to attract funds for Palestine while avoiding the difficulties which might arise with the U.J.A. in the case of a philanthropic organization. He pointed out finally that Ampal would work through the existing institutions and that in addition to functioning as a trading concern it would act as a brokerage house for such bodies as the Palestine Electric, the Jewish National Fund, PEC, etc. It was suggested that a sub-committee be appointed to pursue further the matter of support for Ampal, but no action was taken.

It was agreed that there be a further meeting of the Committee on Friday, May 29th, at 3:30 P. M. for a report on the dinner of the American Palestine Committee and to deal with other political matters.

A.L.

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May 26, 1942.

Mr. Maurice Wertheim, Co-Chairman
Zionist and non-Zionist Negotiating Committee
33 East 70th Street
New York, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Wertheim:

At a meeting of the American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs held yesterday afternoon, at which representatives of all the parties within the Zionist movement composing the Emergency Committee were present, the draft resolution which you handed to the writer on Tuesday, May 26th, was submitted for consideration.

It was the unanimous opinion of the Emergency Committee that the draft of the resolution as submitted by you indicates that in essence we are in substantial agreement and I was authorized to inform you accordingly. The committee felt, however, that the precise formulation of our common views and the manner thereof require further careful consideration.

The Emergency Committee therefore proposes that at the next meeting of our Sub-Committee on Friday, May 29th, we proceed to a consideration of the Palestine part of the program and that after an agreement in principle shall have been reached, the formulation of the program as a whole be submitted to a committee of two, representative of the best minds of both groups. Following such a formulation, it is proposed that the full membership of the Negotiating Committee meet for final consideration and ratification.

The Emergency Committee is convinced that this procedure will make for speedy progress in our negotiations for the achievement of unity of action in American Jewry.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Secretary, Negotiating Committee

CONFIDENTIALMINUTES OF OFFICE COMMITTEE MEETING
AMERICAN EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR ZIONIST AFFAIRSFriday, May 29, 1942

A meeting of the Office Committee of the Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs was held on Friday, May 29, 1942, at 3:30 P. M.

PRESENT: Judge Levinthal, presiding; Mrs. Epstein, Mrs. Jacobs, Miss Leibel; Messrs. Bublick, Greenberg, Kowalsky, Szold, Wertheim, Dr. Wise; Dr. Goldmann, Mr. Lourie, Mr. Neumann, Mr. Weisgal.

AMERICAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE DINNER

Mr. Neumann reported on the Second Annual Dinner held by the American Palestine Committee on May 25th at the Mayflower Hotel in Washington, D.C. It was generally felt that the function had been a very successful one. Some 440 persons had attended the dinner itself, including fifteen or sixteen representatives of different countries. Excellent messages were read by a number of those. The message from the President was in the circumstances a very satisfactory one. A rather colorless message from Mr. Wallace had also been received but had not been read. There had also been a message from Mr. Murray of the CIO. The gathering had been well reported in the American press, also in London.

Mr. Szold reported criticism which had reached him from New Deal circles by reason of the participation of Congressman Fish. It was pointed out that it was not possible to exclude Mr. Fish. On the other hand he had been given no special prominence such as he felt was his due as the sponsor of the Congress resolution on the National Home 20 years ago.

It was agreed that a pamphlet reporting the speeches and messages at the dinner should be issued by the Committee. It was proposed that the New Palestine should be subsidized to an amount of about \$400 to enable it to publish four additional pages on the dinner, but no action was taken on this. It was suggested as a means of reducing the cost of the pamphlet that the speeches might be issued in multigraphed form with a special printed cover.

PUBLICATION OF SPEECH BY MR. BEN-GURION
AT EXTRAORDINARY ZIONIST CONFERENCE

It was agreed that the comprehensive statement on the political situation made by Mr. Ben-Gurion at the Extraordinary Zionist Conference should be issued in pamphlet form. It was suggested that the type used by the New Frontier in its report of the speeches might be available for this purpose.

CONFERENCE OF ANTI-ZIONIST RABBIS

It was reported that despite the efforts of Rabbi Heller, the conference planned in Atlantic City by a group of anti-Zionist rabbis was to take place. Dr. Wise urged strongly that the Conference be ignored but added that it was possible that an effort would be made to clamp a resolution of neutrality to Zionism on the Central Conference of American Rabbis. It was agreed to issue no statement at present but if need arose, to call a meeting of the Office Committee at short

notice to deal with any action that might be taken at the conference.

It was reported that Rabbis Bornstein and Steinberg had obtained a statement from ~~seventy-five~~^{or} more leading Christian ministers in support of Zionism, and it was agreed that an effort be made to get the "Times" to publish this statement in full, if possible, on Wednesday of next week. To this end Judge Levinthal should write a personal letter to Mr. Sulzberger of the "Times". A proposal to take paid space was not accepted.

NEAR-EASTERN INSTITUTE OF UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Mr. Neumann reported that the forthcoming ^{conference} of the Institute is to begin its sessions on June 25th. Among the speakers were to be Professor Gibb (a. Social changes in the Near East; b. Future of Arab Nationalism); Count Sforza (Western Powers in the Near East); Dr. Salo Baron (Prospects for Peace in Palestine) and Professor Quincy Wright. It was not certain if Mr. Malcolm MacDonald would be attending the Institute. Some twenty-five experts were to participate in the discussions. A suggestion originally made to the Institute from an outside source that Dr. Weizmann be invited to take part had been turned down. Mr. Neumann had been informed, however, that if the Institute were officially asked to-day to invite Dr. Weizmann to attend they might accede to such a request. Dr. Weizmann, however, was against any such action. Among the experts who will participate will be Professor Jeffries and Professor Westerman of Columbia. It was agreed that it be left to the office to decide whether Rabbi Bernstein should be asked to go to Chicago in advance. It was also suggested that it might be desirable to change the topic of Dr. Baron's lecture.

RELATIONS WITH HINDUS AND CHINESE

In response to Mr. Neumann's suggestion that a small fund might be helpful in cultivating closer relations with leading Hindus and Chinese, it was suggested that this came within the power already granted to Mr. Szold to spend up to \$200. on individual items of routine office expenditure.

NEGOTIATIONS WITH NON-ZIONISTS

Mr. Weisgal read a letter dated May 26 which had been sent to Mr. Wertheim expressing, subject to changes to be made in form, agreement in essence with a communication previously received from Mr. Wertheim, but suggesting that before reformulation the question of the Palestine program should be considered.

STATEMENTS BY CONGRESSMEN RE ZIONISM

Mr. Neumann referred to a collection of statements by Congressmen on Zionism which had been issued during the last war. He suggested that it might be useful to begin the collection of such statements now with a view to eventual publication. It was agreed that this should be considered at a later date.

25TH ANNIVERSARY OF BALFOUR DECLARATION

It was agreed that a statement for publication should be issued soon to the effect that the Emergency Committee was planning a noteworthy celebration of the anniversary. The proposal that a delegation should call on the President on the occasion of the anniversary of the Congressional Resolution was deemed inadvisable.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT

Mr. Szold circulated a copy of the auditor's report for 1941 and also for the first three months of 1942. It was pointed out that the Funds were taking up an attitude the effect of which was that their \$100,000 appropriation was to be made to cover a period of sixteen months from September 1941 to the end of December 1942 instead of twelve months to October 1942 as originally understood. The Committee was expanding its work and at the present rate of expansion would have exhausted its appropriation well before the end of the year. There was some discussion on the program of the Committee in relation to its finances and it was finally agreed that a finance committee to consist of the Treasurer, the heads of the U. P. A., the Keren Hayesod, the Keren Kayemeth and one representative from each of the organizations should be set up.

REPORTS TO FULL COMMITTEE

It was stated that the full committee would be meeting with Dr. Weizmann in the near future. Apart from this, the Secretary was requested to prepare reports from time to time on the work of the Office Committee for submission to the full committee.

NEXT MEETINGS

It was agreed that the next meeting of the Office Committee take place on Wednesday, June 3, at 3:30 P.M., and a subsequent meeting on Friday afternoon, June 5th.

A. L.

CONFIDENTIALMINUTES OF OFFICE COMMITTEE MEETING
AMERICAN EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR ZIONIST AFFAIRSWednesday, June 3, 1942

A meeting of the Office Committee of the Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs was held on Wednesday, June 3, 1942, at 3:30 P. M.

PRESENT: Judge Levinthal, presiding; Mrs. Jacobs, Miss Leibel; Mrs. Rosensohn; Messrs. Bublick, Greenberg, Dr. Goldstein, Dr. Goldmann, Mr. Ben-Gurion, Mr. Lipsky, Mr. Szold, Mr. Wertheim, Dr. Wise, Mr. Lourie, Mr. Neumann, Mr. Weisgal.

POST-CONFERENCE ACTION

Mr. Ben-Gurion said that it was desirable to follow up the Extraordinary Conference in order:

1. To strengthen the Zionist movement in this country;
2. To win American Jewry to the Zionist cause;
3. To win American public opinion.

For this, he believed that mass action of some kind was necessary and recommended specifically that a campaign be set in motion to secure the signatures of a million Jews to the main points of the Declaration adopted at the Conference. He believed this would impress official circles in Washington and London with the strength of Zionist support in the United States and would be a powerful political weapon.

There was considerable discussion on Mr. Ben-Gurion's proposal.

Mr. Lipsky made the point that the securing of a million signatures endorsing the Conference resolution was neither dramatic enough to arouse the Zionists, nor meaningful in terms of an indication of support. He proposed, alternatively, a plebiscite in which American Jewry would be invited to register its sentiment, pro or con the Zionist program. He believed that if even a million of all the Jews in America were to register as Zionists, the anti-Zionist press would point out that only 20% of American Jewry supported Zionism.

Dr. Goldmann supported the idea of a nation-wide Zionist registration but said that in order for such a campaign to be successful it had to be dramatized.

Dr. Wise said he believed the time had come for such a demonstration as Mr. Ben-Gurion proposed. It might be tied up with the 25th anniversary of the Balfour Declaration, though it would be well to be ready sooner in view of the possibility of another statement such as the Atlantic Charter by the three great powers. It was to be hoped that there would be included in such a new declaration specific reference to the Jewish people.

Dr. Goldstein suggested that the machinery for securing the signatures might be tied up with the membership campaigns of the various organizations.

Mr. Neumann pointed out that the real question involved was timing: in other words, was this the moment to enter into a major undertaking of this kind, or should we save such a mass declaration for a later date.

Mrs. Rosensohn said that a great emotion had to be behind any mass movement and that nothing was worse than to try to stimulate such emotion artificially.

Dr. Wise replying said that "we were not cooking up anything," and referred to the horrors being perpetrated on the Jews in Rumania and Poland as more than a justification for a reaction of the kind indicated in Mr. Ben-Gurion's proposal.

Mrs. Jacobs said that the method of petitions and declarations was outmoded as a politically effective weapon and she queried its efficacy.

Mr. Ben-Gurion in replying to the objections to his proposal said:

1. That Mr. Lipsky's idea of a plebiscite was unreal and might be harmful.
2. The dramatic atmosphere had to be provided by the Zionists themselves.
The explicit endorsement by a million Jews of the Conference resolution would constitute a majority expression of Jewish opinion and would prove to the British people that a majority of American Jews are in sympathy with Zionist aims.
3. As to timeliness, there is no time to be lost. Although he was convinced that the United Nations would win the war, Mr. Ben-Gurion said he lived in a continuous nightmare that Palestine might be invaded. Palestine is not yet safe and is not allowed to defend itself. This is one of the greatest injustices ever done to the Jewish people and it is perpetrated by those who claim to be our friends. The immediate issue is the defense of Palestine.

It was decided to submit Mr. Ben-Gurion's suggestion to a sub-committee to work out details and report back. The committee is composed of Mr. Rublick, Mrs. Epstein, Mr. Wertheim and Mr. Lipsky. Mr. Neumann, Mr. Montor, and Mr. Weisgal who have a great deal of experience in organizing such work are to be consulted.

NEGOTIATIONS WITH NON-ZIONISTS

Mr. Weisgal reported on a meeting held on Friday evening May 29, at which were present the members of the sub-committees, Dr. Weizmann and Mr. Ben-Gurion.

The letter addressed to Mr. Wertheim by the Emergency Committee with reference to the implications of Zionism had been welcomed by Mr. Wertheim and the other non-Zionist members of the negotiating committee, and the meeting immediately proceeded to discuss the Palestine program. The question of nationalism was not considered at all.

There had been an interesting discussion on the Palestine program and after three or four hours, Mr. Wertheim had read a formula which he put forward for acceptance by the Zionists.

This formula and a formula prepared by Mr. Neumann and Judge Levinthal were then presented to the meeting for consideration.

Mr. Neumann said that he wished to make clear that he did not consider the formula as prepared by himself an acceptable^{one}. He had been asked to prepare a formula on certain assumptions which might be acceptable to the non-Zionists but could not constitute a Zionist formula.

Mr. Lipsky pointed out that we would be bound by whatever formula was mutually accepted and would have to act accordingly.

Mr. Weisgal suggested that a committee of two or three be appointed to draft a letter similar to the previous one, saying that it seems to us that we are sufficiently agreed on essentials to proceed; that it is, therefore, wise to postpone the drafting of a precise formulation which may take many months, but that sufficient common ground had been reached for Mr. Wertheim to present the matter to his executive committee, which meets on June seventh.

Dr. Goldmann said he was opposed to any further letter being sent. They had construed the last letter as indicating complete approval of their program. They do not agree to any statement which implies a Jewish Commonwealth, a national home or Jewish control, though they are ready to agree to unrestricted Jewish immigration and land purchase and colonization. Dr. Goldmann said that under these circumstances he could not conceive of any formulation on Palestine which would be acceptable to us. He proposed specifically that we tell Mr. Wertheim that we cannot agree to any formula about Palestine which does not include "Commonwealth" or "national home for the Jewish people;" that we might come to an agreement on immigration and colonization, but it must be made perfectly clear that we will carry on the fight for Jewish control and for a Commonwealth.

Dr. Wise warned against being rushed into any formulation. He said he would not delegate the power to formulate Zionism to any individual. There is too much at stake to try to come to a conclusion in 48 hours. We are dealing with a great, human, political problem and cannot crystallize it hastily. Mr. Wertheim had had many hours of discussion with the Zionists and certainly had a basis for a report to his committee without a rigid formulation hastily arrived at.

Mr. Neumann said he thought that Dr. Wise had rendered a service in cautioning us not to act hastily under the pressure of their impending meeting on Sunday. He believed we should conceive of the ultimate agreement not as a joint formulation but as three separate sections: The Zionist program, the non-Zionist program and a program of common ground which might be interpreted as supporting our demands. Their program must be one which we can accept and the mutual program must be one of practical collaboration.

Mrs. Rosensohn said she deplored the lack of mutual confidence indicated by the leaders of both sides. She agreed that we must not be rushed into any formulation, but that nothing could be done without good will on both sides.

Mr. Greenberg then reported a conversation he had had with Mr. Wertheim. Mr. Wertheim himself agrees that Jewish control over immigration in Palestine is necessary, but his committee is not prepared for such a suggestion. Mr. Greenberg read a draft which had been worked out with Mr. Wertheim.

Mrs. Jacobs said that she thought we were losing sight of why we were negotiating with the non-Zionists. She recalled that the purpose, as she had understood it, was to arrive at a common program so that American Jewry could appear as a united group before the Peace Conference to get the best possible settlement for Palestine. If this is so then we must face the fact that any program mutually agreeable becomes the program of all, otherwise the purpose of the unified program will be completely defeated.

The Chairman said that the purpose had been to find a common denominator for practical action.

Mr. Lipsky agreed that we must not be rushed into anything. He emphasized that any program agreed upon would bind us also during the war.

Mr. Ben-Gurion stated his conclusions as follows:

1. I am convinced that unity is possible if we want to have it.
2. There are many difficulties, some among them, some among us. There is confusion among the Zionists and there are cross-purposes. There are two conditions necessary for agreement:
 - a. That we keep our general political objective clearly in mind; we must know what we want in this period of our history and we must know what will help us to attain it. I believe that unity with the American Jewish Committee may help us to attain our objective.
 - b. There must be complete honesty in our negotiations. This means we must not only say what is true, but the hearer must understand precisely what we mean. The letter which was sent to Mr. Wertheim is an example. We meant to convey a certain impression. Mr. Wertheim construed it to mean complete agreement with his program, which is not what we meant.

We must keep in mind three principles:

1. Agreement must not necessarily be 100% agreement. The criterion we must use is whether the partial agreement is useful for our objective.
2. When we do reach agreement, the formula must be such that we can accept it for ourselves, although it must not necessarily be the whole Zionist program.
3. Any agreement we do reach must contain political minimal points.

My advice is, not to hurry and not to break up the negotiations. They should understand that we mean to try to come to an understanding with them."

There was general agreement on the points made by Mr. Ben-Gurion.

Mr. Weisgal proposed, in Dr. Weizmann's name, that Mr. Ben-Gurion be given plenipotentiary powers to discuss a program with Mr. Wertheim between now and Sunday. The Emergency Committee will not be bound by any formula which may be worked out, but Mr. Wertheim is to be informed that Mr. Ben-Gurion is officially charged with carrying on negotiations on behalf of the Emergency Committee.

Mr. Ben-Gurion said he would continue his conversations with Mr. Wertheim in a private capacity and that the Emergency Committee would in no way be bound or committed. He said he did not represent American Zionists but the World Zionist Organization and that the Zionist Executive would have to ratify any formulation he might arrive at in his private conversations with Mr. Wertheim.

A. L.

CONFIDENTIALMINUTES OF OFFICE COMMITTEE MEETING
AMERICAN EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR ZIONIST AFFAIRSWednesday, June 10, 1942

A meeting of the Office Committee of the Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs was held on Wednesday, June 10, 1942, at 3:00 P.M.

PRESENT: Dr. Wise presiding; Mrs. Jacobs, Mrs. Pool, Mrs. Rosensohn; Mr. Bublick, Mr. Cruso, Mr. Szold, Dr. Goldmann, Mr. Neumann, Mr. Lourie.

By Invitation: Mr. Schulson, Mr. Shetzer.

REPORT ON NEGOTIATIONS WITH NON-ZIONISTS;

Dr. Goldmann summarized Mr. Maurice Wertheim's report to Dr. Weizmann of the meeting of the American Jewish Committee's sub-committee dealing with the matter of the negotiations with the Zionists on Sunday, June 7th, as follows:

He had submitted the following material to them: the formulation about nationalism and the diaspora, the program on Palestine as worked out with Mr. Ben-Gurion (see minutes June 5) and the proposals which he had made to Dr. Weizmann about the World Jewish Congress. All the proposals were accepted in principle by a majority, but there was a "formidable opposition."

Suggestions had been made at the meeting for changes in the wording of the various formulae. These will be submitted to Judge Rosenman who will draft new formulae in accordance with the various suggestions. The meeting has also decided (a) that the formula on nationalism should, when mutually agreed to, be made public and (b) they could not definitely commit themselves on any formula about Palestine without submitting it to the State Department to ascertain whether it might be deemed embarrassing to the war effort of the United Nations.

Mr. Wertheim was informed that approaching the State Department on matters concerning Palestine was tantamount to approaching the Colonial Office. He was also told that the World Jewish Congress would not withdraw from the western hemisphere, but might consider changing its name and various other changes.

Mr. Wertheim is leaving for a four weeks holiday and has asked Mr. Waldman to keep us in touch with any developments in the negotiations and to send us Judge Rosenman's draft when it is completed.

Mr. Szold reported on a talk which he and Mr. Greenberg had had with Mr. Wertheim and several members of his committee on Friday, June 5. Mr. Szold reported to Mr. Wertheim that, according to Mr. Ben-Gurion, Mr. Wertheim had misinterpreted our letter of May 25 to signify much fuller agreement with their formulation of the "status of the Jewish people" than was actually the case. Mr. Wertheim then narrowed the discussion down to the paragraph dealing with the word "nationalism" and "national" as used in Zionist literature. Mr. Wertheim agreed that any protestation of the loyalty of American citizens to the United States must be very carefully worded. As to the definition of the status of the Jewish people, Mr. Szold told Mr. Wertheim that we had taken no decision which precluded the acceptance of an affirmative definition; but we certainly did not consider "common heritage, religion and culture" as adequate to describe the ties which bind the Jewish people together.

Mr. Szold also emphasized the fact that the negotiations seemed to be making satisfactory progress and that the principal reason why he and Mr. Greenberg had hastened to see Mr. Wertheim was to avoid any possible misunderstanding on his part as to the extent to which we agreed with the American Jewish Committee's formulation of the status of the Jewish people and the ties which bind Jews together. After some further discussion it was decided that Dr. Goldmann should inform Mr. Wallach verbally that we are awaiting Judge Rosenman's formulation for consideration.

ZIONIST REGISTRATION:

In the absence of Mrs. Epstein who had presided over the sub-committee which had met to discuss Mr. Ben-Gurion's proposal for a national roll-call of American Zionists based on the Biltmore Conference Resolution, a telephoned report from Mrs. Epstein was read.

Mrs. Epstein stated that at the sub-committee of which she was designated a member, the committee had not approved the idea of conducting a campaign for a national registration. Instead, a suggestion had been put forward by Mr. Neumann which met with the enthusiastic support of the sub-committee, which view Mrs. Epstein shares.

This plan would call for an organized attempt to secure the signatures of officers of all local Jewish organizations throughout the country to a shortened statement taken from the resolution passed at the Extraordinary Zionist Conference. The whole campaign would have to be worked out during the summer - material, speakers to approach the individual groups, contact with national organizations to secure their cooperation, etc. Each organization would state how many persons it represents.

The advantages of this plan would be: a much lower cost than a national registration; the signatures would be much easier to get; this would provide an opportunity for bringing before thousands of small organizations the political platform of the Zionists.

Acceptance of the suggestion at this afternoon's meeting would not be binding on the Hadassah representatives, nor on any of the others, as it would be brought before the governing boards of the four constituent bodies before final decision.

There was considerable discussion on the merits of this recommendation. Mrs. Rosensohn believed that if we approached organizations, a proportion of whose membership was hostile to Zionism, we would mobilize an opposition to ourselves.

Mrs. Pool thought we should postpone any registration until the negotiations with the non-Zionists had been terminated, either successfully or unsuccessfully.

Mr. Cruso emphasized that the rank and file, as individuals, were often with us, when the leadership of various organizations were against us. He would therefore prefer to have individuals, rather than organizations, register.

Mrs. Jacobs pointed out that in a well disciplined organization, any local chapter would naturally turn for guidance to the national office. She

could not see that it was organizationally correct to turn to the local chapters, rather than to national organizations.

Mr. Wertheim proposed that the whole matter be turned over to the executive committees of the four organizations for their reactions.

This suggestion was accepted.

ARAB-JEWISH RELATIONS COMMITTEE:

It was decided to postpone discussion of this question until the following meeting.

JEWISH ARMY COMMITTEE:

Mrs. Pool read a letter from the Los Angeles Chapter of Hadassah reporting on the activities of the Jewish Army Committee in Hollywood and asking for guidance.

Mr. Wertheim informed the Committee that he was leaving for the West coast and it might be well to authorize him to convene a meeting of the Zionists there to discuss with them the official attitude of the Emergency Committee in regard to the Jewish Army Committee. It was agreed that the West coast be informed of Mr. Wertheim's visit and that he be delegated to convene such a meeting.

NEAR EAST INSTITUTE

Mr. Neumann reported a letter from Mr. Wilson of Colonel Donovan's office discussing the speakers at the Near East Conference of the University of Chicago and explaining why Dr. Weizmann had not been invited and why Mr. Malcolm MacDonald had.

After some discussion it was finally decided that Dr. Wise, as the chairman of the Emergency Committee, send a telegram to Mr. Hutchins, the president of the University of Chicago, urging that Dr. Weizmann's name be included in the program to read a paper.

POST-WAR AIMS ORGANIZATIONS

Mr. Neumann reported that there were a number of institutes dealing with post-war aims and reconstruction and that it was important for us to keep informed of their activities and, wherever possible, to have representatives at their conferences and conventions.

Mrs. Pool reported, in this connection, that Hadassah had already started to make contacts with various institutes dealing with post-war aims.

Mr. Neumann also reported that the services of Mr. Schulson of the ZOA office in Washington had been lent to the Emergency Committee for the summer months.

A. L.

151

Meeting - American
Past Pres.

Devotion - Loveliness

Friends- (Saenger)

Proffered

war - Old lady

Temple - United

Rel. Schenk

4. Grow the - Sweet.

3/ Loyalty - Criticism -

Helen Birch

Earth Earth

Henry R. K. K. K.

Russell Jones

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COPY OF CABLE TO LORD HALIFAX

(Sent from Chicago)

June 20, 1942

IN VIEW OF THE PRESENT EMERGENCY IN THE MIDDLE EAST I RESPECTFULLY REITERATE OUR ARDENT WISH TO TAKE A GREATER PART IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE INVADING ARMIES AND TO PARTICIPATE MORE DIRECTLY AND EFFECTIVELY IN THE DEFENSE OF PALESTINE. THIS AS YOU KNOW CAN ONLY BE ACHIEVED BY THE ORGANIZATION OF A JEWISH MILITARY FORCE OUT OF THE EXISTING UNITS AND THEIR AUGMENTATION THROUGH FURTHER ENLISTMENT IN PALESTINE TO FIGHT UNDER ITS OWN FLAG UNDER BRITISH COMMAND.

I WOULD LIKE TO SUBMIT THIS REQUEST THROUGH YOU TO THE PRIME MINISTER WHOSE MISSION I TRUST WILL BE EMINENTLY SUCCESSFUL AND WHO AS A RESULT OF THE LONG DISCUSSIONS ON THE SUBJECT IS FAMILIAR WITH EVERY ASPECT OF THE PLAN. MORE THAN EVER I AM CONVINCED NOW IS THE TIME TO IMPLEMENT THE PROMISE MADE MORE THAN A YEAR AGO. FOR IT WILL NOT ONLY CONTRIBUTE SUBSTANTIALLY TO THE DEFENSE IN THE CRITICAL AREA BUT WILL ALSO HAVE AN ENORMOUS EFFECT ON THE MORALE OF AMERICAN AND WORLD JEWRY. I AM EQUALLY CONVINCED THAT WITHOUT IN ANY WAY DISTURBING THE SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST SUCH AN ACT OF SIMPLE JUSTICE AND PRUDENCE AT THIS TIME WILL GO A LONG WAY TOWARDS CREATING THAT GOODWILL TOWARDS THE BRITISH CAUSE IN THIS COUNTRY SO ESSENTIAL AT THIS CRUCIAL MOMENT.

CHAIM WEIZMANN

MINUTES OF OFFICE COMMITTEE MEETING
AMERICAN EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR ZIONIST AFFAIRS

Wednesday, June 24, 1942.

A meeting of the Office Committee of the Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs was held Wednesday afternoon, June 24, 1942 at 3 p.m. at the Hotel Commodore. The meeting followed a luncheon on honor of Prof. Charles A. Webster, former director of the British Library of Information, who was about to return to England.

PRESENT: Judge Levinthal, presiding; Messrs. Cruso, Kowalsky, Szold; Mesdames Pool and Rosensohn.

Dr. Goldmann, Messrs. Neumann, Schulson, Weisgal.

NATIONAL ROLL CALL

Mr. Neumann reported that at the meeting of the Roll Call sub-committee the original recommendation to secure individual signatures had been modified by an alternative recommendation - to secure mass action in the form of endorsement by local Jewish organizations.

On behalf of Hadassah, Mrs. Rosensohn reported that the matter had been discussed at a very full meeting of its National Board and that there was unanimous opinion against the idea in principle. They felt such action might first of all invite organized opposition which would be most dangerous to our cause; also that if such an undertaking were unsuccessful (as they felt it might be) it would put us in a very bad position. Mrs. Pool added that were the alternative proposal to be considered, it was important to realize there would be difficulties in cases where the local groups would turn to their national bodies for direction and in cases where the national organizations were hostile, we would fail to get the support of the local units.

Mr. Cruso reported on behalf of Poale Zion which had also discussed the matter at its Board meeting. They had unanimously favored the individual form of registration, but would be willing to compromise on the organizational registration, if necessary. Their reasons were as follows:

1. The signing of a statement by the officer of a local group would not be regarded as a proper expression of the individual opinion of all its members and would therefore be politically ineffective.
2. Individual registration would reach larger masses and is the most effective way of activating Zionist opinion.

Mr. Weisgal expressed the opinion that the whole idea was untimely at this moment - first, because "it's on the record" that American Jewry is behind the Zionist movement, and second, in view of our present negotiations with the non-Zionists, we ought to await the outcome of these talks. Should the negotiations fall through, we would then have an excellent issue to go out after American Jewish opinion.

It was decided to postpone further discussion until a meeting of the Committee at which Mr. Ben-Gurion would be present.

DR. MAGNES STATEMENT IN NEW YORK TIMES

Dr. Goldmann recommended that the Emergency Committee should pass a resolution disassociating itself and American Zionism from the views of Dr. Magnes as

reported in the New York Times of June 14, 1942. He felt it was most important that both the Yishuv and the British understand that American Zionists do not hold these views.

A letter had been received from Mrs. Epstein also recommending such a resolution, in which she was supported by Miss Benjamin.

Judge Levinthal suggested that it might be possible to get several of Dr. Magnes' close friends in this country to write personal letters asking him to indicate in a public statement that he had not been speaking on behalf of American Zionists. Judge Levinthal felt that a public resolution might tend to make a "martyr" of Magnes and would also widen the breach in Zionist ranks.

Mrs. Pool expressed the view that such a resolution seemed necessary because of the various resolutions and declarations made at the conferences of the Zionist Organizations, as well as our own Emergency Conference, in which our stand was clearly defined. To pass a resolution on the statement of one individual would magnify his views to the magnitude of the Zionist organization. Further, since the New York Times was always so ready to take up the cudgels for Magnes, any statement by us would not receive effective treatment. It was Mrs. Pool's feeling that since Hadassah had found Dr. Magnes willing to compromise and listen to other points of view, in this instance too he might be persuaded, on personal appeal, to straighten out his differences with the Zionist Organization on these vital matters.

Mr. Neumann felt such a resolution was not necessary but the officers should be authorized to issue a statement which would indicate to the Yishuv what our stand was; but that need not preclude a personal approach by individual friends of Dr. Magnes.

Both Mr. Cruso and Mr. Kowalsky also concurred in the feeling that a resolution was a "natural" action and necessary to prove that Magnes did not represent American Zionist opinion.

Mrs. Rosensohn felt that a statement from us would only bring forth another strong statement from Magnes and that it might be better to try to approach him first on a personal basis.

Mr. Szold pointed out that we must first consider what Dr. Magnes' views, as expressed in the Times report, were. Any denial on our part might also imply opposition to that part of his statement which is also part of our own policy and point of view- i. e. cooperation wherever possible with the Arabs.

Dr. Goldmann reiterated that the matter was one of a conflict of two concepts of Zionism (although because of the views he has held for over 20 years Dr. Goldmann did not personally regard Magnes as a Zionist), and the Emergency Committee must therefore present its concept and willingness to cooperate with the Arabs in accordance with the Declaration adopted at the Conference.

Mrs. Pool pointed out that any statement we make must be a positive one - we could not take a negative stand against a bi-national state since it had not as yet been actually offered to us.

It was decided to refer the matter to a meeting of the full Emergency Committee. In the meantime, an appropriate statement was to be prepared which could be used as the basis of the next discussion.

ARAB-JEWISH RELATIONS COMMITTEE

A report of the meeting of the Arab-Jewish Relations sub-committee was presented as follows:

Present were Mesdames Jacobs, Pool, Rosensohn, Dr. Goldmann, and Mr. Lourie. It was agreed:

1. That the work of the Hadassah Arab-Jewish Relations Committee should become a cooperative undertaking of the Emergency Committee and of Hadassah.
2. That the Committee shall report regularly to the Emergency Committee.
3. That the Committee shall not have authority to take any political action or publicize its activities on its own initiative, its purpose being to study and to reach conclusions for submission to the Emergency Committee.
4. That the existing membership of the Committee should continue unchanged, but that the Emergency Committee should have the right to add additional members.
5. That Mrs. Jacobs should continue chairman of the Arab-Jewish Relations Committee under its new auspices.
6. That the Committee shall continue to operate on a budget of \$4,000 until October 1, 1942, which moneys are provided by a Hadassah grant; the question of participation by the Emergency Committee in the budget of the Arab-Jewish Relations Committee to be considered further at a later date. For the time being the engagement of Mr. Moshe Perlman in New York, and Miss Lotta Levensohn in Palestine as experts to the Committee shall be continued.

Dr. Goldmann stated that since that meeting was held, he had given the matter further thought and wished to recommend that the Arab-Jewish Relations Committee of Hadassah become a regular sub-committee of the Emergency Committee in line with the other sub-committees now functioning - that Mrs. Jacobs should continue as chairman, but the Emergency Committee should have political and financial responsibility for its work.

The report was adopted as presented, and discussion followed on Dr. Goldmann's recommendation.

Mrs. Rosensohn pointed out that Hadassah could not take any action on such a change in the status of its committee until the convention, or a full meeting of its National Board. It was her feeling, however, that it would not be safe to interrupt, at this stage, the successful development of the committee as it has grown under Hadassah's jurisdiction. Further, since it was actually a cooperative effort by one of the Emergency Committee's constituent groups- it could not be considered an "outside" effort.

Mrs. Pool added that it must be kept in mind Hadassah had already decided not to change the setup of the committee at this time; also it should be recalled that Hadassah had taken up this work on its own only after their continued pleas to the Emergency Committee to initiate it had received no definite response.

Mr. Szold said we ought to consider just what advantage it would be to the Emergency Committee or to the movement in general in having a joint committee as against the present procedure, particularly since in the present set-up, the Emergency Committee is kept informed of all that goes on.

Dr. Goldmann then made a further amendment to his previous recommendation -- that we should agree to a joint committee until the Hadassah Convention, after which the Arab-Jewish Relations Committee should become a sub-committee of the Emergency Committee.

It was decided that the matter should be referred back to the sub-committee and also to the National Board of Hadassah.

POLITICAL MATTERS

Dr. Goldmann reported that during a recent visit he and Dr. Wise had had with Mr. Welles, they questioned a statement which the President was supposed to have made to the new Iraq Minister in this country stating that after the war he felt sure Iraq, Syria and Palestine would become independent. Mr. Welles subsequently informed Dr. Wise that this had been a misinterpretation. The President had merely expressed satisfaction that Syria had been assured independence and that he hoped the Palestine problem would also be solved in a just way.

With regard to the general situation, Dr. Goldmann felt it was important that we find out Washington's views on the latest developments. He reported that Mr. Ben-Gurion was seeing Mr. Bullitt in Washington, and that efforts were being made to have Dr. Weizmann see Churchill before he leaves the country. In the meantime, Mr. Lourie had gone to Washington to see Mr. Martin, Churchill's private secretary.

Mr. Weisgal reported that the attached telegram had been sent to Lord Halifax for transmission to Churchill on June 20, 1942, from Chicago.

A recommendation had been made by Mr. Neumann that in view of the new emergency a delegation should visit the President to discuss the Jewish military force, or at least the question of arming the Jews of Palestine to defend themselves.

It was the consensus of opinion that there should be such a delegation and that Dr. Weizmann and Mr. Ben-Gurion should also participate.

Mr. Szold said we must make it clear that we want not merely a delegation -- we want action. Therefore our approach must be very carefully thought out. He suggested we see one of our Washington friends first.

Dr. Goldmann said that the aim of the delegation should be to urge the President to press the British to arm the Jews. Dr. Weizmann ought to decide himself whether he felt he should participate; but even in the event that he did not, Mr. Ben-Gurion would still participate as a Palestinian representative.

Mr. Cruso approved the suggestion for a delegation and stated he had been instructed to recommend that the Emergency Committee consider holding a large mass meeting on the problems of Palestine's defense and the safety and security of the Yishuv..

Mrs. Pool expressed the opinion that we ought to prepare now for any emergency-- for instance, a possible invasion of Palestine-- and have a program of action outlined and ready for such an eventuality. Rabbi Kowalsky said he too felt it was important to prepare such a program.

Dr. Goldmann suggested that a discussion with Mr. Ben-Gurion should take place on the question of specific action-- evacuation , etc., that would have to be planned.

Mr. Neumann pointed out that the President's letter to Senator Wagner on the occasion of the American Palestine Committee dinner stated that "immediate danger to Palestine has been removed - ". He believed that such a statement may have been based on information the President had received that the situation was safe and was at the same time an answer to our demand for a Jewish Army. Mr. Neumann felt doubtful that in view of this letter we could count on effective intervention of our Government.

Mr. Neumann went on further to question whether we should consider following similar action of the Army Committee in getting telegrams from all over the country to be sent to legislators in Washington, a suggestion he had made several days ago. He reported that he and Mr. Schulson had been in touch with a young man who had just been appointed Washington correspondent for the Jewish Day and who would prove to be a valuable contact there. This young man had, in that capacity, talked to a number of people about the Jewish Army in Palestine and has been told that the idea of the Jewish Army was "too nebulous".

This raised the question of whether this was the time to press for a resolution to be introduced in the House and/or the Senate.

Dr. Goldmann felt it would be inadvisable to press members of the Foreign Affairs Committee to take any action on the Army question until we know more definitely the stand of the White House on this matter, and what the State Department will advise the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. Schulson reported an important opinion that it would be fatal if we were to try to approach the Foreign Affairs Committee now; we first ought to approach individual members of that committee and get them to understand and support our view.

Mr. Neumann reported on meetings he had held with various people in Washington. He had learned that the plans for the Chicago Near East Institute had been changed and that Prof. Charles A. Webster would speak in place of MacDonald. He had seen Mr. Alling of the State Department who was very much interested in the attitude of American Jews to the Zionist problem; he seemed particularly interested in the recent conference of anti-Zionist rabbis held in Atlantic City. Mr. Neumann said he got the impression that anti-Zionists may have been talking to Mr. Alling.

Mr. Neumann reported the following action:

1. Dr. Paul Hanna's book "British Policy in Palestine" was off the press.
2. Dr. Lowdermilk's book was progressing.
3. Work with the Christian clergy consisted of trying to get 1,000 signatures supporting a pro-Zionist Statement on Jewish immigration into Palestine; also the placing of articles in the clerical press by rabbis and other Jewish leaders.
4. Ben-Gurion's speech at the Extraordinary Conference had now been published in pamphlet form - 5,000 copies.
5. The proceedings of the A.P.C. Dinner were being printed.
6. Re: The Chicago Institute- Mr. Aglion, representing the Free French was to participate. He was a friend of Zionism and could be counted on for support.
7. Frank Bannett's speech at the Legion Celebration had been printed and was being distributed at his own expense.

POST-WAR AIMS

Mr. Neumann reported that Mr. Schulson was getting Zionists to attend various Institutes on post-war aims and planning. He reported also that a small meeting was held on June 23 to discuss contacts with Peace Institutes.

There were present at this meeting Dr. Berkson, Miss Juliet Benjamin, A. Duker, Chaim Greenberg, Beryl Levy, Rabbi Schwefel, and Emanuel Neumann and H.A. Schulson. The following recommendations were made :

1. A special brochure be prepared, setting forth Zionist peace aims which could be sent to institutes working on post-war reconstruction.
2. A special effort be made in Palestine to gather all possible material and make a study of the absorptive capacity of Palestine.
3. A study be made in America regarding the type of government and method of implementing a Jewish State during the transition period at the conclusion of the war.
4. Existing Jewish institutes should be activized into giving consideration to the Zionist solution.
5. Several Zionist organizations should get themselves on the map by registering themselves and indicating what work they are doing in connection with post-war problems, stating also what material they have available.
6. Some methods be devised as to how institutes and groups working on post-war problems can be contacted and how we can introduce ourselves into their work.
7. Research workers be engaged to prepare such material as is useful in this connection, and means be found to finance this work.
8. Seminars, Jewish schools of learning and Jewish academicians be utilized to work on some specific studies in the above fields.

Mr. Neumann mentioned further that it had been suggested the Emergency Committee work closely with Dr. Berkson in securing the necessary research material. He announced that Dr. Albright, of John Hopkins University, was going to consider the possibility of holding a Near East Institute there in the fall. He also announced that the American Council on Public Affairs was prepared to publish and distribute a series of pamphlets on Palestine and the Near East at their own expenses.

LETTER FROM RABBI GLAZER

The Chairman reported a letter received from Rabbi B. Benedict Glazer of Detroit asking that due recognition be given to the part his late father had played in getting the Resolution on Palestine passed in 1922. It was pointed out that there would be complications due to the fact that many others had also participated in this effort. No decision was reached.

FINANCIAL REPORT

Mr. Szold submitted a memorandum and report of Finances which he asked to have incorporated in the record. Both are attached.

A. L.

CORRECTION OF MINUTES

Re: June 3rd minutes: Mrs. Rosensohn asked to have the following note recorded-

"The wording at present is 'It was decided to submit Mr. Ben-Gurion's suggestion to a sub-committee to work out details and report back.' It is my belief that it should have been worded 'it was decided to submit the suggestion to a sub-committee to explore further and report back.' Only under those circumstances could Mrs. Pool, Mrs. Jacobs and myself have voted in favor of this motion. "

Re: June 10th minutes: Mr. Neumann wished to have it recorded that with regard to Post-War Aims Organization the Committee approved the suggestion that Mr. Szold, in consultation with Mr. Neumann, be authorized to engage services of a competent person to work in this and related fields.

C O P Y
M E M O R A N D U M

June 22, 1942

To: Mr. Robert Szold

From: Mr. Arthur Lourie

For the year 1942 the Keren Kayemeth and the Keren Hayesod allocated to the Emergency Committee the sum of \$100,000. In fact, however, by reason of deductions in respect of amounts paid by the funds in September and October 1941, the actual allocation for 1942 is only \$67,000.

Of this amount, a further \$8,000 is being withheld at present by the Keren Kayemeth because of the deduction of a similar amount by the Keren Hayesod in respect of their advance to us last September.

Accordingly, for the year 1942 the Emergency Committee is now scheduled to receive only \$59,000 in cash.

We have so far received \$33,500. Thus we are still due to receive from the funds \$25,500.

Our cash expenditure for the first five months of this year was \$39,200 or \$8,000 monthly.

The average monthly re-current expenses of the Committee is \$6,000.00 and the non-recurrent expenses \$2,500.00, making a total monthly expenditure of \$8,500.00.

We have no cash in the bank and are due to receive \$8,500 as further installments from the Keren Hayesod and the Keren Kayemeth at the beginning of July, which is to last us two months. This does not take into account the \$8,000 which is in dispute with the Keren Kayemeth.

Average Monthly Expenditures of American Emergency Committee

For Zionist Affairs Based on Approximate Figures

for Period January 1 - May 31, 1942

Re-current Expenses

Salaries	3,200.00	
Educational Material	275.00	
Travel & Entertainment	450.00	
Miscellaneous Expenses	380.00	
Supplies, Printing, etc.	200.00	
Cables	475.00	
Telephone	240.00	
Audit	15.00	
Rent	365.00	
Maintenance & Repairs	10.00	
Postage	85.00	
Light	40.00	
Allowance to Refugees	380.00	
(Our allowance for the month of		
June is only \$235.00)		
Rented Equipment	10.00	
Purchase of Equipment	<u>120.00</u>	
Total of recurrent expenses		6,245.00

Non-recurrent Expenses

American Palestine Committee Dinner	
(This amount is not complete)	1715.43
Struma rally and publicity	2880.79
Jewish Army rally and publicity	1780.11
Jewish Legion Anniversary	
(This amount is not complete)	74.75
Palcor	415.00
Conference to Dr. Weizmann	3525.59
Contribution to Free World	550.00
Subsidy to Hechalutz	<u>843.79</u>
	11,785.46

Estimated monthly Expense 2,357.00

Total estimated monthly expense \$ 8,602.00

MINUTES OF OFFICE COMMITTEE MEETING
AMERICAN EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR
ZIONIST AFFAIRS

Wednesday, July 2, 1942

A meeting of the Office Committee was held on Wednesday, July 2, 1942 at 41 E. 42nd Street.

PRESENT: Mr. Lipsky, presiding; Mesdames Epstein and Halprin; Messrs. Bublick, Gruso, Gold, Greenberg.

Dr. Goldmann, Messrs. Lourie, Schulson, Weisgal.

Absent with excuse: Dr. Wise, Dr. Goldstein, Judge Levinthal, Messrs. Neumann, Szold, Wertheim; Mrs. Pool.

REPORT OF ACTION

Mr. Lourie reported the following:

1. A cablegram had been sent that morning, in the name of the Emergency Committee and of all the organizations, to Mr. Churchill with reference to the mobilization of Palestine Jewry. (copy attached)

2. A cable of greeting had been sent to the Yishuv in the name of the Committee.

3. Two letters were read from Mr. Ben-Gurion, dated June 29 and July 1 from Washington, D.C., regretting his inability to attend the meeting and reporting on his action in Washington.

4. Telephonic reports were also received from Mr. Neumann and Mr. Ben-Gurion with reference to the visits of Dr. Weizmann to Mr. Sumner Welles and Lord Halifax. Lord Halifax had left for England the following morning, but before his departure Dr. Weizmann had again discussed with him the question of Jewish military needs in Palestine and Lord Halifax had agreed to take up the matter with Mr. Churchill on arrival and to give it his support.

The situation had also been discussed with Mr. Welles who said he would communicate immediately with the American Consul in Jerusalem suggesting he get in touch with the Agency representatives and ascertain from them their immediate needs.

DISCUSSION RE PRESENT EMERGENCY

A letter was read from the Hashomer Hatzair urging a meeting in Madison Square Garden. Some skepticism was expressed in the light of past experience of the effectiveness of Zionist mass meetings at this time; On the other hand, it was urged that the Zionist public were entitled to know what was being done and to feel that the leadership was active. A proposal for combining the possible Madison Square Garden meeting of the Congress on Nazi atrocities with the Emergency Committee on Palestine was rejected.

It was finally agreed:

1. That a meeting be organized for 1,000 to 1,500 persons drawn from the different organizations on Thursday of next week, or the following Monday, depending on Dr. Weizmann's convenience, but not later than a week from Monday, to hear a report. There should be not more than three speakers, including Dr. Weizmann, and Mr. Ben-Gurion, and there should be the possibility of discussion from the floor.

2. There should be a press conference next Monday, with the participation of Dr. Weizmann and Mr. Ben-Gurion. Mr. Neumann had already telephoned to say that Dr. Weizmann was prepared to take part in such a conference.

3. The organizations should circulate their members asking them either to write or wire to their Senators or Congressmen urging that Jews in Palestine should be given arms for defense.

4. There should be a statement in behalf of the Committee intended primarily for the Yiddish press dealing with the present situation.

DESPATCH OF MONIES TO PALESTINE

After a brief discussion it was agreed that the best procedure would be to inquire from Palestine itself what monies should be transmitted at this time.

HARRIS FOUNDATION-NEAR EAST INSTITUTE IN CHICAGO

A letter from Judge Levinthal reporting on the meeting in Chicago was read, also a circular which was sent in connection with the meeting with a view to establishing a permanent Near East Foundation.

Attention was drawn to the list of those who, in terms of the circular, might be interested and perhaps contribute funds. These included Harris Institute members, oil companies, archaeologists and historians in/of Near East, tobacco companies buying in the Near East and other importers and exporters, consular and diplomatic representatives, missionaries and teachers in American schools in Near East, etc.

A. Lourie.

RT HON-WINSTON CHURCHILL
LONDON

JULY 2 1942

THE ADVANCE OF THE NAZI ARMIES TOWARDS SUEZ BRINGS WITH IT THE THREAT OF INVASION TO PALESTINE AND THEREWITH THE POSSIBLE ANNIHILATION OF THE WHOLE OF PALESTINE JEWRY STOP FOR MORE THAN TWO AND A HALF YEARS THE JEWS OF PALESTINE HAVE DEMANDED THE RIGHT TO DEFEND THEIR COUNTRY AND TO FIGHT THE MORTAL ENEMY OF THEIR PEOPLE AND OF HUMANITY ALONGSIDE THE ARMIES OF THE UNITED NATIONS STOP THIS ELEMENTARY RIGHT DENIED TO NO OTHER PEOPLE WAS DENIED TO THEM THE PRECIOUS TIME DURING WHICH A FORCE OF 50,000 TO 60,000 PALESTINIAN JEWS READY TO DO AND DIE FOR THEIR COUNTRY MIGHT HAVE BEEN RAISED TRAINED AND EQUIPPED HAS BEEN LOST STOP AT THIS TWELFTH HOUR WE URGE MOST EARNESTLY THAT WITHOUT A MOMENTS FURTHER DELAY THEIR PLEA BE GRANTED AND ALL AVAILABLE JEWISH MANPOWER IN PALESTINE BE IMMEDIATELY MOBILIZED AND IF THEY GO DOWN THEY SHOULD BE ENABLED TO GO DOWN FIGHTING STOP WE SOLEMNLY AFFIRM THAT IF THIS IS NOT DONE AND SHOULD CATASTROPHE BEFALL IT WILL BE BRITAINS RESPONSIBILITY BEFORE HISTORY THAT THE JEWS OF PALESTINE WERE DENIED BY THE MANDATORY POWER THE RIGHT AND MEANS OF SELF DEFENSE STOP IN APPEALING TO THE CONSCIENCE OF THE BRITISH PEOPLE WE APPEAL ALSO TO YOU PERSONALLY WHO HAVE SO OFTEN SHOWN YOUR SYMPATHY AND UNDERSTANDING FOR THE CAUSE OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE WE KNOW YOU WILL GIVE THE MATTER CONSIDERATION IN THE LIGHT OF THE SUPREME DANGER AND URGENCY OF THE HOUR

STEPHEN S. WISE

Chairman, American Emergency Committee Zionist Affairs

LEON GELLMAN, President Mizrahi
DAVID WERTHEIM, Gen. Sec'y, Poale Zion

LOUIS LEVINthal, President
Zionist Organization of
America
TAMAR de SOLA POOL, President
Hadassah

MINUTES OF MEETING
AMERICAN EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR ZIONIST AFFAIRS

July 8, 1942

A meeting of the American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs was held on Wednesday night, July 8, 1942, at 8:30 P.M.

PRESENT: Dr. Wise, presiding; Judge Levintal, Judge Rosenblatt, Dr. Silver, Messrs. Bublick, Cruso, Furmansky, Gellman, P. Goldman, Mereminski, Naiditch; Mesdames Samuel Goldstein, Jacobs, Schoolman, Epstein, Feder, Dr. Goldmann.
Miss Leibel, Mr. Fisher, Mr. Montor, Dr. Perlzweig, Rabbi Shubow,
Mr. Neumann, Mr. Weisgal.

DEFENSE FUND

Dr. Goldmann reported the special meeting held at one o'clock that day at the Commodore, to consider an S.O.S. plea addressed to Mr. Ben-Gurion from Palestine for additional monies for plans for the defense of Palestine against invasion. (See attached minutes.)

Dr. Wise reported that the sentiment at the luncheon meeting had been in favor of a separate campaign among Zionists to raise the sum of one million dollars over and above UPA collections. However, the immediate problem was the securing of LP. 40,000 which Mr. Ben-Gurion had been authorized to pledge to Palestine by cable. Dr. Wise read Mr. Ben-Gurion's cable as follows:

"LC
ELIEZER KAPLAN
JEWISH AGENCY
JERUSALEM PALESTINE

July 8, 1942

REFERENCE YOUR CABLE JULY THIRD NEXT TUESDAY FIFTYTHOUSAND POUNDS WILL BE SENT AS EXTRAORDINARY ZIONIST CONTRIBUTION APART FROM REGULAR FUNDS THIS INCLUDES TENTHUSAND POUNDS FROM HADASSAH HADASSAH REQUESTS ITS CONTRIBUTION BE ALSO APPLIED SOLDIERS WELFARE AND MAINTENANCE HOSTELS FOR WOMEN AUXILIARIES CONFIRM THIS BY CABLE TO HADASSAH

DAVID BENGURION"

A discussion followed on the question of raising the funds needed for the defense of Palestine and redeeming the pledge of LP. 40,000 immediately, as promised in Mr. Ben-Gurion's cable.

Mr. Cruso proposed starting a campaign for self-taxation of Zionists, but it was pointed out to him that this method of fund-raising had proved to be very unsuccessful.

Mr. Gellman suggested that the money could easily be raised if 15 or 20 volunteers could be found to canvass the Zionist communities for a period of four weeks.

The chairman ruled that all suggestions for fund-raising techniques would be referred to a committee, but the important thing to discuss was the approval of the suggestion to start a campaign at this time for extraordinary defense funds.

Mrs. Epstein raised the question of the UJA and Rabbi Silver explained that only the JNF and the Keren Hayesod were beneficiaries of the UJA as defined by the contract and that Zionists could go out and collect money from the Zionists of America for this emergency without breaking the contract.

Dr. Goldmann said it was apparent that LP. 50,000 would be insufficient and represented only an immediate need. He proposed that we start a campaign to raise at least one million dollars.

Mr. Mereminski proposed that the money be secured on the basis of monthly contributions to meet a monthly budget.

Mrs. Schoolman pointed out that the Emergency Committee was not a fund-raising body and that bad relations might be created with the UJA if it were to engage in fund-raising, despite the actual terms of the contract. She believed that the Emergency was sufficiently great for the UJA to approve a special campaign if it were informed.

Mrs. Jacobs pointed out that implied in the arrangement with the UJA was the collection of maximum funds from the whole Jewish public. She therefore proposed that it would be the part of wisdom, both from the psychological and financial point of view, to draw in the UJA in the special appeal for emergency funds - not only should their sanction be asked, but they should be actually drawn in.

Judge Rosenblatt also urged that the permission of the JDC be secured for the campaign and that it be asked for a special contribution.

Mr. Weisgal said that in such an emergency one could not come before the public with an appeal for a sum as small as a quarter of a million dollars and hope to fire their imagination or their confidence that so small a sum could avert disaster. He urged that plans be made and machinery set up to launch a campaign for at least one million dollars.

Rabbi Silver pointed out that the immediate sum asked for by Mr. Ben-Gurion was LP. 50,000, LP. 10,000 of which had already been contributed by Hadassah. He did not believe it wise to give publicity to the fact that money was being raised for the arming of the Jews of Palestine against the wishes of Great Britain and without such publicity it would be impossible to raise a million dollars in a special campaign. If we wanted to get the money it should come from Zionists themselves.

Dr. Goldmann said that in his opinion a campaign was a psychological necessity. The people of this country were eager to do something specific in this emergency and would surely respond to a call for extraordinary funds.

Judge Levinthal said he agreed with Rabbi Silver that the immediate problem was the raising of LP. 40,000. He proposed postponing further discussion of a campaign until after the meeting called for Monday afternoon. We would then be in a better position to determine whether such a campaign would be practicable or likely to be successful.

Mr. Montor said if the situation were as serious as had been pictured and the invasion of Palestine imminent, the money for defense should come from the Funds. He believed the prospects of a successful campaign for one million dollars are nil; that the KH and KKL propaganda had concentrated on the defense angle all year, and the public would expect this emergency to be met from those funds.

Mrs. Jacobs said that if it were true that the emergency was so great as to make the threat of invasion imminent, then all monies actually in Palestine should be used, and money deposited in escrow in this country against those funds. She made the point that if there actually were an invasion, monies should not be in the country for the invader. It was pointed out to her that Palestine was trying to secure a loan of LP. 75,000 for the defense fund and was, itself, trying to raise LP. 200,000.

Mrs. Schoolman said she would be opposed to having the Emergency Committee raise money for a yearly defense budget. The problem was to meet the budget for the next two months and beyond that we should make no plans at this time.

Judge Rosenblatt warned that any separate campaign would affect future collections of the UPA.

Mr. Cruso supported Dr. Goldmann's suggestion that we try to raise one million dollars. He said we ought to take a long range view and not lay ourselves open to the accusation that we had not planned ahead. He therefore urged the setting up of machinery to raise one million dollars and was confident that Zionist membership would respond.

Dr. Goldmann expressed his amazement at the reaction of hesitation and uncertainty about the wisdom or the necessity for appealing for extraordinary funds to meet this emergency. He made a vigorous appeal for the acceptance of the proposal to raise one million dollars among Zionists and, if necessary, to appeal to the UJA for a contribution.

Miss Feder pleaded that the rank and file among Zionist membership be included in the fund-raising plans. She believed that every Zionist would want the opportunity of responding.

Mr. Furmansky said the whole question was bound up with the extent to which we in America identified ourselves with Palestine. We are challenged by a situation of extreme gravity and must come before the American Jewish community to ask for additional sacrifices.

Rabbi Silver recalled that a sum from UPA collections was earmarked for Vaad Bitachon and that it would therefore be very difficult to secure an additional million dollars from American Zionists at this time.

No decision was taken about the setting up of a fund to raise one million dollars. The chairman requested Mr. Weisgal, Mr. Fisher, Mr. Lourie and Mr. Montor to proceed with the plan of inviting leading Zionists to come to a special meeting on Monday afternoon at the Commodore.

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DR. MAGNES

In view of the long agenda and urgent problems which required discussion, it was suggested that the question of Dr. Magnes be postponed. Both Rabbi Silver and Mrs. Epstein urged that the opposition of the Emergency Committee to the political position taken by Dr. Magnes be recorded, but no action was taken and the whole matter was postponed.

Mr. NEUMANN'S REPORT

Mr. Neumann reported on the following matters:

1. The whole question of mass registration of Zionists as recorded in the minutes of June 24, 1942, had been referred to the four organizations, and their reports had not yet been received.
2. The statement reported to have been made by the Minister of Iraq regarding assurances given by the United States government as to the independent status of Iraq after the war, was discovered to have been groundless.
3. The Near East Division of the State Department is greatly interested in the conference of anti-Zionist rabbis. Apparently, they have been getting communications from non-Zionist and anti-Zionists and are following the situation closely.
4. The Conference of the Rabbinical Assembly unanimously passed a resolution requesting a Jewish Army.
5. A message had been sent to the British Embassy for transmission to the Prime Minister while he was here, but the message had not been received. However, the Emergency Committee had cabled to the Prime Minister urging that the Jews of Palestine be immediately mobilized and placing the responsibility squarely on Great Britain.
6. Dr. Weizmann and Mr. Ben-Gurion had seen people in the War and Navy Departments on behalf of immediate mobilization of the Jews of Palestine.
7. Dr. Weizmann had had a half hour interview with the President. The President indicated a genuine interest and sympathy for the Zionist program.
8. In an interview with the Under-Secretary of State, Dr. Weizmann made a powerful plea for intervention on the part of the United States government with the British for the immediate mobilization of the Jews of Palestine.

A memorandum on the war potential of Palestine, prepared by Mr. Ben-Gurion for the War Department, had been left with the Under-Secretary. He seemed to be impressed with the gravity of the situation and accepted Mr. Neumann's suggestion that he instruct the American Consul in Jerusalem to get in touch with the heads of the Jewish Agency to discuss the needs and plans for the defense of the country.

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9. Mr. Neumann also reported on the attitude of the military authorities in Washington on the question of American participation in the defense of the Near East.

BUDGET

Judge Levinthal reported the proposal of the budget committee that all monies raised for Palestine be taxed to secure the budget of the political work of the Emergency Committee. He further reported the decision of the Office Committee that the officers of the Emergency Committee, representatives of the parties and the heads of the Funds meet to discuss the matter.

In view of the lateness of the hour it was decided to postpone a discussion of the budget to another meeting. Rabbi Silver asked that his views be recorded, since he might not be present at the meeting at which the budget would be discussed.

Rabbi Silver said that up to now our political work was inadequate and this was largely due to lack of funds and a definite budget. As far as educating public opinion was concerned, only the surface had been scratched. Nothing had been done about reaching the masses, there was not yet a good Zionist publication. He believed that if the job which must be done is to be done properly, it will require a budget of about a quarter of a million dollars a year. The question of where that money is to come from must be decided. Part of UPA money was always earmarked for political work in London and Jerusalem. It is just as necessary to do political work in New York and Washington, therefore, he believed it was reasonable and necessary that the UPA, Hadassah and the Gewerkschaft collections should be taxed for this purpose. But, regardless of just how the budget is to be secured, money must be found for this all important work. Dr. Silver further remarked that in his opinion too much propaganda in the past year had been directed to the Jewish Army and not enough basic Zionist education was being done. ✓

The meeting was adjourned at 11:30 P.M.

M. C.

MINUTES OF OFFICE COMMITTEE
AMERICAN EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR ZIONIST AFFAIRS

A meeting of the Office Committee of the American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs was held on Wednesday, July 8, 1942 at 4 p.m. at 41 E. 42nd St.

PRESENT: Judge Levinthal (presiding); Mr. Bublick, Mr. Cruso, Mr. Gellman, Mrs. Epstein, Dr. Goldstein, Mr. Greenberg, Mrs. Jacobs, Mr. Lipsky, Dr. Wise.
 Dr. Goldmann,
 Mr. Lourie, Mr. Neumann, Mr. Schulson.

MR. NEUMANN'S REPORT

Mr. Neumann reported on action taken in Washington last week to obtain the intervention of the U.S. government for the defense of Palestine. Senator Wagner had promised to speak to the President and had also sent a cabled message to the Manchester Guardian and Daily Herald in London through their correspondents here, urging that the Jews of Palestine be fully mobilized against the threat of immediate invasion.

Dr. Weizmann had had an interview with the President and was cordially received. The President invited him to see him again in about ten days. Dr. Weizmann had also seen various people in the military and State Departments on the question of immediate mobilization of Jews in Palestine.

Mr. Neumann pointed out that it was practically impossible to publicize any of the political action taken on behalf of the defense of Palestine, because of its confidential nature.

In response to a suggestion of Dr. Goldmann's that local delegations visit their Senators in Washington urging their cooperation in the matter of arming the Jews of Palestine, Mr. Neumann said he thought there was little value in such action, inasmuch as the President had already been approached and there was no specific action which the Senators could take.

MEETING AT HOTEL ASTOR

Mr. Schulson reported on the plans for a meeting of the Zionists of the metropolitan area on Monday night, July 13. Dr. Weizmann had consented to address the meeting, Mr. Ben-Gurion had not. (See attached letter).

There was some discussion as to the program and purpose of the meeting. The meeting had been called to answer the demands of Zionists for information as to the activities of the Emergency Committee in the present crisis. It had been contemplated to have speakers from the floor.

Various suggestions were made for the program of the meeting. The following program was agreed upon:

Chairman - Judge Levinthal
 Address- Dr. Weizmann
 Report of activities of Emergency Committee- Mr. Neumann
 Summary - Dr. Goldmann
 Key questions are to be asked from the floor by members of the
 Emergency Committee.

MADISON SQUARE GARDEN MEETING

Dr. Wise said that he was authorized by the American Jewish Congress to invite the Emergency Committee to join in the sponsorship of a meeting to be held in Madison Square Garden on Tuesday evening, July 21. The meeting was being called for two purposes (a) to record our sense of desolation and horror at the mass murder of Jews in Central and Eastern Europe and (b) to demand of Great Britain and the United States that under no circumstances shall the Yishuv suffer the same fate.

The Congress had decided to invite the three bodies now in the General Jewish Council to participate in the meeting and join in the sponsorship. Mr. Waldman, on behalf of the General Jewish Council, had telephoned to inform Dr. Wise that the Council had decided on the following action: (a) to issue an appeal to the Synagogue Council to call for special services on Tisha B'Av; (b) to present a petition to the President of the United States.

Dr. Wise further pointed out that the expense of the meeting would be from six to eight thousand dollars and organizations participating in the sponsorship would be expected also to participate proportionately to the expenses. Admission charges might, perhaps, cover the expenses, but an immediate cash outlay was necessary for renting the Garden, etc. He proposed that the Emergency Committee guarantee not less than \$1,000 and should, through its constituent organizations, attempt to sell tickets up to that amount.

Mrs. Epstein said that she did not believe Hadassah could successfully sell tickets, but it would make an attempt. However, no commitment could be made.

Mr. Lipsky pointed out that the financial participation of the various organizations would be merely a guarantee against any deficit, which would be met on a basis proportionate to the amount contributed; the same arrangement would hold if there were any profit over and above expenses.

It was agreed that the Emergency Committee accept the invitation to participate in the sponsorship of the Madison Square Garden meeting of the American Jewish Congress and to underwrite any loss to the extent of \$1,000, the loss to be shared proportionately by all participating organizations. The Emergency Committee is to advance the \$1,000 immediately, and to call upon its constituent organizations to participate in the sale of tickets.

Mr. Lourie pointed out, in this connection, that there was less than \$2,000 left in the treasury for July and August. However, further monies are due from the Keren Hayesod.

Mr. Lipsky proposed that Mr. Szold, the treasurer, call a meeting of the heads of the Funds to discuss further the budget of the Emergency Committee.

BUDGET

Mr. Neumann, in the absence of Mr. Szold, read the attached memorandum on the budget, which had been previously circulated to the Office Committee. Mr. Neumann said that the Emergency Committee had been operating on a "shoe-string" and that the budget was in no way commensurate with the work to be done. Dr. Weizmann had repeatedly urged that a political fund be created. Mr. Neumann himself had prepared a budget last fall to the amount of \$280,000 but no action had been taken and no provision made to secure an adequate budget.

The committee which had met proposed that the responsibility of meeting the budget must be shared by all organizations or institutions which raise funds for Palestine, including Hadassah and Gewerkshafte, on a pro-rata basis, and Mr. Neumann believed that the principle involved should be discussed by the Office Committee. The suggestion had been made by the budget committee that each organization contribute to the budget of the Emergency Committee to the extent of 5%.

Mrs. Jacobs said she believed every one agreed on the necessity of expanding the political program of the Emergency Committee and securing an adequate budget for it. Up to now, she considered that the work had been carried in an irresponsible way, in view of the critical situation. But, she believed, in order to work out a program, a committee of the four organizations must meet to consider the whole problem.

Mr. Lipsky said that the Emergency Committee represented all the parties and should be able to reach a decision on this question which would be binding on all parties, namely, to tax all collections for Palestine for the political work in America.

Mrs. Epstein said that there was no point in agreeing on a principle, unless its practicability were determined. Hadassah, for example, would have to change its 100% clause to meet this new situation. Mrs. Epstein said she did not know what position Hadassah would take, but she was certain it would require a long and thorough discussion by the National Board.

Mr. Neumann said that the responsibility for a budget for political activity can no longer be evaded or postponed. He proposed that a small committee of the Office Committee prepare a statement interpreting the budget committee's memorandum, which should be presented to the executive committees of the various organizations.

Mr. Lipsky emphasized the necessity of the Emergency Committee itself adopting a decision in respect to this matter, before presenting it to the various organizations.

Dr. Goldstein proposed that the meeting which Mr. Neumann reported be considered a preliminary meeting with the heads of the Funds, and that another meeting be called with the heads of the Funds and representatives of the four parties. Mr. Neumann explained that the meeting which he reported had met to consider only the immediate financial situation, but had found itself involved in a discussion of the entire program and financing of the political work of the Emergency Committee. He made the following alternative proposals:

- (a) That the Emergency Committee demand from the Funds a contribution to the political work,
- (b) That the whole question be discussed at the full meeting to be held that night,
- (c) That the question be considered at a meeting of the representatives of the four organizations, the officers of the Emergency Committee, and the heads of the Funds.

Mrs. Epstein made a motion to accept Mr. Neumann's third proposal, and the motion was unanimously carried. It was further agreed, upon Mr. Neumann's suggestion, that the matter be discussed at the full meeting that evening.

ORDER SONS OF ZION

Judge Levinthal reported a request from the Order Sons of Zion for an observer to attend meetings of the Emergency Committee. It was agreed to grant this request and to so inform the Order Sons of Zion.

M.C.

MINUTES OF OFFICE COMMITTEE
AMERICAN EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR ZIONIST AFFAIRS

A meeting of the Office Committee of the American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs was held on Wednesday, July 15, 1942 at 4 p.m. at 41 E. 42nd St.

PRESENT: Dr. Wise (presiding); Mrs. Epstein, Mrs. Jacobs, Mr. Ben-Zvi, Mr. Publick, Mr. Cruso, Mr. Furmanský, Rabbi Gold, Dr. Goldstein, Mr. Lipsky, Mr. Szold, Mr. Wertheim; Mr. Ben-Gurion, Dr. Goldmann.

BY INVITATION: Mr. Daniel Frisch, Indianapolis; Judge Rosenblatt.
 Mr. Fisher, Mr. Neumann, Mr. Schulson, Mr. Shetzer, Mr. Weisgal.

MADISON SQUARE GARDEN MEETING

The Treasurer was authorized to pay the sum of \$1,000 to the American Jewish Congress representing the contribution of the Emergency Committee toward its share of the expenses for the Madison Square Garden meeting on July 21, as decided at the meeting of July 8.

The Chairman said he wanted again to make it quite clear that the meeting would not be a Zionist meeting and would not call for a Jewish Army. It is to be a meeting of protest and sorrow at the fate of the Jews in Europe and a demand will be made that the Yishuv shall not be compelled to suffer the same fate. It was to have been held under the auspices of the American Jewish Congress, B'nai Brith and the Jewish Labor Committee. The Emergency Committee had been invited to participate in the sponsorship and Dr. Wise expressed the hope that he had made explicit the character of the meeting so that there would be no misunderstandings or disappointments when it was found to be not a specifically Zionist meeting.

Mr. Furmanský proposed, on behalf of Hashomer Hatzair, that the Zionist groups participating in the sponsorship of the meeting, circulate their own advance propaganda and publicity of a specifically Zionist character. It was pointed out that at the previous Office Committee meeting, it had already been agreed that the four parties represented in the Emergency Committee sell tickets and take the responsibility for urging their members to participate.

Dr. Goldstein expressed the opinion that from the Zionist point of view the meeting would be bound to prove a disappointment and many Zionists will feel let down. However, he recognized that it is impossible to satisfy everyone in a meeting of this kind. He said that he personally felt it might have been wiser had the Emergency Committee withdrawn from the sponsorship of the meeting, inasmuch as the lack of its specific Zionist character might subject the Emergency Committee to considerable embarrassment. However, he made no recommendation, and said he was merely expressing a personal opinion.

Mr. Wertheim said he believed that a demand that Palestine be safeguarded from the same fate as had befallen European Jewry, tantamount to a request for a Jewish Army to defend Palestine.

It was agreed that the Emergency Committee abide by its previous decision to participate in the sponsorship of the Madison Square Garden meeting called by the American Jewish Congress and that the constituent organizations should do whatever they could to secure the attendance of their members.

DEFENSE FUND

Mr. Ben-Gurion reported that at a meeting of the leaders of the Zionist movement in America he had been authorized to pledge, on their behalf, that the sum of LP. 50,000 would be sent to Palestine on July 14. The LP. 10,000 contribution of Hadassah had already been cabled, but the LP. 40,000 pledged beyond that had not yet been sent. He urged that it be sent immediately.

There followed a lengthy discussion on the sources for securing the LP. 40,000 for immediate transmission. In this connection Mr. Montor reported that Rabbi Silver had telephoned and requested him to transmit his message to the meeting as follows:

Rabbi Silver said that the pledge made to Palestine must be honored. It had been thought that to meet the pledge, the money might be borrowed from the UPA and Rabbi Silver was prepared to use his authority to direct that the money be forwarded from the UPA treasury.

The following telegram addressed by Rabbi Silver to Judge Rosenblatt or Dr. Goldstein was read:

July 15, 1942

"OUR COMMITMENT TO BEN-GURION AT MEETING LAST WEDNESDAY NOON WAS CLEAR AND UNCONDITIONAL. BEN-GURION WAS AUTHORIZED TO CABLE PALESTINE THAT \$ 160,000 WOULD BE CABLED ON TUESDAY AND THAT UPA WOULD SUPPLEMENT BY LOAN AMOUNT TO BE RAISED AT MONDAY AFTERNOON MEETING. THE FACT THAT ONLY SMALL SUM WAS REALIZED AT MONDAY MEETING DOES NOT AFFECT THE SITUATION AND NO LEGAL TECHNICALITIES SHOULD BE INVOKED TO DELAY ACTION. WAYS WILL HAVE TO BE FOUND TO RAISE FROM PRIVATE SOURCES AS MUCH OF THIS SUM AS POSSIBLE. WE SHOULD NOT CONFUSE OUR FRIENDS IN PALESTINE OR GO BACK ON OUR OWN PLEDGES KINDEST REGARDS

ABBA HILLEL SILVER"

Mr. Montor warned that once money was borrowed from the KH and KKL treasuries it would be almost impossible to pay it back by an appeal to the public. He said that he did not believe a separate campaign, such as had been contemplated, would bring in large sums of money for defense. The UJA allotment committee was to meet shortly and would be presented with a cable from Eliezer Kaplan outlining Palestine's special war needs. The chances of securing the additional million dollars requested in Mr. Kaplan's cable, depend on being able to prove our willingness that the UJA shall be the only source from which that money is to be raised. Mr. Montor recalled the disappointing response to various previous plans for raising additional monies for Palestine through special appeals and loans and urged that the future collections of the KH and KKL be not jeopardized by the inauguration of a separate campaign now.

Mr. Montor also explained that without specific instructions from both the KH and the KKL, the UPA had no authority either to get a loan from the bank or to send the money from its treasury.

Mr. Szold proposed that the UPA might be authorized to borrow the money if directed by the Emergency Committee.

It was the consensus of opinion that the chances of repaying a bank loan made by the UPA were greater than repaying money sent from available funds.

After considerable discussion, it was decided that the Emergency Committee request the Keren Hayesod and the Keren Kayemeth to cable \$80,000 respectively to Palestine to meet the pledge. It is understood, however, that this money is to be repaid to these treasuries and is to be considered only in the nature of a loan.

A discussion then followed on the question of securing further funds for the defense of Palestine.

Mrs. Epstein reported, on behalf of Hadassah, a strong sentiment in favor of securing the sympathy and cooperation of the UJA in any appeal for additional funds.

Dr. Goldmann again urged that at least a million dollars be raised. He agreed that the UJA should be approached and proposed that it be asked for a special appropriation for the defense of Palestine. It might even be possible to secure supplementary monies from Welfare Funds. He suggested that the Office Committee appoint a committee to negotiate with the UJA and the Welfare Funds and report its findings.

Dr. Goldstein pointed out that money secured from the UJA or Welfare Funds would merely increase the share of the UJA in the amount of money raised and would not represent extra monies over and above normal collections, such as had been contemplated.

Mr. Weisgal said that in his opinion the UJA could hardly resist the clamor of popular opinion among Zionists for a separate campaign to meet the needs of Palestine at this moment of threatened Nazi invasion. He proposed that the situation be described to the UJA and felt confident that their permission for a special campaign would be secured.

Rabbi Gold said he believed that a separate campaign would also strengthen the morale of the Zionist movement in America and that this should not be lost sight of in discussing methods of securing an additional million dollars.

It was the consensus of opinion that the first step in the raising of a million dollar fund for the defense of Palestine was a discussion with the JDC and UJA. If there is to be a separate campaign it should be with the consent and good will of these two bodies.

It was agreed that a committee be appointed to discuss the matter with the JDC and UJA in the light of the various proposals and suggestions made. This committee is to be empowered to convene the Office Committee at its discretion to discuss the trend of the negotiations. The committee is composed of Mrs. Epstein, Mr. Fisher, Rabbi Gold, Rabbi Goldstein, Mr. Lipsky, Mr. Lifshitz, Mr. Montor, Judge Rosenblatt, Mr. Rosoff, Rabbi Silver, Mr. Sherman Shulman, Mr. Szold, Mr. Weisgal and Mr. Wertheim.

BUDGET

It was decided that a discussion of the budget should be on the agenda for the next meeting. Mr. Hanlin, to represent the Gewerkschaften campaign and Judge Rosenblatt as the chairman of the Keren Hayesod, are to be invited to attend the meeting.

M. C.

MINUTES OF OFFICE COMMITTEE
AMERICAN EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR ZIONIST AFFAIRS

A meeting of the Office Committee of the American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs was held on Wednesday, July 22, at 4:00 P. M. at 41 E. 42nd St. 1942

PRESENT: Judge Levinthal (presiding); Mrs. Epstein, Mr. Gellman, Rabbi Gold, Mr. Greenberg, Mrs. Jacobs, Mr. Lipsky, Mr. Szold, Mr. Wertheim, Dr. Wise, Dr. Goldmann.

BY INVITATION: Mrs. Archibald Silverman.

MADISON SQUARE GARDEN MEETING

Dr. Wise reported that the meeting held the previous evening in Madison Square Garden had been generally successful. In Mr. Ben-Gurion's opinion the message sent by the Prime Minister of England was very valuable inasmuch as it was the first public reference to the participation of the Jews of Palestine in the war effort.

The expenses for the meeting had been approximately \$7,000, but the financial accounts were not yet prepared.

Mrs. Epstein deplored the fact that the Emergency Committee had contributed a thousand dollars as its share in the expenses of the meeting.

In this connection Mr. Szold pointed out that he had issued the check for \$1,000 because he had been so instructed, but he believed it wrong to have voted the money in view of the lack of funds in the treasury. After this week there will be only \$385.00 in the treasury, not enough to meet the payroll. He had, however, assumed that the Emergency Committee would receive some recognition as one of the sponsors of the meeting, but it had not.

Dr. Goldmann pointed out that all the releases sent out to the newspapers had mentioned that the meeting was held under the auspices of the American Jewish Congress, the B'nai Brith, the Jewish Labor Committee with the cooperation of the Emergency Committee and the Synagogue Council, but the press had all omitted mention of the last two.

Mr. Lipsky recalled that when the \$1,000 had been voted, Mr. Lourie had pointed out the depleted state of the treasury. However, at that time it had been said that the balance of the money due from the Funds to the Emergency Committee should be called for.

It was agreed to postpone further discussion of the thousand dollar contribution to the Madison Square Garden meeting until the account of the expenses is prepared.

Dr. Goldmann said that the matter of securing the money for the budget of the Emergency Committee from the Funds had been repeatedly discussed. The Funds take the position that the fiscal year from January to January, whereas we had reckoned on the fiscal year as from October to October, and the matter has never been satisfactorily straightened out.

Mr. Szold said that a letter had already been written requesting the Funds for the balance of the money due.

Mr. Lipsky proposed that the proper authorities of the Emergency Committee should take steps to get the money due it from the KKL and the KH. He suggested specifically that Judge Levinthal get in touch with Dr. Goldstein and Judge Rosenblatt and request immediate payment of the funds due the Emergency Committee. Judge Levinthal agreed to do this.

Mr. Szold suggested that the heads of the KK, the KH and the UPA be invited to attend the next meeting of the Office Committee which should be devoted to a discussion of the budget. It was agreed to do this.

DEFENSE FUND

Mr. Lipsky reported that at a meeting of the sub-committee to discuss the matter of the defense fund for Palestine, the following decisions had been made: A comprehensive, clear statement of the demands should be drawn up. Mr. Montor was to arrange for a meeting with the JDC and the UJA. The position to be taken was that Zionists were confronted with an emergency demand for funds. They have no option but to go out and raise the money; it would, however, be desirable if the money could be raised without a separate campaign. An effort should be made to secure a contribution from the JDC substantial enough so that, in addition to the money which can be raised among Zionists, no campaign will be necessary.

Mr. Weisgal supplemented Mr. Lipsky's report by saying that Mr. Ben-Gurion was to have prepared a memorandum setting forth the facts of the military situation in Palestine. Mr. Weisgal, Mr. Montor and Mr. Shulman had been appointed as an editorial committee to prepare a statement on the basis of Mr. Ben-Gurion's memorandum, which had not yet been received.

Judge Levinthal read the following minute on negotiations in regard to the Defense Fund:

July 21, 1942

MEMORANDUM

TO AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COMMITTEE
FROM JUDGE LOUIS E. LEVINTHAL

On Friday, July 17th, I was informed by Mr. Hyman Schulson of the telephone conversation with Dr. Silver, following his receipt of the telegram which was sent by the Emergency Committee in Dr. Stephen Wise's and my name to Dr. Jonah B. Wise and to Dr. Silver.

I was informed that Dr. Silver advised that the J.D.C. representatives should be interviewed at the earliest possible moment.

I called the J. D. C. office and was informed that Mr. Baerwald had left for Elberon, N. J. and was not expected to return until Wednesday, the 22nd. I then arranged a meeting for Mr. Ben Gurion and myself with Joseph Hyman and Moses Leavitt at the J.D.C. offices for Monday, July 20, at 11:00 A.M.

The meeting was held as arranged and lasted until about 12:30. Dr. Kahn joined us shortly after the conference began.

Mr. Ben Gurion presented a clear picture of the situation confronting the Yishuv, and submitted a request for the immediate remittance by the J.D.C., out of its own funds, of \$200,000 to Palestine.

The J.D.C. representatives wanted to know what the Zionists of America were planning to do. We informed them that \$200,000 had already been sent last week to Palestine -- \$40,000 by Hadassah and \$160,000 by the other groups. We also told them that the Yishuv itself was determined to raise a million dollars to meet the emergency and that American Jewry was expected at least to match this sum.

Our plea appeared to be received sympathetically. Mr. Leavitt inquired as to the present J.N.F. land purchasing program. Mr. Ben Gurion explained that in the recent past and for the immediate future new land purchases were made only in strategic sectors of the country and that such purchases were essential for defense.

Mr. Hyman stated that the transportation of refugees still coming to America every month, and other vital items of the J.D.C. program, exhausted all available cash funds. Mr. Ben Gurion pointed out that the J.D.C. might borrow to help meet the Palestine emergency situation, in reliance upon the generosity of American Jews.

We were told that the officers of the J.D.C. would meet some time before Friday, July 24th, - perhaps, even tomorrow (Tuesday, July 21st). We were assured we would be informed promptly of any decision reached at such meeting.

Knowing that Dr. Silver was likely to attend the meeting of the U.J.A. Executive Committee on Friday, July 24th, I suggested that possibly a fuller meeting with the officers of the J.D.C. and representatives of the Zionist group might be held earlier that day. Mr. Hyman stated that Dr. Silver's presence was essential if any such meeting was to be arranged. The advisability of holding such a meeting would be considered by the officers of the J.D.C. at their meeting.

The office had subsequently been informed that Mr. Baerwald, Mr. Leavitt and Mr. Hyman could meet with our representatives on Friday, July 24, at twelve o'clock. Judge Levinthal, Mr. Ben-Gurion and Rabbi Silver agreed to go. On Mr. Lipsky's suggestion, it was decided that Mr. Herman Shulman be invited to accompany them.

BUDGET

Mrs. Epstein reported that at THE LAST MEETING of the National Board the matter of the budget for the Emergency Committee had been discussed and the proposal to tax collections for that purpose considered. Such a tax would break Hadassah's 100% clause, which, in any case, could not be done without Convention action. The only action taken by Hadassah was to appoint a committee to consider the whole problem and all its implications.

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The suggestion had been tentatively raised by Hadassah that shekel money might be used to provide the budget for political work in America.

Dr. Goldmann pointed out that shekel money could be allocated only by the World Zionist Executive and that it would be completely undisciplined for any country itself to decide the disposition of shekel money.

Mrs. Jacobs said that a discussion of the whole situation in all its aspects was imperative. The major responsibility for political work now lies in the United States and the whole question must be discussed from that point of view as it relates to the budget for political work and the allocation of shekel money.

Dr. Wise said that using shekel money as we believe to be proper was a step no more radical than the setting up of the Emergency Committee itself.

Mr. Lipsky pointed out that the separate organizations are not subject to the jurisdiction of the World Zionist Executive as to the disposition of their funds, but that the Keren Hayesod and Keren Kayemeth were. He did not believe that the KH and the KK should be exempt from being taxed for political work, but pointed out that any position they may take would have to be ratified by Jerusalem. He further emphasized that the organizations should be confronted with a decision of the Emergency Committee on the general principle of the taxation of collections, with which they might agree or disagree.

It was decided that this question was tied up with the discussion of the budget which would be the first item on the agenda of the next meeting.

MINUTES

Mr. Szold proposed that the minutes of the Office Committee be sent to the members of the full committee.

There was some discussion as to the wisdom of this procedure. Mr. Wertheim recalled a previous suggestion made by him to send a monthly summary of the minutes of the Office Committee to the members of the full committee. It was pointed out that in effect such a summary would contain almost the same information as the minutes of the full emergency committee where summary reports of the activities of the Office Committee were made.

Mr. Szold then moved his original proposal to send the Office Committee minutes to the full committee.

The motion was amended as follows: The minutes of the Office Committee should be edited by an editorial committee with a view to preparing them for circularization among the members of the full committee.

Mr. Szold did not accept this amendment.

No decision was taken, but it was generally agreed that, in any case, an editorial committee of two or three persons should be appointed to edit the minutes.

MRS. SILVERMAN'S REPORT

Mrs. Silverman, who had just returned from a trip to England on behalf of the Keren Hayesod, reported on the Zionist situation there.

She said that Mr. Locker had been successful in establishing excellent relations with the Labor groups in England and with government officials. Efforts were being made to have the Zionist case on the agenda of organizations meeting to consider post-war plans. She herself had had interviews with Lord Cranbourne, with Mr. Winant, Mr. Cazalet and others and had been everywhere cordially received. She had also met the Lord Mayors of five cities, and all of them had expressed their sympathy with the idea of a Jewish Army for Palestine. She deplored the fact that there seemed to be a rise of anti-Semitism in England.

The Zionists in England were eager to be active, but they were disorganized, under-manned and under-staffed. Wherever she went, Mrs. Silverman said, the Zionist communities were eager to contribute and to get Zionist information. The Keren Hayesod goal of LP. 100,000 had been oversubscribed by LP. 10,000, and the campaign for next year had been inaugurated. The British Zionists were grateful that America had sent Dr. Silver and Mrs. Silverman and expressed the hope that other visitors from America might be able to visit them.

M.C.

MINUTES OF OFFICE COMMITTEE
MEETING
AMERICAN EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR ZIONIST AFFAIRS

A meeting of the Office Committee of the American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs was held on Wednesday, September 2, 1942, at 4:00 o'clock at 41 East 42nd Street.

PRESENT: Judge Levinthal (presiding) Miss Benjamin, Mr. Bublick, Mrs. Epstein, Rabbi Gold, Dr. Goldstein, Mr. Lipsky, Mrs. Shulman, Mr. Szold, Mr. Wertheim, Dr. Wise

Dr. Goldmann, Mr. Lourie, Mr. Neumann, Mr. Weisgal

REPORT OF SUB-COMMITTEE ON ZIONIST FEDERATION

Judge Levinthal reported on a meeting of the sub-committee appointed to consider the question of an American Zionist Federation. There were present Mrs. Epstein, Mr. Ben-Gurion, Prof. Fineman, Rabbi Kirshblum, Judge Levinthal, Judge Rothenberg, Mr. Lourie, and a full discussion had taken place. The sub-committee had not reached any formal decision but it was recognized that the majority of its members were against the Federation proposal, and it had been agreed that they should report back to their organizations and that there should be a further meeting of the sub-committee if any one of the members felt that it would be desirable and useful to reconvene.

DR. MAGNES

Judge Levinthal read the following report which had been received from Jerusalem with reference to the conversation between Dr. Magnes and Auni Abdul Hady:

"Magnes has awoken anew to political activity. He met Auni Abdul Hady and Khaldi, the director of the Arab seminar, to discuss peace. Auni asked him whom he represented, as the Agency does not recognize him. Magnes replied that if he could get a good proposal from the Arabs many would follow him. Magnes then developed his plan for a bi-national state in an Arab Federation. Auni replied that federation was an internal Arab matter and Jews ought not to interfere. Magnes explained that the Jews may help in the establishment of a federation. Khaldi remarked that he prefers an Arab State in Palestine even without a federation. Magnes asked whether they would agree to the participation of Jews and Arabs in administrative tasks in governmental non-political departments. Auni replied that he does not care but this has nothing to do with the question.

"The information received on these conversations is piecemeal but trustworthy."

The Committee was informed that the next meeting of the full Committee is scheduled for Wednesday night, September 9th, and that as agreed at the last meeting, the question of Dr. Magnes would be one of the first items on the agenda.

There was some discussion with regard to the contents of a resolution to be submitted to the full Committee. It was agreed that the proposed resolution should

include two main points:

- (a) That the Emergency Committee reaffirms the Biltmore program and dissociates itself from the proposals put forward by the Ichud.
- (b) That the Emergency Committee condemns the undisciplined action of Dr. Magnes in undertaking a separate political activity outside of and in conflict with that of the Jewish Agency.

It was pointed out in this connection that Dr. Magnes was perfectly entitled to propagate his ideas within the movement but that his present action was quite different and was harmful to the Zionist body politic. It was agreed that the chairman appoint a committee to draft a resolution embodying these two points and also to consider other possible action.

NON-ZIONISTS

The chairman read a letter from Mr. Ben-Gurion reporting conversations with two members of the American Jewish Committee.

After some discussion of the points in this letter, it was agreed that Dr. Wise, the chairman of the sub-committee on negotiations with the non-Zionists, be requested to resume the discussions with the American Jewish Committee in the light of the information received. He is, at his discretion, to convene the large sub-committee for consultation or the small sub-committee with the members of the American Jewish Committee within the next fortnight.

PALESTINE DEFENSE FUND

A memorandum from the JNF with reference to \$160,000. advanced by the KH and the KK as a loan in respect of the proposed defense fund was reported to the Committee. The JNF stated that it was understood that all funds to be raised for Vaad Bitachon would be applied toward the payment of that loan, and the request was made that arrangements be made at once to liquidate the debt as soon as possible.

Mr. Lourie said that he had discussed the matter with the Vaad Bitachon, which took the position (a) that they had never been consulted with regard to this special fund, and (b) that their collections were exclusively for Hagannah. They recognized no obligation to repay to the Funds the sums borrowed for the special defense fund.

Following a long discussion it was agreed that the matter was primarily a book-keeping one for the Executive, and that arrangements should be made in Palestine for repayment of the JNF loan. An effort to earmark Vaad Bitachon moneys here for loan repayments might do harm to the collections of that body.

It was further stated that of the \$9,000. promised by individual donors at the meeting at the Commodore with Dr. Weizmann and Mr. Ben-Gurion, only \$1,000. had actually been received despite reminders. It was recommended and agreed that inasmuch as those contributions had been pledged on the assumption that a special campaign was to be undertaken which had not, in fact, been carried out, the donors

should be informed that they would not be held bound by their pledges and that such moneys as had been received would be returnable. Should they nevertheless wish to abide by their pledges, the money would, of course, be gladly received and transmitted to Palestine for the purpose intended.

It was pointed out on behalf of Hadassah that \$40,000 had been contributed by Hadassah for defense needs in the hope and belief that other funds would be forthcoming on the basis of that initial contribution. The chairman, in expressing appreciation of Hadassah's contribution, pointed out that while no campaign among private individuals was being undertaken, the \$200,000. from the JDC and the advance by the Funds for defense needs had been stimulated by Hadassah's own prompt response, the question of a special grant from the allocations committee was further still being pursued.

REPORT re PUBLICATIONS, etc.

Mr. Neumann reported the following:

1. Dr. Lowdermilk's book is nearing completion. He had been assisted in getting together his material by Mr. Revusky and Mr. Baroway. The book is wider in scope than had originally been contemplated and includes a chapter on a development scheme to be called "The Jordan Valley Authority". It is hoped that the Vice-President will write the introduction to the book.

Mr. Neumann suggested that a small farewell gathering be arranged for Dr. Lowdermilk before his departure for China in the fall.

2. Professor Harlow's book presenting the Zionist case to Christians is almost completed.

3. Tentative arrangements had been made with Mr. Das for a 125 page book on the Near East.

4. Mr. Neumann's article on the Near East had been reprinted from the "Free World". An article by Mr. Lipsky "Our Unnamed Ally" appearing in the current issue of the "Free World" will also be reprinted.

5. Mr. Neumann also reported on the possibility of organizing under the auspices of the American Council on Public Affairs a Near East Institute.

6. A meeting was to be held with the publicity directors of the constituent organizations and of the Funds to discuss appropriate ways of commemorating the 25th Anniversary of the Balfour Declaration.

7. Mr. Neumann was asked to discuss with Mr. Lourie and Mr. Szold^{the} financial aspects of bringing within the current budget an expenditure of \$8,000 to \$9,000 for a Quarterly.

STATEMENT BY ANTI-ZIONIST REFORM RABBIS

This matter was referred to a committee composed of Rabbi Bernstein as chairman, Rabbi Steinberg, Dr. Goldstein and Mr. Neumann.

POLISH REFUGEES IN IRAN

It was reported that a cable had been received from Palestine from the terms of which it appeared that a new batch of 800 Jewish refugees from Poland had reached Iran via Turkestan. Included were 500 children between the ages of 10 and 15. Efforts were being made to obtain certificates to Palestine for these children who lacked food, clothing and shelter. The Iraq Government was raising difficulties with regard to transit, and it was proposed that the American Government be asked to facilitate their passage to Palestine by arranging for them to travel by air.

It was agreed that the State Department be asked to intervene with the Iraq consulate here with a view to securing transit visas and the possibility of arranging for transportation in American planes for the 500 children be also raised with the Department.

AUDITOR'S REPORT

The treasurer reported that he had received the accountant's report on the financial status of the Emergency Committee for the first six months of 1942. The report is on file in the office.

A. L.

MINUTES OF MEETING
AMERICAN EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR ZIONIST AFFAIRS

September 9, 1942

A meeting of the American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs was held on Wednesday night, September 9, 1942, at 8:30 P.M.

PRESENT: Mr. Lipsky (presiding); Mr. Bublick, Mrs. Epstein, Mr. Furmansky, Mr. Gellman, Mr. P. Goldman, Rabbi Gold, Mr. Greenberg, Mr. Itzkowitz, Mrs. Jacobs, Rabbi Kowalsky, Miss Leibell, Mr. Morominski, Rabbi Perl, zweig, Mrs. Pool, Judge Rosenblatt, Mrs. Schoolman, Mrs. Shulman, Mrs. Szold, Mr. Wertheim;

Mr. Ben-Gurion, Mr. Lourie, Mr. Neumann, Mr. Weisgal.

REPORT ON OFFICE COMMITTEE ACTIVITIES

Mr. Neumann reported as follows on the recent activities of the Office Committee.

1. Defense Fund.

In response to an appeal from the Yishuv for additional funds for defense needs Hadassah had contributed \$40,000; \$160,000 had been borrowed from the treasuries of the Keren Hayesod and Keren Kayemeth, and \$200,000 had been contributed by the JDC., making a total of \$400,000. It is also contemplated that additional funds may be secured from the UJA on the basis of the special needs and requirements of Palestine.

2. Budget.

A proposed budget of \$250,000 had been considered by the Office Committee and approved on general lines if funds could be obtained. The suggestion that the budget be met by a pro-rata tax on all funds raised for Palestine had been considered, and referred back to the bodies concerned for consideration.

3. Madison Square Garden Rally.

The Emergency Committee had given its cooperation to the American Jewish Congress for its Madison Square Garden Rally.

4. Jewish Military Force.

The British had approved the formation of Jewish and Arab battalions within a Palestine regiment. Efforts for a Jewish Army were being continued. The State Department had received and requested information on the military situation in Palestine from the American Consul in Jerusalem, who had secured full and frank information from Mr. Shortok.

Efforts for gaining the sympathy of the American Government for speedy and full mobilization of the Jews of Palestine had been continued.

5. Literature.

Professor Lowdermilk's book is nearing completion. It contains a very interesting and stimulating chapter on an engineering scheme to be known as the Jordan Valley Authority.

Prof. Harlow's book, presenting Zionism from the Christian point of view, is also nearly ready for publication.

A good deal of pamphlet material had been issued recently, including United Nations messages at the American Palestine Committee dinner, Dr. Weizmann's Foreign Affairs article, Mr. Ben-Gurion's Conference Statement on Zionism, articles in the Free World by Mr. Lipsky and himself, and a reprint of a speech by Mr. Frank E. Gannett.

6. Non-Zionists

The situation seems to be that within the American Jewish Committee there is a group prepared to adopt the Palestine formula accepted by us. However, there is another group within the AJC opposed to an agreement with Zionists on those terms. Dr. Wise, as chairman of the negotiating committee, has been authorized to convene a meeting as soon as the American Jewish Committee representatives are ready to report progress.

7. Anti-Zionist Rabbis.

Declarations against the statement issued by the Anti-Zionist Rabbis are in preparation, one to be signed by Reform rabbis and the other by Orthodox and Conservative rabbis.

8. Balfour Day 1942.

Plans for the observance of the 25th anniversary of Balfour Day have been worked out and will be submitted to the Office Committee.

9. Refugees in Iran.

Efforts are being made to arrange for the transfer to Palestine of a number of Polish Jewish refugees stranded in Iran, and the Committee is in touch with Hadassah and the JDC in this connection.

10. Jewish Army Committee.

In connection with Mr. Neumann's report reference was made to the activities of the Jewish Army Committee. It was agreed to pursue Mr. Weisgal's proposal for the preparation of a "Zionist White Book" reporting on Zionist efforts in London and America towards securing a Jewish Army for the defense of Palestine.

Mr. Ben-Gurion reported on recent developments in the internal military situation in Palestine.

1. He explained the significance of the new Palestine regiment which was to include Jewish and Arab battalions and indicated the difference between the word "regiment" as used in this country and in England. In America, a regiment is a unit of a definite numerical strength; in England regiment is a unit designating a name -- e.g. The Old Stream Guards, the Royal Fusiliers, etc., and can be composed of any number of men.

2. Information received here indicated that it was intended that there shall be at first four Jewish battalions and one Arab battalion. Battalions are to be for infantry service and the present Jewish technical units are still to continue in scattered companies. There are now twelve Jewish infantry

companies and an additional eight are necessary in order to have four battalions. The government expects at least half of the Jewish enlistees to go into technical services.

3. All officers' ranks will be opened to Jews. There were at present majors in the Jewish units, and it was expected that the first Jewish colonel would be nominated shortly.

Dr. MAGNES

Mr. Lourie reported the recommendation of the Office Committee that a resolution dissociating ourselves from the newly formed "Ichud" party be adopted by the full committee. He read a draft of the resolution prepared by a sub-committee of the Office Committee as follows:

1. The American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs takes note of the report of the formation under the leadership of Dr. Judah L. Magnes of a political group in Palestine called "Ichud", which seeks to conduct a separatist political activity outside the ranks of the organized Zionist movement and does not recognize the authority of the duly elected Zionist leadership.
2. The American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs dissociates itself from the views of this group and reaffirms the resolution adopted unanimously at the extraordinary Zionist Conference held in New York City May 9, 1942, by the Zionist Organization of America, Mizrachi and Poale Zion, to the effect that in order to solve the problem of Jewish homelessness "the gates of Palestine be opened; that the Jewish Agency be vested with control of immigration into Palestine and with the necessary authority for up-building the country, including the development of its unoccupied and uncultivated lands; and that Palestine be established as a Jewish Commonwealth integrated in the structure of the new democratic world."
3. The Committee regards any separatist political activities, such as those which this group is undertaking, as disruptive of Zionist discipline, and destructive of the solidarity of the Jewish people in their aspirations to achieve a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine.

A communication from the Executive, as follows, was also read: (See Office Committee Minutes circulated herewith).

Mr. Gellman asked that the following resolution adopted by Mizrachi be recorded: (See copy attached).

He further recommended on behalf of Mizrachi that any resolution passed include a request that Dr. Magnes be asked to resign his post as head of the Hebrew University.

Sept. 9, 1942

Mrs. Schoolman made the following points:

1. She thought the negative connotations of the resolution as proposed unwiso.
2. She did not believe there was sufficient evidence to prove that Dr. Magnes had carried on political negotiations as would warrant taking action.
3. She believed that Zionist discipline demanded awaiting a statement from the Jewish Agency before issuing a resolution here.
4. She reported that Hadassah had cabled requests for information on the matter to Miss Szold and Dr. Magnes. Replies to the effect that information was being airmailed had been received from both and Miss Szold had requested Hadassah meanwhile "to continue to suspend judgment." She said she thought action should be delayed until the letters from Dr. Magnes and Miss Szold had been received.
5. She said that if any resolution were passed, it should not be one of disassociation, but rather of reaffirmation of the resolution passed at the Biltmore.

Mrs. Jacobs said it seemed to her that the time had come when something more important than a resolution should be considered. Addressing herself to American Zionists, she said that Dr. Magnes' point of view was well known. A new element had come into the picture, namely that 80 or 100 people had met with him, and supported his point of view. She believed, in the light of this development, that it was incumbent upon American Zionists to send a commission to Palestine to investigate the situation.

She recalled that when Mr. Rutenberg died she was moved by the terms of his will to feel that a commission should have then been sent; again when Miss Szold had addressed an appeal to the Yishuv through the press, a proceeding quite out of keeping with anything Miss Szold would ordinarily do, she had felt that a Commission should be sent. Now she was convinced that this was essential.

Rabbi Gold asserted that there was one cardinal point in the question: namely, is it or is it not tolerable that any individual or group should conduct negotiations with the Arabs about the future of Palestine, outside of the Agency. If this is intolerable then all other arguments were beside the point. As to evidence, Rabbi Gold continued, the official reports sent by the Executive constituted sufficient evidence. We have not only the right but the duty to issue a statement.

Mr. Wertheim expressed the following points of view:

1. Mrs. Jacobs' proposal to send a commission to Palestine sounded like a very democratic procedure. Actually, it seemed to him both irrelevant to the present issue and impracticable.
2. The present problem was one for American Zionists. The people in Palestine and here are under the impression for many reasons that American Zionism is behind the Magnes proposal. It is essential that that impression be dispelled.

3. The man-in-the-street would certainly be confused by a public reaffirmation of the Resolution at the Biltmore, which had never been challenged except by Dr. Magnes, if such a reaffirmation was not linked with opposition to the principles of the Ichud.

Mrs. Epstein said she believed the argument of inadequate evidence untenable. Dr. Magnes' position was well known and he had been quoted directly in the Times. Besides there were the official communiques from the Executive. We have known Dr. Magnes' views for twenty years and we cannot accept the Magnes point of view now any more than we could then. She believed the resolution as presented a good one and said that she could find no validity to the argument that resolutions had to be positive assertions. To name the ideas one fights against is as important as to name the thing one is fighting for. It is unthinkable that a committee which has declared itself for a Jewish Commonwealth will not state that it is against a bi-national state.

This, she continued, is an American problem. If we were serious about the resolution we passed at the Biltmore and were responsible Zionists, then, as American Zionists we had to make our position clear. It is not a problem for World Zionism, because the strength of Dr. Magnes' position is that in Palestine he is thought to be representative of a large part of American Jewry, and American government officials and public opinion would also believe that his point of view was endorsed here, unless we explicitly stated otherwise.

Mr. Furmansky deplored the fact that it was Dr. Magnes, rather than the Arab problem, which was the point of the discussion. He said he was pro a bi-national state but against Dr. Magnes' idea. He defined a bi-national state as one in which the Jew and the Arab will have, as individuals and as national entities, the same rights, even after the Jews will have become a majority in Palestine. He said that if a just constitution is worked out with a million Arabs in Palestine, it will inevitably lead to a bi-national state. There were two separate problems: an ideological problem of a political character and an ideological problem of an administrative character. He thought that from the point of view of political boldness the resolution, as presented, was a mistake, because it confused the two issues. The basic reason why we are opposed to Dr. Magnes is his attitude on the immigration of Jews to Palestine and this does not appear in the resolution.

He said that in his opinion American Zionists were reluctant to accept new relationships and new terms. Historically the whole Zionist program was a reshaping of the Basle program and no policy could be crystallized. He said he thought Mr. Ben-Gurion's remark at the Biltmore Conference to the effect that if we looked for Arab consent, there would not be a single additional Jewish immigrant in Palestine, highly dangerous. He believed that to be one of the problems we had to work out.

He agreed that there was not sufficient evidence to accuse Dr. Magnes of acting outside the jurisdiction of the Agency, from an administrative point of view. The resolution should therefore confine itself to opposing Dr. Magnes' program because it does not ask for a Jewish majority in Palestine.

Mr. Lourie reported the attitude of Judge Lovinthal and Mr. Szold who could not attend the meeting; (see minutes of Office Committee circulated herewith).

Dr. Wise had asked to be reported as in favor of the resolution.

Mrs. Pool explained the Hadassah attitude: She said that each member of the National Board was entitled, as an individual, to free expression of her opinion both there or on the Emergency Committee. For example, when Mrs. Halperin thought it might be wise to sound out the Jewish Army Committee, though Hadassah was against any negotiations with them, we were glad to have her express her opinion freely in the Emergency Committee.

"So far as the National Board is concerned, I would like to report how we stand," Mrs. Pool continued. "The Summer Executive, which functions during the summer, is not bound by the same laws as the National Board. When in June there was a discussion on Dr. Magnes, no action was taken. After a very long discussion, it was decided to veto the suggestion to pass a resolution dissociating Hadassah from the ideas of Magnes. We opposed the passage of any resolution which would be a public statement. We all favored a discussion with Dr. Magnes about his opinions.

"When the Ichud was announced the summer executive committee met. It was decided to send cables to Miss Szold and Dr. Magnes asking for their views. They had replied that they were airmailing their views and Miss Szold had asked that in the meantime Hadassah continue to suspend judgment."

Speaking as president of Hadassah, she considered this a command, unless the full National Board would say that the circumstances are so grave and hasty so important that they must disregard Miss Szold's request.

Hadassah as an organization could not be a party to any resolution passed that night. She pleaded that this whole committee await the material that is to come from Miss Szold and Dr. Magnes.

Miss Szold is the most disciplined Zionist that she knows. She felt that they must await her answer. They had thought of asking her to send it by cable, but believed that considering the nature of the material it would be impossible to get an adequate reply in that way.

Mr. Ben-Gurion made the following statement:

He said that he agreed with Mrs. Jacobs on the wisdom of sending a commission to Palestine, which course he had himself frequently urged. He did not think though that this suggestion had any special bearing upon the question at issue.

He said that the question of the Ichud was not a question of personalities, but of politics. Although it is the right of every Zionist to express his views, the matter of the Ichud is a political matter and political action must be taken; and it must be taken by American Zionists. This must be done not only because American Zionists have a greater responsibility and a greater freedom than any other Zionists now, but because it is the attitude of American

Zionists which Dr. Magnes has challenged. American Zionists unanimously declared their aim to be the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine. This requires political education, the winning over of public opinion and of the sympathy of the American government. American Zionism has accepted this responsibility. Now its aim is being challenged. It is the common aim of all American Zionists and he could not see on what basis Hadassah could refuse to meet the challenge. The "Yichud" statement was signed by prominent Americans, which fact may have a powerful effect on the American government and American public opinion. It will be considered a much "cheaper" and easier solution to the problem of Palestine than the Jewish Commonwealth. If American Zionism remains silent, it will mean that this new policy is accepted or at least acquiesced in by it. If American Zionists still want a Jewish Commonwealth and have not changed their attitude about it, then they are bound to defend their position when it is challenged.

On the question of evidence, Mr. Ben-Gurion said it was clear that Dr. Magnes was opposed to a Jewish Commonwealth and that challenge was directed not to the Arabs but to the American Government. The future of Palestine is not a theoretical, but a very real and tragic problem and it is seriously jeopardized by prominent American Jews. Mr. Willkie is now in the Middle East; the State Department reacts very quickly and sensitively to any suggestion of an easier solution to the Palestine problem and it is important to act and act now.

Mr. Ben-Gurion then proceeded to an analysis of the Arab question and a report of the efforts of the Executive to deal with it.

He said that what is called the Arab problem is a moral and political problem. Not a single group or person in Palestine who opposes the Agency's approach to the problem, has offered a policy to replace it.

He characterized as a ritual murder lie the accusation that the present Executive had not endeavored most seriously to secure an understanding with the Arabs.

A Commission had been appointed by the Agency after the last Zionist Congress to make recommendations to the Executive on the subject of Jewish-Arab rapprochement. Dr. Magnes, Mr. Kalvarisky, Dr. Thon, Rabbi Uziel, M. Asaf (a noted Arab scholar), Mr. Auster (Deputy Mayor of Jerusalem) and Mr. Kaplansky were members of this Commission, and had been unable to recommend a solution.

Mr. Ben-Gurion then reviewed various negotiations of the Executive with Arabs from 1934 to the present. The first meeting with Auni Abdul Hady, in 1934, took place at the home of Dr. Magnes. The meeting was reported to the High Commissioner, as were all the important meetings with Arabs. However, the negotiations came to nothing. Then one of the Mufti's people was approached. The Mufti proposed that the Palestine-Syrian Committee in Geneva, the highest authority, be consulted. Mr. Ben-Gurion went to Geneva to discuss an agreement there. The reply of the highest authority in the Arab world was that there could be an agreement only if the Jews would remain a permanent minority. Moreover, the spokesman said, how can you expect me to agree to a Jewish majority, when the English won't let you have it.

Conversations were later held with George Antonius, who proposed a Jewish State in a federation of the Lebanon, Syria, Palestine and Transjordan. When he was questioned, it was ascertained that the Jews would have no right of settlement in the various states of the federation, according to George Antonius.

In 1936 there was a pogrom in Jaffa. Mr. Ben-Gurion was asked whether he would continue to negotiate with the Arabs during the disturbances. He said that if any Arabs were found with whom it would be possible to talk, negotiations would certainly be continued. Musa Alami, one of the Arab leaders (a close friend of the Mufti) came to discuss the problem with us. He said that a pre-condition to negotiations was the stoppage of Jewish immigration. He said "no, that is no basis for negotiation."

We pursued a policy of non-retaliation against the innocent Arabs during the maiming and killing of innocent Jews because we felt that our account with the Arabs was one with history and not merely with the exigencies of the moment. We did not want our children to have to say that we got Palestine by killing innocent Arabs. Perhaps our policy was a wrong one, but we pursued it after grave consideration and despite much provocation, Mr. Ben-Gurion said.

He emphasized that one had to reckon with the facts in the case. He had not been able to find a single influential Arab who would make an agreement with the Jews on any basis except that of a permanent Jewish minority in Palestine. He recalled the London Conferences where there were two separate delegations of Arabs, one appointed by the Mufti and the other opponents of the Mufti. Both rejected the White Paper as not going far enough. With the knowledge and consent of the Actions Committee we discussed many proposals of a settlement with the leaders of the Palestinian and Syrian Arabs: Parity, Federation etc. We tried this to see whether there were some possible basis of negotiation, but even that was not acceptable to the Arabs.

The Arabs in this war and in the pre-war period have become Hitlerized. It is obvious that not every Arab is a Nazi and wants to exterminate the Jews; that is equally true of the Germans. But to accuse the Jews or the Agency of not having been able to come to an agreement with the Arabs would be like accusing the Jews of Germany for not having been able to find an agreement with Hitler. Even the Soviet Union where there is no anti-Semitism, supported the Mufti's terror policy. No Executive, perhaps with the single exception of the Sachor Executive, is guilty in its dealings with the Arabs.

The Ben-Tov memorandum recommends a plan which is partition plus the White Paper. Even if we would agree to it, the Arabs would not. If a bi-national state, however it is defined, does not mean complete cessation of Jewish immigration, the Arabs will oppose it because they are opposed to Jewish growing strength in Palestine. The friendly Arab at the London Conference proposed that the status of the Jew in Palestine shall be similar to that in Egypt.

Dr. Magnes has not got a single Arab to agree to even his proposals. He appeals to Jews and not to Arabs. His practical aim is not an Arab agreement but a non-Zionist solution of the Palestine problem.

At the conclusion of Mr. Ben-Gurion's address, Mrs. Pool proposed that any decision be postponed until after the next National Board meeting of Hadassah on Wednesday, September 16th. She said that Hadassah, as an

organization, could not take any action until after that meeting. She suggested that a special meeting of the full Emergency Committee be called for Thursday, September 17th, at which time Hadassah would be prepared to state its position.

Mr. Weisgal amended Mrs. Pool's motion as follows: That this meeting take whatever action it proposes taking now, but should defer making public any statement, or making final the wording of any resolution until after Hadassah's National Board meeting.

Mrs. Pool said that she as an individual was opposed to stating her views now until she had further information from Miss Szold and Dr. Magnes, but that the National Board could take action committing Hadassah as an organization before then.

The following motion was passed: The Committee resolves to accept a resolution incorporating the following three points: (a) opposition to activities and views of the "Ichud"; (b) reaffirmation of the Biltmore program; (c) the readiness and desire of the Jewish people for full cooperation with their Arab neighbors. Final editing and publicity on the resolution to be postponed until after the special meeting to be called next Thursday, September 17th, to enable Hadassah to present the matter to their Board.

Mrs. Jacobs, Mrs. Schoolman and Mrs. Pool voted against the motion. ✓

Mrs. Schoolman asked to have recorded her proposal that the Emergency Committee officially request the World Zionist Executive to issue a statement on the "Ichud".

A. L.

RESOLUTION RE DR. MAGNES ADOPTED BY THE MIZRACHI ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

The conference of Rabbis and members of the Mizrachi Vaad Hapoel, held on Tuesday, September 8, 1942 at Hotel Pennsylvania, New York City, registers its most vigorous protest against Dr. Magnes and his followers, who have acted treasonably to the highest and most vital interests of the Jewish people, by organizing a group which is conducting negotiations with the Arabs without the knowledge or consent of the Jewish Agency, which is the only recognized authoritative body of the Jewish people in regard to Palestine.

In thus negotiating, the above group has yielded to the Arab terrorists, the followers of the Mufti, and has renounced the hope of our people for Ceulat Haaretz.

The conference is unanimously of the opinion that Dr. Magnes and his associates of the "Ichud", have betrayed the fundamental principles of Judaism and Zionism and should be removed from every official position in the life of the Yishuv. In particular it is urged that Dr. Magnes be immediately asked to resign from his position as head of the Hebrew University, which is rightly regarded by all as a national Jewish institution.

MINUTES OF OFFICE COMMITTEE MEETING
AMERICAN EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR ZIONIST AFFAIRS

A meeting of the Office Committee of the American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs was held on Wednesday, September 9, 1942, at 4P.M. at 41 East 42nd Street.

PRESENT: Dr. Wise (presiding) Mr. Bublick, Mrs. Epstein, Mr. Gellman, Mr. Lipsky, Mrs. Pool, Mr. Wertheim
Mr. Ben-Gurion, Dr. Goldmann
Mr. Lourie, Mr. Neumann, Mr. Weisgal

NON-ZIONISTS

Dr. Wise reported a conversation he had had with Mr. Wertheim, president of the American Jewish Committee. Mr. Wertheim had said that he was still not without hope of a successful outcome of the discussions, but that the non-Zionist sub-committee is not ready for a further meeting. Mr. Wertheim had agreed to inform us before his Committee would draw up any statement for the public with regard to Palestine.

ANTI-ZIONIST RABBIS

Mr. Neumann reported communications received from Rabbi Bernstein and Dr. Israel Goldstein who were appointed to the sub-committee to deal with the question of replying to the anti-Zionist statement made by a group of reform rabbis, - also from Dr. Heller. It was agreed to proceed with plans for securing signatures to a pro-Zionist platform from reform, orthodox and conservative rabbis.

PAMPHLET MATERIAL

Mr. Neumann further reported that the California Church Council had requested 780 of Professor Niebuhr's pamphlets for circulation; that Mr. Frank Gannett's pamphlet had been very well received and that reprints of various other available pamphlets were being made. Another printing of the Niebuhr pamphlet was authorized.

WASHINGTON OFFICE AND BUDGET

Mr. Neumann then brought up the question of representation in Washington and, specifically, the problem of securing a person to act as counsel to the American Palestine Committee. He said that someone was available for this post, but that a decision would have to be taken as to whether negotiations with this candidate should proceed or not.

It was pointed out in the course of discussion that the question was whether the Emergency Committee seriously intended to open a Washington Office and that this depended in turn on the amount of money which could be secured for the budget. The matter of a quarterly publication, too, was being held in abeyance because of the uncertainty about the budget.

It was recommended and agreed that two budgets, "A" and "B", be prepared: one of \$175,000. and one of \$250,000. Both of these should be presented to the UPA for consideration. The scope of the work undertaken by the Emergency Committee would have to depend on the budget accepted.

Mr. Neumann further reported the resignation of Mr. Kritzer.

DR. MAGNES'S COMMITTEE

It was reported that the sub-committee which had been appointed at the last meeting to draft a resolution disassociating the Emergency Committee from the "Ichud" had been unable to meet. Alternative drafts prepared in the office were accordingly submitted to the meeting.

A report had been received from the Executive in Jerusalem with regard to the opening meeting of the "Ichud" as follows:

"The initiative for establishing the new party came as a result of Magnes's talk with Auni Abdul Hady (mentioned in report of September 2). An invitation for a meeting was sent out over the signatures of Magnes, Miss Szold, Buber, Smilansky, Julius Simon and Goldwater (of the London Economic Corporation). Those invited were requested to sign their agreement to two principles: (1) Palestine as a bi-national state; (2) its participation in an Arab Federation.

"The meeting took place on August 11, in the Hall of the Olei Germania in Jerusalem. About 80 persons were present and Magnes presided. He opened in a high moral vein declaring that this was the eleventh hour. The Arabs are opposed, only because they don't believe that the Jews want peace. The solution is a bi-national state. It is necessary to establish a political organization which stands for this principle and which should be called 'Ichud'. Continuing, Magnes said that a committee ought to be established to work out a detailed program and to make contacts with various people throughout the world for settling the Palestine question after victory, especially in America.

"America will not accept the plans of Jewish chauvinists and Arab extremists and will turn to him and to people like him asking for a compromise program. The 'Ichud' will also engage in practical activities. It will propose to the government the establishment of an office of social welfare, with two Arabs, two Jews and two Christians. The 'Ichud' will develop educational and social cooperation with the Arabs; will work among the Palestine regiment and will propagate ideas of peace. It will also ask the public to delete the clause of the Jewish National Fund stating that its land is for Jews only, which means, practically, that an Arab cannot put his foot on the soil.

"A Reform Rabbi who was present, explained that a new organization is necessary publicly to support Magnes, who now is an asset, of which Yishuv does not make use. He added that the League for Jewish-Arab rapprochement is not suitable for that task because of its agreement with the Hashomer Hatzair. (The Hashomer Hatzair joined the League on the basis of an agreement requesting a bi-national state and Jewish immigration according to the economic absorptive capacity of the country.)"

Mrs. Pool asked to be recorded as follows: "I would like to report for the record Hadassah's position insofar as it has a position at this point. A meeting of the Summer Executive (which acts for the National Board during the summer) devoted itself to a discussion of the statement about Dr. Magnes's position appearing in the New York Times in June. At that meeting there were some members who pressed that Hadassah disassociate itself from Dr. Magnes's position and make

Hadassah's own position clear. This suggestion was vetoed.

Last Wednesday there was another meeting of the Summer Executive and it was felt that we should get further information: that no responsible body should take action on newspaper reports. They therefore sent two cables, one to Miss Szold and one to Dr. Magnes, requesting further information about the 'Ichud'. Miss Szold had replied in a cable informing Hadassah that she was airmailing all information and requesting that judgment be suspended until it arrived. Dr. Magnes also cabled that he was airmailing his views. Hadassah therefore felt that it should withhold itself from association with any statement until the information from Miss Szold and Dr. Magnes should be received."

Mrs. Epstein said that Mrs. Pool's facts as presented were correct, but the implications were not. Thus it was by no means certain that the full National Board would be of the same view. The vote had been very close and the Summer Executive was, in fact, a small committee composed of those members of the National Board in and around New York during the summer.

Mrs. Pool formally requested that no decision be taken on this question until after the meeting of the full National Board of Hadassah in conjunction with the National Convention of Hadassah which would be held in five weeks. In any case, as the President of Hadassah, she could not permit it to be associated with any resolution which might be passed by the Emergency Committee now.

Mr. Gellman said he thought Hadassah's request without justification. The chairman of the Jewish Agency is in America and has given an official report. The Zionists of America were eager to hear an expression of opinion on the matter and it should be given as soon as possible.

Mr. Neumann said he could not understand Hadassah's position from a legal point of view: On what basis, he asked, could it disassociate itself from a resolution passed by a majority vote of a committee of which it was a constituent member?

Mr. Lourie reported that Judge Levinthal and Mr. Szold had asked him to convey their regrets to the meeting, at their inability to be present that evening, -- Judge Levinthal because of court duties in Philadelphia, Mr. Szold because of illness. Judge Levinthal had stated that if there was a majority in favor of a statement he was willing to go along. But he doubted whether it would not strengthen Magnes and his group to direct a statement specially at them. Also in view of Miss Szold's telegram he believed in any case that an opportunity be given for her to set forth her position.

Mr. Szold, too, was of the opinion that it would be impolitic to issue a resolution which is directed primarily at Dr. Magnes. It would serve to give him just what he wanted -- additional publicity -- without achieving anything. It would merely result in alienating people who do not understand the problem and cannot be made to understand. But that the way to approach the matter was in terms of our own objectives and to bear stress on that rather than on the activities of an individual. Accordingly, it might be useful to reaffirm and expand the Biltmore Resolution indicating that that program alone offered a radical solution of the Jewish problem.

Dr. Goldmann made the following points:

1. The fear that the passing of a resolution would give undue publicity to Dr. Magnes was not well founded inasmuch as he had already received a great deal of publicity of which he himself was the source.

2. The danger of the situation lies in the fact that Dr. Magnes is publicized as representing large numbers of American Zionists; therefore American Zionists should repudiate him and wipe out the impression that he speaks for American Jewish opinion.

3. In regard to Hadassah's position, Dr. Goldmann pointed out that it was a most unclear one. At the Biltmore Conference not one Hadassah member had opposed the Jewish Commonwealth as the political aim of the Zionist movement. It was, then, a political contradiction for it to be on record as favoring a Jewish Commonwealth and yet not to oppose a bi-national state. If Hadassah were serious about discipline and about a Jewish Commonwealth then it would have to be opposed to a program which repudiated that as a Zionist aim.

Mrs. Pool said there was no question about Hadassah's support of a Jewish Commonwealth. It maintained, however, that all pronouncements should be positive and not negative -- the man on the street would be confused by negative pronouncements. Moreover, Hadassah had to have further facts before it was prepared to judge the situation.

Mr. Ben-Gurion made the following statement:

He said that the question was not one of judicial procedure, but rather of political action. Dr. Magnes's program was designed to destroy organized Zionism and to influence the American Government to believe that there was a cheaper solution to the Palestine problem than the Jewish Commonwealth. His whole program was directed toward America and therefore American Zionists had to answer it. The High Commissioner, the American government and the American people should know that while Dr. Magnes may have personal friends in America he has no organized Zionists behind him. Hadassah is the most disciplined of the Zionist organizations and as such should realize that only the Jewish people can negotiate with the Arabs and not a single individual.

He recommended that the resolution confine itself to the following facts:

The entire American Zionist movement is united behind the resolution passed at the Biltmore Hotel Conference; this action of Dr. Magnes is a separatist action and the Emergency Committee disassociates itself from it. He could not see on what formal basis Hadassah could refuse to join such a resolution.

Mr. Lipsky urged that the resolution include a demand that Dr. Magnes be asked to resign from the Hebrew University. Mr. Ben-Gurion took the position that this was (a) irrelevant, and (b) not within our jurisdiction.

Mr. Gellman formally requested, on behalf of Mizrachi, that the resolution include the demand for Dr. Magnes's resignation from the University.

Mrs. Epstein made the following points:

1. She did not believe that there was any sacrosanct virtue in a positive rather than a negative statement. She made the analogy of our own war propaganda. During the pre-war period propaganda for intervention stressed not only the positive aspects of intervention but also the very negative results of following an isolationist policy.

2. She did not agree that there was not sufficient evidence as to the character

of Dr. Magnes's views and program. The New York Times had quoted him directly; his position against Jewish immigration and a Jewish Commonwealth was well known; the Executive reports now received made the matter quite clear.

It was finally decided that the Office Committee recommend to the full Committee the adoption of a resolution to be prepared by a committee composed of Mrs. Epstein, Mr. Lipsky and Mr. Lourie, in line with the suggestions made at the meeting.

✓ Mrs. Pool voted against the motion.

BALFOUR DAY ANNIVERSARY

It was agreed to call a special meeting of the Office Committee on Monday, September 14, to consider proposals for the commemoration of Balfour Day.

A. L.

Strictly Confidential.MINUTES OF OFFICE COMMITTEE MEETINGAMERICAN EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR ZIONIST AFFAIRS

Wednesday, September 30, 1942.

A meeting of the Office Committee of the Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs was held on Wednesday afternoon, September 30, 1942 at 41 E. 42nd Street.

PRESENT: Mr. Szold, presiding; Mr. Bublick, Mr. Cruso, Rabbi Kowalsky, Mrs. Pool, Dr. Wise.

Dr. Goldmann; Mr. Lourie, Mr. Neumann.

By invitation: Mr. Shetzer.

PLANS FOR BALFOUR DAY

Mr. Neumann reported that plans for the commemoration of Balfour Day were under way. The services of Mr. Magida had been engaged for one month to assist in the working out of the program, which includes:

1. The securing of signatures of members Congress to a declaration reaffirming their support of the aims of the Balfour Declaration.
2. A meeting of Zionists in New York.
3. A small function in New York for the American Palestine Committee.
4. An inter-faith religious service.
5. The securing of signatures of members of the Christian clergy supporting the aims of the Balfour Declaration. Dr. Henry Atkinson of the Federated Churches of Christ in America has offered his cooperation in this matter. He will discuss any plans he may have for enlisting the support of the Christian clergy with Dr. Wise and Dr. Goldstein.

The matter of speakers for the public functions was referred to the committee of the constituent organizations which is working with Mr. Neumann on the Balfour Day program.

Mr. Neumann reported that a meeting of the sub-committee on relations with the Hindus and Chinese had met.

MEETING DAY

It was agreed that meetings of the Office Committee are hereafter to be held on Tuesdays. Mr. Lourie was authorized to make all the necessary arrangements.

REPORTS FROM PALESTINE

Two reports from Palestine, one in regard to Mr. Willkie's visit, the second in connection with hints of the official attitude to the idea of Federation were read to the meeting.

Mr. Neumann suggested that since the ^{latter} report indicated a revival of the idea of Federation, it might be well to make inquiries again with our own government. The suggestion was accepted.

Consideration is to be given to the question of the advisability of taking some action in connection with the possible appointment of Mr. Wadsworth as the American Consul to Beirut.

BUDGET

Mr. Szold reviewed the expanded program which had been presented by Mr. Neumann some months ago, calling for a budget of \$250,000, approximately divided as follows:

Current budget -	\$100,000.
Research and publications -	50,000.
Political work in Washington -	50,000.
General expansion of public relations work, press, radio, etc.-	50,000.

It had been contemplated that the budget would be secured through a 5% tax on all collections for Palestine. Hadassah and the Gewerkschaften had, each for various reasons, reported negative reactions to the proposal.

Nevertheless, Mr. Szold thought that even if no money were available except from the UPA, we should think in terms of an expanded program. In the research field, he thought we should be prepared to spend as much money as necessary on preparing authoritative briefs stating the case of Zionism on (a) Arabs and (b) the potentialities of Palestine for taking care of millions of Jews.

In Washington, the American Palestine Committee needs fostering. We had an asset of potential value in that committee but it must be expanded and kept going.

In the matter of procedure, Mr. Szold recommended that the Emergency Committee confine its agenda to a consideration of broad policies, rather than concern itself with discussions of detail and of techniques. These details should be worked out by sub-committees and by the staff, and should not engage the attention of the Emergency Committee as such, except that the latter should pass on the budgets and general plans. The growth of the administrative machinery should be limited as far as possible, and available machinery of other Zionist bodies should be utilized to the greatest extent.

Specifically, Mr. Szold proposed that the Emergency Committee come to an arrangement with the ZOA in Washington, a sort of sub-contract, to take care of the American Palestine Committee. The ZOA had a building in Washington which was too large for its needs, but might in part be admirably adapted for the work of the American Palestine Committee, and generally for the political and public relations activities of the Emergency Committee in Washington. The first floor of the building could be taken over in its entirety for these purposes.

The Emergency Committee itself should consider questions of major policy. It should concern itself with such broad problems as, e.g. relations with Great Britain; the question of a joint Mandate; federation, etc. It should also be familiar with the thinking and plans of the various organizations dealing with post-war settlement. He urged that the whole matter be given early consideration.

It was pointed out that Mr. Szold's proposals, as he had himself indicated, hinged on securing funds for an enlarged budget. Doubt was expressed by Mr. Kowalsky that the Funds would be willing to increase their allocation.

Dr. Goldmann thought that if Hadassah and the Gewerkschaften would agree to the proposed 5% tax on collections, the other organizations and Funds would likewise participate.

Mr. Cruso stated that the matter of the tax on Gewerkschaften collections would have to be referred to the Vaad HaPoel of the Histadruth. There was no authority here to make such an allocation. Mrs. Pool reported on behalf of Hadassah that there had been no formal discussion of the matter but that Hadassah was not sympathetic to the proposal.

Dr. Wise said that the situation must be faced frankly: either we got a budget which would enable^{us} to undertake a comprehensive and effective program, or the Committee should go out of existence. He did not believe the position taken by Hadassah or the Gewerkschaften campaign valid. Hadassah's 100% clause was written into its constitution in 1912; the entire world had changed since then. Now political work in America was one of the most important and urgent tasks to be done in Zionism and it was legitimate to deduct from collections for this purpose. The Gewerkschaften too must accept its share and its responsibilities. He did not believe that it was reasonable to say that they must ask the Histadruth for permission to deduct from collections. The political task here was the task of all of us, and we should all suffer alike if we failed in carrying it out. He proposed that arrangements be made for a delegation of the Emergency Committee to present the matter before the organizations concerned. The proposal was accepted.

Mr. Szold said, in this connection, that if Dr. Weizmann approved, and Dr. Goldmann and Mr. Ben-Gurion, he did not believe it necessary to appeal to the Agency for permission to secure the budget for the Emergency Committee from the funds.

DELEGATION TO PALESTINE

Mrs. Pool presented, on behalf of the National Board of Hadassah, a recommendation that the Emergency Committee establish a commission of American Zionists to go to Palestine to participate in the working out of the problems that are before us there. She said that the Board had made no recommendations as to personnel or details, but urged that the recommendation, previously urged both by Mr. Ben-Gurion and Mrs. Jacobs, be accepted in principle.

It was pointed out that such a committee could not, for technical reasons, be a large one, and a distinction was drawn between a delegation which should go to Palestine for perhaps a couple of months for the purposes of reporting America's thinking to the Yishuv and of bringing back a report on their findings to America, and one which should settle down for an indefinite period in Palestine to cooperate in different directions with the Executive.

It was resolved that the Committee warmly approves the proposal for sending to Palestine an American Zionist delegation to consult with the Executive and bring to the Yishuv the views of American Zionism, and in turn to bring to America a report on its findings on the situation in Palestine.

Details as to personnel, etc. were referred to a committee composed of Dr. Wise and Mr. Szold.

CABLE TO PALESTINE

No action was taken on Hadassah's recommendation that a cable be sent to Mr. Ben-Gurion setting forth the views of the Emergency Committee on the matter presented to them at the meeting before his departure.

A.L.

MINUTES OF OFFICE COMMITTEE
AMERICAN EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR ZIONIST AFFAIRS

October 20, 1942.

A meeting of the Office Committee was held on Tuesday afternoon, Oct. 20, at 4 p.m. at 41 E. 42nd Street.

PRESENT: Mr. Szold, in the chair; Mr. Gellman, Dr. Goldstein, Miss Leibel, Mr. Wertheim, Dr. Wise.

Dr. Goldmann; Mr. Lourie, Mr. Neumann, Mr. Weisgal.

INCREASING U.S. INTEREST IN NEAR EAST

Mr. Neumann drew attention to reports concerning increased American political interest in the Near East. In this connection the appointment of Mr. Wadsworth, formerly American Consul in Jerusalem, as U.S. Consul in Beirut and Agent in the Near East reflected a trend which was deeply disturbing. He also referred to the gathering in various government departments in Washington of "specialists" on the Near East, many of whom were by no means friendly to the Zionist point of view.

Dr. Goldmann reported on a conversation which he had had with a leading member of the administration in Washington.

It was agreed that a small committee be appointed with Mr. Szold as chairman, to give further consideration to the matter.

TELEGRAM FROM JEWISH AGENCY EXECUTIVE RE DELEGATION

The following wire from the Jewish Agency in Jerusalem was read:

"PLEASE COMMUNICATE EMERGENCY COMMITTEE OUR UNANIMOUS ARDENT DESIRE WELCOME HERE FEW RESPONSIBLE AMERICAN FRIENDS WHO TOGETHER WITH US WOULD TAKE STOCK POLITICAL POSITION CONSIDER ACTION FOR IMMEDIATE FUTURE AND TAKE BACK FIRST HAND KNOWLEDGE OUR WORK AND PROBLEMS stop TRUST EMERGENCY COMMITTEE WILL DISCUSS THIS URGENTLY AND INFORM US DECISION "

Dr. Wise and Mr. Szold, who had been appointed a sub-committee to consider the question of a delegation, stated that they were not yet able to make a report on the membership of the delegation. Mr. Wertheim said that while there had been no decision by the Central Committee of his party on the matter, he personally doubted the value of sending a delegation for a brief visit at this time.

Dr. Goldmann urged however, that an American delegation would be very important, both from the point of view of the Yishuv and of American Zionism. The telegram from the Executive lent emphasis to this opinion. He pointed out further that for a year we had had no direct information from Palestine, as Mr. Ben-Gurion had come here only after several months in London.

Mr. Gellman agreed that it was very desirable that there should be an American delegation, but urged that all the parties be represented.

Dr. Wise asked to be excused from serving further on the sub-committee and it was agreed that Mr. Szold and Dr. Goldmann get into touch with the parties with a view to submitting names to the Committee.

CORRESPONDENCE RE ICHUD

The letter from Mrs. Pool to Judge Levinthal enclosing correspondence with Miss Szold and Dr. Magnes, also material circulated to Hadassah Chapters, regarding the Ichud was read to the Committee. It was agreed that the correspondence be placed on file and made available in this office to the members of the Committee for their personal information.

ARAB JEWISH RELATIONS COMMITTEE

Mr. Lourie reported on a meeting of the Arab-Jewish Relations sub-committee at which were present Mrs. Pool, Mrs. Jacobs, Mr. Szold and Mr. Lourie. The question had been considered of establishing a committee under the joint sponsorship of Hadassah and the Emergency Committee and with two co-chairmen. Mrs. Pool had expressed opposition to the proposal for co-chairmen as organizationally bad and likely to impede the work of the committee. She suggested that there be a period of joint operation by the Emergency Committee and Hadassah of the Arab-Jewish Relations Committee under a single chairman and that the matter come up for consideration again after a reasonable time had elapsed, to see how this would work out. She urged that inasmuch as the work of the Arab Jewish Relations Committee was limited to research, study and investigation, and political action was outside the scope of its activity, there was no danger of the Emergency Committee becoming responsible for action with which it might not agree.

Mrs. Jacobs had expressed the view that the work of the Arab Jewish Relations Committee should be increased and that if the Emergency Committee was not ready at this stage to undertake joint sponsorship, the Hadassah should go ahead with its program leaving it open to the Emergency Committee to participate in the work of the committee if and when it should so desire. It had been finally decided that Mr. Szold should discuss it further with other members of the Committee and bring the matter back to the Office Committee.

A full discussion followed the above report.

Dr. Goldstein said that he saw no reason why the Emergency Committee should place itself in a position of sponsoring jointly with one of its own constituent units the activities of the Arab Jewish Relations Committee. Such a set-up was in his view organizationally bad. The subject of Arab Jewish Relations further, had implications which touched a much wider area than the title denoted.

Miss Leibel intervened to request that the matter be postponed until a later meeting at which Mrs. Pool and Mrs. Jacobs might be present.

Dr. Goldmann said that formally and organizationally Dr. Goldstein's argument was correct, but that the reality had to be accepted that the committee was in existence and working. He saw no possibility of getting Hadassah to agree at this time to the Emergency Committee's taking over. On the other hand, the character of the Arab Jewish Relations Committee's work was such that the Emergency Committee must concern itself therewith.

It was agreed in view of Miss Leibel's request that the matter be postponed to a later meeting.

NATIONALITY ACT

It was reported that the Nationality Act of 1940, in terms of which naturalized American citizens in Palestine would lose their citizenship if they failed to return to the U.S.A. by October 14, 1942, had been amended by Congress. and the return period had been extended for a further two years.

Mr. Rehabiah Lewin-Epstein had been active in Washington in obtaining the passage of this bill. Appreciation was expressed by the Committee for his efforts. It was also decided to write a letter of thanks to Mr. Phil Levy who had been very helpful in the matter.

BALFOUR CELEBRATION ANNIVERSARY

Mr. Neumann reported that the following plans were being carried out in connection with the Balfour Anniversary:

1. A statement had been drawn up for signature by Senators and Congressmen recording their support of the objects of the Declaration. (Copy attached)
2. A delegation of rabbis was being planned to call on the State Department in connection with the Balfour Declaration, if possible on Mr. Hull. The delegation would be representative of the different rabbinical organizations.
3. Arrangements were being made for special publicity in the press. The New York Times had sent one of its principal feature writers to interview Dr. Weizmann. Among other papers which would feature the anniversary would be PM, Tribune, World-Telegram, Daily News; also Free World, People's War, Asia, Liberty, Parade. Columnists who had expressed their interest included Mr. Sims, Dorothy Thompson and Mr. Niver.
4. A special program had been arranged on the Northwestern University radio forum.
5. Arrangements were also going ahead for the meeting in Carnegie Hall. There was some possibility that this might be held in joint sponsorship with the Free World Association and the League of Nations Association.
6. Arrangements had not yet been completed for a speaker for the occasion.
7. A special press book was being prepared which will contain suggested articles, editorials, letters-to-the-editors and special news items for use locally by constituent Zionist groups throughout the country.
8. An Interfaith Service was to be held at Temple B'nai Jeshurun.

RESOLUTION OF A.F. OF L. ON PALESTINE

Mr. Wertheim reported on the recent convention of the AFL in Toronto. A resolution submitted to the Federation by the Poale Zion had been unanimously adopted (text of resolution attached). The presence of representatives of the Jewish Labor Committee had somewhat complicated the position, but Mr. Green personally had assured acceptance of the resolution.

It was agreed that a letter from the Committee be addressed to Mr. Green as Chairman of the AFL to express our appreciation of the action.

CONFERENCE ON NEAR EASTERN MATTERS

Mr. Neumann said that he was anxious to arrange a conference on Near Eastern matters in connection with the Institute of World Economics of which Louis Lorwin is the head. Mr. Lorwin is also economic advisor to the National Resources Planning Board. The Institute possesses the necessary mechanism to organize such a conference, which would not cost the Emergency Committee more than \$300.00 in all. This expenditure was approved.

RESEARCH STUDIES

Mr. Neumann reported that certain volunteers in Washington were working on documents on American official policy in Palestine, particularly during and at the end of the last war. It was hoped that a treatise, and possibly a short book, would be prepared on this subject. In addition, there was some possibility of Prof. Carl Friedrich head of the School of Government at Harvard, being willing to write a book on the whole question.

It was agreed that a book by Prof. Friedrich. would be very valuable and that any necessary expenditure in that connection be authorized. It was also reported that a study is being undertaken of what is being said in America and in England of the disposition after the war of "dependent areas". It was important that we should know the trend of thought of those concerned with these matters. Such a report would be circulated and perhaps published, and a Mr. Graeber was being employed as a research worker on this task. An expenditure of not more than \$200 was approved.

A.L.

MINUTES OF OFFICE COMMITTEE MEETING
AMERICAN EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR ZIONIST AFFAIRS

Thursday, October, 29, 1942.

There was a special meeting of the Office Committee on Thursday, October 29, 1942 at 5:30 p.m. at 41 E. 42nd Street.

PRESENT: Judge Levinthal, presiding; Mr. Szold, Dr. Wise, Dr. Goldstein, Mr. Bublick, Rabbi Gold, Mr. Greenberg, Mr. Wertheim; Mesdames Jacobs, Epstein, Pool.

Dr. Goldmann, Mr. Neumann, Mr. Lourie; Mr. Weisgal.

INVITATION TO AMERICAN-SOVIET CONGRESS

It was agreed that the Committee accept an invitation to send a representative to the meeting of the American-Soviet Congress on November 7-8th, and Dr. Goldstein was nominated.

Mr. Weisgal referred to a number of invitations received by Dr. Weizmann in connection with various activities inspired by friends of Soviet Russia. It was the view of those present that each such matter must be considered on its merits and that for example a tribute to Soviet resistance in the form of a scroll to be signed by a million Americans should be supported, but on the other hand an invitation to be associated with the letter in the Freiheit be declined.

ARAB-JEWISH RELATIONS COMMITTEE

A report of the sub-committee as submitted to the Office Committee was again presented to the meeting. Mrs. Pool said that the question of the future of the Arab Jewish Relations Committee had been reopened before a full National Board meeting of Hadassah. The position had been maintained that Hadassah continue its work in which the Emergency Committee be invited to participate. As regards budget, in answer to an inquiry, Mrs. Pool stated that last year \$4,500 had been spent on the work of the Arab Jewish Relations Committee. It was proposed to continue to spend at least that amount again.

The present membership of the Arab Jewish Relations Committee included: Mesdames Jacobs, Benjamin, Greenberg, Halprin, Pool, Rosensohn, Schoolman, Edith Bukspan Silverstein; Doctors Salo Baron, I.B. Berkson, A. Halkin, Oscar Janowsky, Emanuel Neumann, Moshe Perlmann, Max Schloessinger. Should the Emergency Committee decide to participate in the work of the sub-committee, it would be entitled to add members as it saw fit. Mrs. Pool emphasized that the function of the sub-committee was study and not political action.

Mr. Neumann said that he was a member of the Committee and found that its discussions were well attended and serious, useful material had been gathered from time to time, and he thought that with limited resources it had been doing a useful job. He raised the question, however, as to whether it was procedurally appropriate for the Emergency Committee to sponsor the Arab-Jewish Relations Committee with Hadassah.

Dr. Goldstein said that Hadassah was to be commended for doing a fine piece of work, but he still believed that constitutional and formal considerations made joint sponsorship inadvisable.

Mrs. Epstein said that the action taken by Hadassah had been due to the failure of the Emergency Committee to act. The Hadassah position as expressed by Mrs. Pool was reasonable. This was a matter which concerned all and should have the direction of all groups. As to the proposed set-up, the matter had a history which could not be disregarded.

Dr. Goldmann said that logically Dr. Goldstein was right, but the fact was that an Arab-Jewish Relations Committee was in existence. Hadassah would not just hand it over. He did not believe in a study of a subject of this kind unrelated to political action, and accordingly thought that it was part of the Emergency Committee's functions to interest itself in this matter. Had. Hadassah agreed, in addition to the appointment of additional members, to that of a co-chairman, he would have been in favor of Mrs. Pool's proposal. Mrs. Pool said that the chairman would be responsible to the Emergency Committee and would get directions and be under the control of the Committee. Mrs. Jacobs said she did not care who did the work but that it was work that must be done. The subject could not be evaded or avoided.

Dr. Wise said that if the committee was for study purposes only and would not be free to act without the approval of the Emergency Committee, he moved that the proposal be accepted that the Emergency Committee appoint representatives to serve on the Arab-Jewish Relations Committee and that it be responsible also to the Emergency Committee.

The proposal was carried, with Dr. Goldstein voting against.

DELEGATION TO PALESTINE

Dr. Goldmann had been requested to take up the matter of a delegation to Palestine with the parties. He had had an opportunity of discussing the matter with Poale Zion and Mizrachi and felt that in view of the acceptance of the Biltmore program, there was no urgent need, so far as political issues were concerned, for a delegation. In their view the delegation should consist of four members- one from each party. If this were not possible, the Poale Zion and Mizrachi did not agree that the totality of American Zionism could be represented by one or two delegates. As regards the general Zionists, the view taken was that as it was highly unlikely that four priorities would be obtainable, a small delegation of two should go- one of those to be Mr. Szold.

Dr. Goldmann also reported that the Executive in Jerusalem had urged Dr. Weizmann and himself to come to Palestine, but that Dr. Weizmann had cabled that his health made it inadvisable to go before the spring. As for himself, Dr. Goldmann had not yet come to any decision. Dr. Weizmann had also cabled to Jerusalem suggesting that Mr. Shertok should pay a visit to America.

Mr. Szold expressed the view that if the Emergency Committee could not come to a decision on sending one or two people to Palestine on their merits, it was being reduced to futility. There was no doubt about the desirability of a direct interchange of information and opinions. If agreement could not be reached, the matter should not be wrapped up in excuses but should be frankly said that for partisan reasons nothing could be done. Mrs. Epstein agreed, but added that in any case she believed a delegation of one inadequate. Rabbi Gold said he was surprised that Mr. Szold had spoken with such warmth. Possibly it was desirable that there should be no parties, but facts must be accepted. He had the greatest confidence in Mr. Szold himself as a member of the delegation, but believed that there were some aspects which a Mizrachi representative would be more competent to investigate. There was no reason why the different parties should not send delegates of their own, but if a delegation were to be sent by the Committee, it should be

representative of the Committee.

Mr. Wertheim said that in the ordinary way majority rule governed the actions of the Committee- e.g. in regard to matters of policy. The Committee had been set up as a body to deal with the emergency situation, but when it came to sending a representative delegation of American Zionism, different considerations not arising out of the emergency applied. He referred to the situation which had arisen in the Keren Hayesod where, owing to what in his view was the partisan attitude of the General Zionists, representatives of two of the parties had resigned. He failed to see why suddenly the General Zionists in the Emergency Committee claimed to be non-partisan in contrast with the others.

Mrs. Jacobs said that logic was on the side of the parties, but that life must be taken into account. It was not a question of selection on a party basis- if a Mizrahi representative was more suitable he should go. Careful judgement must be directed to considering who would be the best candidate in the circumstances.

Mr. Bublick pointed out that there were three parties and not four, and urged that the different parties looked at Palestine from different points of view.

Judge Levinthal pointed out that when Mr. Ben-Gurion came to America he did not bring with him representatives of Poale Zion or Mizrahi. It was merely a question of sending over representatives on matters of common interest.

Mr. Greenberg said that a really representative delegation should contain perhaps fifteen persons, but that this was not possible at this time. As a fact, we could probably not send more than two delegates. There were two matters on which it was necessary to exchange information - one, political matters including the work in America and the situation in Palestine, and the other- economic problems, e.g. America's contribution in terms of private and public capital. The delegates we send should go out as experts on these matters, not speaking for the parties as such but on their personal merits to exchange and obtain information.

It was finally agreed that the matter be referred back to the organizations.

TRANSIT OF REFUGEE CHILDREN THRU IRAQ

Mrs. Pool said that in regard to the matter of these children now in Teheran, it had been requested that no delegation call on the State Department without the inclusion of a Hadassah representative. Now they had been informed that in the course of a conversation with Dr. Wise and Dr. Goldmann, Mr. Sumner Welles had said that the intervention of the American government in Bagdad had been rejected and the visas refused. This was the first that Hadassah had heard of it. She felt it unfortunate that Hadassah representatives had not been present. Hadassah went on a purely humanitarian basis, and she believed that in that capacity they might have contributed to the chances of success. Mrs. Pool added that Mr. Myron Taylor had been approached and he said he would be glad to take up the matter with the State Department with a view to having it reopened with the Iraqis. Hadassah also proposed to send a delegation to Washington to include a Quaker and a member of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees to see the Minister of Iraq. Miss Warburg was also seeing Mr. Farish of the Standard Oil in regard to certain economic aspects.

Dr. Goldmann said that he had been asked many weeks ago by cable from the Executive to intervene in regard to- a) transit through Iraq, and alternatively b) possibility of getting planes to transport ^{the} children. He and Mr. Ben-Gurion had seen Mr. Berle on other matters and had taken the opportunity of raising the question with him. The matter had been urged purely on the humanitarian basis and though there was also a larger question of transit for the adult refugees in Iraq and not only the children, Mr. Berle had said he would cable immediately to Iraq and to Jerusalem. Unfortunately Mr. Berle had apparently failed to carry out his undertaking. Dr. Wise and he had subsequently seen Mr. Welles and urged American intervention, again on humanitarian grounds. Mr. Welles immediately agreed to intervene and we had subsequently learned that the State Department had taken the matter up in Bagdad on two occasions. Under these circumstances we had gotten from the State Department all that could be expected at this stage so far as a direct intervention was concerned. The State Department would not break off relations with Iraq on a matter of this kind. Whether Hadassah had been present or not, no stronger action could have been hoped for on their part. Had a special delegation been organized to go to the State Department, Hadassah would certainly have been included, but that was not the case here, nor could a special delegation be arranged to take up every matter that arose.

Dr. Goldmann assured Mrs. Pool that Hadassah would be consulted in all cases where action affecting Hadassah interests might arise. He also thought that the proposal mentioned by Mrs. Pool of a delegation of influential Americans to the Iraq Consul was valuable and should be pursued.

DEPARTURE OF MR. WADSWORTH FOR NEAR EAST

Mr. Neumann reported on efforts which had been made to get into touch with Mr. Wadsworth before his departure the following Monday for Beirut.

CONVERSATION WITH MR. WILLKIE

A report was given on a conversation which a Zionist friend had had with Mr. Willkie on his return from abroad. Mr. Willkie's approach was sympathetic, particularly in regard to the need for Jewish immigration.

BALFOUR DAY CELEBRATION

Mr. Neumann reported further on preparations for the observance of Balfour Day. A special report will be prepared for distribution later.

A.L.

MINUTES OF OFFICE COMMITTEE MEETING

AMERICAN EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR ZIONIST AFFAIRS

November 10, 1942.

A meeting of the Office Committee of the American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs was held on Tuesday, November 10 at 4:30 p.m. at 41 E. 42nd Street.

PRESENT: Mr. Szold, (presiding), Mr. Cruso, Mrs. Jacobs, Rabbi Kowalsky, Mr. Lipsky, Mrs. Pool, Mrs. Shulman.

By invitation: Miss Gisela Warburg.

Mr. Lourie, Mr. Neumann.

MR. SULZBERGER'S STATEMENT ON ZIONISM

A discussion took place on action to be taken in refutation of Mr. Sulzberger's speech as reported in the New York Times of November 6th. The question of a public protest meeting had been considered, and various members of the Committee had been consulted by telephone but had advised negatively. It was pointed out that (1) the statement by Senators and Congressmen reaffirming support of the Balfour Declaration would be ready for release in the near future, and that (2) the answer by over 700 rabbis to the statement of the anti-Zionist rabbis was likewise due to be published shortly, and that these two statements would serve in some measure to counter the impression made by Mr. Sulzberger. It was agreed in addition that letters be written to the Times by a number of persons, including-it was suggested- Rabbi Shulman as a leading reformed rabbi.

SCOPUS PUBLISHING CO.

The request of the Scopus Publishing Company for a grant of \$2500 to subsidize publication of a book of Parliamentary speeches on Zionism was refused.

RESEARCH WORK BY DR. GRAEBER

The Committee authorized a further expenditure up to \$200 in connection with certain research entrusted to Dr. Graeber on behalf of the Committee. Dr. Graeber had previously collaborated with Dr. Friedrich on the book "Jews in a Gentile World" and had been requested to prepare a paper on social and economic needs among the Arabs. It was suggested that Mr. Moshe Merlman might also be made use of in this connection.

TVA

It was agreed to postpone to the following meeting a report of the trip of Mr. Szold, Mr. Brodie and Mr. Neumann to the TVA, which had been arranged in connection with a far-reaching scheme for Palestinian development.

PUBLIC RELATIONS

Mr. Neumann reported the following:

1. That 732 orthodox, reformed, and conservative rabbis had given their support to the statement in response to that of the anti-Zionist rabbis, and publicity would be given to this in the coming week. A number of rabbis had refused to

allow their names to be used on the ground that the condemnation had not gone far enough.

(2) So far 50 Senators and 150 Congressmen had signed the Balfour Day statement.

(3) A telegram from Secretary of State Hull received subsequently to the Balfour Day meeting had been released to the press. It indicated a more positive attitude to Zionist aims than the rather colorless statement released in connection with the delegation to the Secretary of State of the heads of the rabbinical associations. It was suggested that Mr. Hull's was the first statement specifically associating the State Department with the endorsements by successive Presidents of the Balfour Declaration, and as such was of significance.

(4) Negotiations were still proceeding with Professor F. of Harvard with regard to the publication of a book on American official policy on Zionism.

(5) A Conference of Christian Clergymen on Palestine was being arranged for some day in December. It was agreed that an expenditure of \$350 for a luncheon in this connection. be authorized.

(6) A meeting of Chinese and Hindus interested in the Zionist movement is to be held in the offices of the Emergency Committee on Tuesday evening next.

(7) Invitations to members of the Committee to attend the forthcoming conference of the Federation of International Groupments was being arranged.

REFUGEE CHILDREN IN IRAN

Miss Warburg reported on the various efforts which had been made to secure Iraqi transit visas for 500 Polish children who had come from Russia to Iran and for whom Palestine certificates were available. Thus far, despite representations by the British and American governments, the Iraqi government persisted in its refusal to grant transit visas to these children. The Polish Ministry in Washington had also interceded with Nuri Said, the Prime Minister of Iraq on behalf of the children.

A cable had been received from the Executive in Jerusalem suggesting that publicity be given to the refusal of Nuri Said to grant the transit visas to the children.

After some discussion it was agreed that action through diplomatic channels having failed, publicity be given to the matter. Also that it be pursued in other directions, including further representations to the State Dept. It was also proposed that the effort to secure air transportation for the children be further pursued. Hadassah would work together with the Emergency Committee on the matter of publicity.

MISS SZOLD'S BIRTHDAY

Mrs. Pool reported that the National Board of Hadassah had decided to ask Mr. Willkie to speak on a national radio broadcast on the occasion of Miss Szold's birthday in December.

It was suggested that caution be exercised lest Mr. Willkie, who apparently had it in mind to talk on Palestine at some suitable opportunity,

limit himself to a speech on Miss Szold's birthday in lieu of a Zionist speech of wider political implications. It was also agreed that since Mr. Willkie was probably inundated with invitations from various Zionist organizations it would be wise to have some sort of clearing arrangement for such invitations, and the cooperation of Mr. Herman Shulman was invoked in this connection.

DELEGATION TO PALESTINE

Mrs. Pool reported that the Executive Committee of Hadassah felt that even before the personnel of the proposed delegation to Palestine was decided upon, terms of reference should be set up, and read a list of subjects which might be included within the scope of the delegation's inquiry.

Mr. Szold pointed out in this connection that it must be remembered that the delegation should not be bound in any way, nor make any commitments while in Palestine. He said that if the terms of reference as presented by Hadassah were suggestions they might be acceptable, but if they implied commitments they would destroy the whole purpose of the delegation.

Mrs. Pool said that Hadassah had not meant to bind the delegation in any way, but merely to make clear the subjects which they should explore.

Mr. Szold reported that he had been informed of an invitation to Mr. Shertok to come to the United States extended by Dr. Weizmann. He suggested that Dr. Weizmann be asked his opinion on the relationship between Mr. Shertok's visit here and the proposed delegation of Americans to Palestine. He thought that the matter should be on the agenda of the Emergency Committee for discussion.

This was agreed.

A.L.

MINUTES OF OFFICE COMMITTEE MEETINGAMERICAN EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR ZIONIST AFFAIRS

December 15, 1942.

A meeting of the Office Committee of the American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs was held on Monday, December 15 at 2:30 p.m.

Present: Mr. Szold(presiding), Mr. Gellman, Dr. Goldstein, Mrs. Halprin, Mrs. Jacobs, Mrs. Pool, Rabbi Silver, Mr. Wertheim, Dr. Wise.

Dr. Goldmann; Mr. Lourie, Mr. Neumann, Mr. Weisgal.

AMERICAN COUNCIL FOR JUDAISM

The organization of a new body to be called the American Council for Judaism by a group of anti-Zionist rabbis was reported. Reference was made to the account which had appeared in the Independent Jewish Press Service, of the proceedings at preliminary meetings which had led to the formation of this body. There was some discussion as to the desirability of giving publicity to certain matters contained in this account. As regards the question of action by the Emergency Committee in response to the establishment of the new organization, it was decided:

a) That a communication be addressed from the organizations to their chapters reporting on the formation of the American Council for Judaism and asking that a watchful eye be kept on any developments in connection therewith in local communities.

b) That a statement be prepared on behalf of the Committee for issuance to the Anglo-Jewish and Yiddish press.

c) That a sub-committee be set up to consider further action. In this connection it was suggested that an all-Jewish conference should be called, possibly in Baltimore or Philadelphia.

BOOK BY RABBI FEUER

On the recommendation of Mrs. Jacobs it was agreed that the book "Why a Jewish State" by Rabbi Leon Feuer should be given wide distribution amongst the leaders of American public opinion. It was agreed that \$1.000 be provided for this purpose and also that individual organizations should be urged to promote the distribution of the book.

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Dr. Wise reported an oral communication from Mr. Wertheim, President of the American Jewish Committee, as follows:

Mr. Wertheim said he had been asked by his Committee to inform Dr. Wise that the American Jewish Committee was not prepared to agree to a bi-lateral statement. There had been a decision to recommend to the annual meeting of the American Jewish Committee in January the adoption of a unilateral statement. Mr. Wertheim said he believed that Dr. Wise would be pleased with the statement, but he could not at this time inform him of its content. Mr. Wertheim added that he personally would urge that the Zionists also issue a unilateral statement making clear the interpretation which they attach to the terms: "nation," "nationality," people, etc.

Considerable discussion followed as to whether an official written communication should not be addressed to Mr. Wertheim placing on record the termination of negotiations, and indicating that the Emergency Committee regarded itself as free to take whatever action it might deem desirable to secure the unity of American Jewry on a common platform.

Among the points made in the course of the discussion were that 1) Mr. Wertheim's communication to Dr. Wise, though oral, was entirely official and not informal; 2) that after a year and a half of negotiations, it would have been an act of courtesy on the part of the American Jewish Committee to inform the Zionist members of the joint sub-committee in advance on the contents of their proposed unilateral statement; and 3) that a written communication from Dr. Wise to Mr. Wertheim might create the wrong impression and lead to the interpretation that it was we and not they who had terminated the discussions, and that this would strengthen the hands of the Anti-Zionist elements in the American Jewish Committee. It was finally decided that Dr. Wise take up the matter orally with Mr. Wertheim and that later a minute of the conversation between Dr. Wise and Mr. Wertheim might be sent to him as a matter of record.

PUBLIC RELATIONS

✓ Mr. Neumann reported the following:

1. The Office Committee had approved in principle the idea of having Prof. Karl Friedrich of Harvard write a book on American official policy with regard to Palestine. Dr. Friedrich estimated that the expenses in connection with the preparation of the manuscript would be \$5,000. He had also informed Mr. Neumann that other commitments made it impossible for him to get started for the next six weeks, and asked whether it was desired that he get someone in his place if he might not be immediately available. The book as planned by Dr. Friedrich would be divided into five sections as follows:

- a. Brief back-ground before the first World War.
- b. Up to the Balfour Declaration and the repudiation of the Wilsonian ideal.
- c. Isolationism.
- d. Rise of Nazis and progressive deterioration of League of Nations up to 1939.
- e. Current progressive thinking leading to a return of American participation in world affairs.

In addition to the expenditure of \$5,000 for the manuscript, it was estimated that an additional \$500 would have to be expended as a guarantee to the publisher. There was some discussion as to whether in view of the limited budget available so large a sum should be spent on a single item. It was decided to postpone a decision until it would be possible to consider the matter in the perspective of a general plan of work and that Mr. Neumann discuss further with Professor Friedrich the proposal for preparation of an extended outline of the book. ✓

✓ 2. Professor Harlow informed Mr. Neumann that he did not want any compensation for the book he was preparing on Zionism and the Christian public; he wished to volunteer his services as one devoted to the cause. ✓

✓ 3. Mr. Neumann and Mrs. Jacobs reported briefly on the Conference of members of the Christian clergy which had met on Monday, December 14. They said it was .

a stimulating and heartening gathering. The spirit and the intellectual content of the papers read and of the discussions had been of a high order.

There had been discussion at the Conference as to a permanent organization to be known as the Christian Council on Palestine. The matter of a budget for this organization is to be further discussed - it was estimated that it would be between four and five thousand dollars annually.

A vote of thanks was extended to Rabbis Milton Steinberg and Philip Bernstein for their efforts in connection with the Christian clergy.

A list of those who participated is to be sent to the members of the Office Committee. It was proposed to request Bishop Poling to join the organization.

4. The "Tribune" Sunday supplement "This Week" carried an article on Palestine by Emil Lengyel.

Mrs. Pool reported that the "Times" will carry an article in a forthcoming Sunday issue on the work of Dr. Kligler in Palestine.

MEETINGS

The next meeting is to be on Thursday, December 17, at 2:30 p.m.

KEREN HAYESOD

Mr. Wertheim requested that the matter of the dispute between the Poale Zion and the Keren Hayesod be put on the agenda of an early meeting.

A.L.

MINUTES OF OFFICE COMMITTEEAMERICAN EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR ZIONIST AFFAIRS

December 17, 1942.

A meeting of the Office Committee of the Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs was held on December 17, 1942.

PRESENT: Mr. Szold, (presiding), Mrs. Epstein, Rabbi Gold, Mr. Greenberg, Mr. Gellman, Mrs. Jacobs, Mrs. Pool, Mr. Wertheim, Dr. Wise, Judge Levinthal (later).

Dr. Goldmann; Mr. Lourie, Mr. Neumann.

AGENDA

The Chairman proposed that the Office Committee agenda be devoted to broad issues of policy rather than methodologies. Mr. Neumann, in this connection; reported that the sub-committee had not yet met, but that he had prepared a number of questions for consideration.

Mr. Szold thought the Office Committee should sit in more or less continuous session to consider these broad problems.

It was decided to devote December 25 to an all day meeting and Mr. Neumann's agenda is to be circulated to the Office Committee.

ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE

Mr. Szold reported that the sub-committee on organization was engaged in preparing its recommendations. As an interim proposal it recommended that Mr. Shulman be invited to serve as chairman of the public relations committee and that he attend meetings of the Office Committee without vote. This recommendation was accepted.

"AMERICAN COUNCIL FOR JUDAISM"

Mr. Lourie read a statement which had been prepared for the Anglo-Jewish press. It was agreed to release this for publication. The matter of a statement for the general press was left for consideration by the sub-committee appointed to consider action in regard to the formation of the American Council for Judaism.

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Dr. Wise reported a meeting with Mr. Wertheim, as follows:

He and Dr. Goldmann had seen Mr. Wertheim in Washington on December 16 and had told him that Dr. Wise had reported to the Office Committee the conversation he had had with Mr. Wertheim the previous week in Washington. The Office Committee was surprised that it had not received a written communication from Mr. Wertheim officially informing them of the decision of the American Jewish Committee against a bilateral agreement and in favor of the issuance of a unilateral statement of its own. To this Mr. Wertheim replied that he had thought it more advisable to inform Dr. Wise informally and orally about the decision, instead of writing formal letters.

It had further been indicated to Mr. Wertheim there was a feeling amongst the members of the Emergency Committee that it would at the least, after a year and a half of negotiations, have been an act of courtesy on the part of the Negotiating Committee of the American Jewish Committee to have shown us the text of their proposed uni-lateral statement before it was made public. To this Mr. Wertheim replied that since the Executive of the AJC did not yet know whether the Annual Conference would endorse the statement, they felt it better to keep it secret until it would have received the approval of the Annual Conference.

Dr. Wise then told Mr. Wertheim that he had intended writing him a letter on the subject, but that the Office Committee of the Emergency Committee felt that inasmuch as Mr. Wertheim had delivered his message orally, it might be better that Dr. Wise also communicate with him orally; Dr. Wise thereupon read to Mr. Wertheim the following letter which it had planned to send him:

(DRAFT)

December 15, 1942.

Mr. Maurice Wertheim, President
American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Wertheim:

I have submitted to the American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs at its meeting on December 15th, the verbal communication which you made to me at your Washington home on December 8th. I reported that the American Jewish Committee will, at its annual meeting in January, consider the issuance of a unilateral statement that would deal with the matters discussed by our joint negotiating committee for more than a year. The Emergency Committee believes that the issuance of a unilateral statement by the American Jewish Committee implies a termination of those negotiations which, it was expected, would lead to a bilateral agreement.

I submitted, further, your personal and unofficial suggestion that the Zionists issue a statement coincident with the statement of the American Jewish Committee. It is the unanimous judgment of the Emergency Committee that any statement to be issued by us in this connection, can be considered only after an examination of the unilateral statement of the American Jewish Committee.

I am directed by the Emergency Committee to inform you that in view of the unilateral action proposed by the American Jewish Committee, the Zionists consider themselves free to take such actions as seems advisable in winning the support of American Jewry to its program.

In conclusion, may I express, both for myself and on behalf of the Emergency Committee, our deep appreciation of your unremitting efforts in seeking to unite American Jewry on a common platform.

Faithfully yours,

After the letter had been read, Mr. Wertheim said he too thought it better that Dr. Wise should not write him a formal letter and that he was taking note of this oral communication.

We stated to Mr. Wertheim that the Emergency Committee would now consider itself free to take any action deemed advisable to get the support of American Jewry for Zionist demands; Mr. Wertheim replied that the Emergency Committee was, in his opinion, absolutely free to take such action.

Mr. Wertheim then expressed his conviction that the unilateral statement of the American Jewish Committee would be satisfactory to the Emergency Committee, and urged very strongly that the Emergency Committee issue a statement of its own containing a definition of "nationalism." Dr. Wise and Dr. Goldmann stated that they had no authority to commit the Emergency Committee in this respect.

They then asked whether the AJC had given consideration to a possible resumption of negotiations after the issuance of their unilateral statement. To this Mr. Wertheim replied that the matter had neither been discussed nor decided upon and would depend upon the reaction of the Zionists to their statement and on the attitude of the incoming President of the American Jewish Committee.

ASIA LEAGUE

Dr. Wise urged that any Zionist participation in the Asia League be given the most careful consideration. It was decided to discuss the matter with Dr. Weizmann.

CHRISTIAN COUNCIL FOR PALESTINE

Mr. Neumann said that in the light of the establishment of a specifically anti-Zionist body, the work of the Christian Council assumed special importance. It would be necessary to allocate an amount up to \$5,000 for the work of the Council. Dr. Atkinson was enthusiastic and ready to go ahead without delay. It was agreed that the matter should be referred to Rabbis Steinberg and Bernstein, and Mr. Neumann and Mr. Shulman, and that the question of an appropriation be brought back to the Committee at an early date.

BOOK BY PROFESSOR FRIEDRICH

Mr. Neumann reported a further conversation with Professor Friedrich of Harvard who had confirmed that it was not certain that he would be able to undertake the work in any event before another six weeks. As regards the suggestion that he should make available to us an extended outline of the proposed work, Prof. Friedrich said that he did not know if he could even devote himself to this at the moment. The question of financing the work had been raised and Mr. Neumann had informed him that the Committee was inclined to have such a study made and that the matter had to be considered in relation to the rest of the budget. Prof. Friedrich had suggested that the Committee should come to a definite decision. It was agreed that the matter be considered within the framework of the Committee following a report of the sub-committee on organization.

NZO and COMMITTEE FOR JEWISH ARMY

It was reported that the New Zionist Organization was sending out invitations to non-Jews in connection with the establishment of a new Committee bearing some such title as "The American Committee for Settlement of Jewish Refugees." It was suggested that the Emergency Committee should give consideration to the suggestion for a union of all Zionist forces.

Mr. Wertheim pointed out that the policy of the World Zionist Organization had been expressed in a declaration indicating readiness to receive the Revisionists.

12/17/42

back into the organization if they in turn would accept at the same time the responsibilities of membership. Possibly the Revisionists might be included within the framework of the all-Jewish Conference to be called, but it was very doubtful whether it was appropriate for one of the member organizations of the World Zionist Organization to take up in a general way the question of an agreement with the Revisionists. Such an agreement should be negotiated by the governing authorities of the Organization. It was agreed that the matter be placed on the agenda for fuller discussion by the Emergency Committee.

Judge Levinthal reported on discussions which had been going on between representatives of the ZOA and the Army Committee, pointing out that the ZOA had given notice to the Emergency Committee some months ago that they will consider themselves free to pursue the matter of an arrangement with the Army Committee if the Emergency Committee failed to do so. Judge Levinthal added that no final decision would be taken without submitting the matter first to the Emergency Committee. He went on to say that recently the ZOA had been given to understand by representatives of the Army Committee that they were anxious to have a cordial relationship with the organization. There was unquestionably a great deal of confusion among the rank and file and the statements sent out by the Emergency Committee and the different organizations had failed to clarify the situation. There was a good deal of support amongst Zionists for the work of the Army Committee. The ZOA had appointed a sub-committee to work out a formula which was guided by the desire 1) to solve existing confusion, 2) to establish a friendly relationship and terminate the continual sniping by members of one body against the other, and 3) to obtain the assurance that all political negotiations would be the prerogative of and conducted by the official Zionist bodies and not by the Army Committee.

NEXT MEETING

It was agreed that the next meeting of the Committee should take place on December 22.

A.L.

December 17, 1942

To: Mr. Arthur Lourie

From: Mr. Emanuel Neumann

SOME QUESTIONS WHICH SUGGEST THEMSELVES FOR CONSIDERATION
IN CONNECTION WITH AN ELABORATION OF THE BILTMORE RESOLUTIONS

- - - - -

1. What is meant by Commonwealth? Is it synonymous with State? What degree of sovereignty and independence is contemplated?
2. How do we envisage the defense of the Commonwealth against external aggression?
3. What shall be the nature of the government of Palestine in the transitional period - Mandatory? British or otherwise? Administration by an international commission? Shall this transition period be of fixed or indefinite duration?
4. Jewish control of immigration: How is the control to be exercised and by whom (Jewish Agency or Yishuv or any other body)? Is Jewish control to be subject to any governing principle, such as absorptive capacity or any other limiting factors? Any review or appeal? Would we agree to an immigration board of mixed composition; i.e., with a Jewish majority but with representatives also of the government and of the Arabs?
5. Jewish control of colonization and finance: How can these functions be exercised by the Jews without in effect taking over the government of Palestine? Among the questions involved: agrarian reform, rights of eminent domain, tax reform, regulation of tariff.
6. Do we contemplate the transfer en masse of a large number of Jews (say, 500,000) to Palestine immediately after the war as part and parcel of the postwar settlement? If so, what are the problems involved in such an undertaking? How do we envisage their solution?
7. How do we envisage the financing of the immigration and colonization in the postwar period? International loan? If so, by whom and to whom extended? An internal Jewish national loan? If so, in what manner and under what conditions? Private capital? Shall the Palestine government be expected to assume a part of the financial burden?
8. Internal security: Shall we depend upon forces maintained by the Mandatory or international police? Shall there be set up a Jewish police

force or a militia? If so, how constituted and responsible to whom?

9. Shall we say anything regarding the Holy places and if so precisely what?
10. What status are the Arabs to have? (a) in the transition period; (b) under the Commonwealth? What rights are they to have -- civil and religious rights, cultural rights, recognition as an ethnic group, some form of bi-nationalism?
11. Trans-Jordan. Shall we be silent about it or put forward proposals? Shall we ask for the inclusion of Trans-Jordan in the Jewish Commonwealth or merely its opening to a limited Jewish immigration, or the status quo? Shall we ask for insurance that Trans-Jordan will not be annexed to or united with Syria?
12. Boundaries. Do we envisage any change in the present boundary of Palestine or of the Jewish Commonwealth in only a part of Palestine? Extension of the northern boundary to the Litani River? The question of Akaba.
13. Relation of Palestine to neighboring countries: Political federation? Customs union? If so, what conditions? If not, the possible relation of Palestine to a larger regional grouping?

MINUTES OF OFFICE COMMITTEEEMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR ZIONIST AFFAIRS

December 22, 1942.

A meeting of the Office Committee of the American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs was held on Tuesday, December 22, 1942 at 2:30 p.m.

PRESENT: Judge Levinthal (presiding), Mr. Bublick, Mr. Gellman, Mrs. Halprin, Mrs. Pool, Mr. Segal, Mr. Shulman, Mr. Szold, Mr. Wertheim, Dr. Wise.

Dr. Goldmann; Mr. Lourie, Mr. Neumann, Mr. Weisgal.

By invitation: Mr. Weiser, Mr. Sobeloff of Baltimore.

ORGANIZATION

Mr. Szold submitted the following report of the sub-committee on organization which was accepted.

REPORT OF MEETINGS OF REORGANIZATION SUB-COMMITTEE
December 15 and 18, 1942

1. At least three Departments shall be set up as follows:

a) Public Relations (including various group contacts, such as clergymen, journalists, academic circles, etc.)

b) Resources and Planning Department

(This shall be charged with preparation of documents and material for other departments and shall include an Economic Sub-Committee, Arab-Jewish Relations Sub-Committee, Post-war planning,)

c) Publicity and Publications.

2. Each of the above Sub-Committees or Departments shall have a volunteer Chairman in addition to a paid official to direct the work. The volunteer Chairmen of the different departments shall be entitled to attend meetings of the Office Committee without vote.

3. In addition to the foregoing three Sub-Committees or departments there shall be established a Sub-Committee to work together with Dr. Weizmann and the members of the World Zionist Executive in the political field.

4. American Palestine Committee:

The work of the A.P.C. shall fall within the jurisdiction of the Public Relations Department, but shall be conducted by an official to be designated for that purpose in Washington.

Mr. Szold reported further that Mr. Shulman had agreed to serve as voluntary chairman of the Public Relations Department. He pointed out that public relations was a most important and urgent phase of the work of the Committee and that, if necessary, temporary personnel should be engaged so that the work be carried on without a break.

AMERICAN COUNCIL FOR JUDAISM

Mr. Keiser and Mr. Sobeloff reported that the Baltimore community was eager to take some action in respect to the newly formed committee headed by Rabbi Lazaron of that city. They read the attached statement, containing recommendations for action.

Considerable discussion followed. Reference was made to the appointment of a sub-committee to deal with the problem, and it was suggested that one or both of two lines of action be followed: (a) a referendum, and (b), a national conference of all the Jewish organizations ready to join with us. It was also suggested that special demonstrations be held in Baltimore and Philadelphia, which might constitute an effective reply to Rabbis Lazaron and Wolsey; in the meantime plans for action on a national scale should be considered.

Mr. Sobeloff said that the question of a demonstration had been considered in Baltimore by a committee under the chairmanship of Dr. Harry Friedenwald. However, they had come to the conclusion that such a demonstration would serve only to publicize Rabbi Lazaron and his fellow rabbis, which was what they wanted above all. It had seemed to them that a more effective reply would be to take a positive line by demonstrating the overwhelming support of American Jewry for Zionism by means of a petition such as they had drawn up. Moreover, the process of securing such signatures would in itself be a process of Zionist education, which would be of great value.

In the course of further discussion it was suggested that the Baltimore Zionists go into every home in Baltimore and carry out a small-scale test referendum of their own. Other suggestions were that there should be meetings in every city to be followed up by an all Jewish Conference.

Judge Levinthal reported that the matter had been considered at the last meeting of the ZOA Executive and it had been felt that it would be better to get the support of large organizations, rather than try to get individual signatures, which would be a very expensive undertaking and might not result in impressive figures.

In answer to a question as to why the petition as drafted in Baltimore contained no reference to the Jewish Commonwealth, Mr. Sobeloff said they had believed that the petition as worded would be able to secure the signatures of a larger number of people than if the Commonwealth were mentioned.

In reply to this it was urged that a referendum which expressly limited itself to the Balfour Declaration might imply political defeat of the Jewish Commonwealth aim. It was agreed finally that the question of the petition and of the Conference be given further full consideration by the sub-committee.

The Chairman thanked Mr. Keiser and Mr. Sobeloff for coming and for their valuable and able presentation and assured them that they would be kept informed as to further plans in connection with the Council.

DR. MAGNES

Dr. Wise reported that the Board of Governors of the Hebrew University had under consideration adoption of a vote of censure on Dr. Magnes, which might lead to his resignation. After some discussion it was the consensus of opinion that in the event of the withdrawal of Dr. Magnes from the University, the Zionists would undertake to do whatever they could to make up for any financial loss which might result from such withdrawal.

7

POLITICAL COMMITTEE

Dr. Goldmann reported on behalf of the sub-committee which had discussed with Dr. Weizmann the setting up of a political committee.

It had been unanimously agreed that the Office Committee should continue to function as the main policy making body on political questions. On the other hand it was essential to have a small working committee, prepared to meet frequently and at short notice and to concern itself with the day to day political work. It was proposed that the chairman of the Office Committee appoint a sub-committee of three, to be responsible to the Office Committee, and to meet with the members of the World Zion ist Executive.

A lengthy discussion followed. Mr. Wertheim and Mr. Gellman said that all parties must be represented on such a sub-committee. Mr. Segal supported this position and said that Dr. Weizmann was entitled to select whom he wished to work with, but if it were a sub-committee of the Office Committee and responsible to it, then it had to be based on party representation. Mrs. Pool also urged that all groups be represented. Dr. Goldmann pointed out that neither in London nor in Jerusalem was the working political committee based on party representation, but, rather on the ability of persons to do the work.

Mrs. Halprin, on behalf of the sub-committee, said that it had not been contemplated that this political committee be a policy making body but that it function as a working committee only.

Mr. Szold moved to accept the recommendation of the sub-committee. The motion was defeated.

The subcommittee was asked to take the matter up again with Dr. Weizmann bearing in mind the request of the parties.

JEWISH CONGRESS ACTION RE EUROPEAN SITUATION

Mr. Shulman reported that he, Dr. Goldmann, Dr. Wise and Mr. James Wise had gone to Washington in connection with the mass massacres of Jews in Nazi-Europe. They had seen Mr. Davis, who had delegated Mr. Roston of his office to cooperate with the Congress Committee. The Secretary of State and the Vice-President had also offered their cooperation. Dorothy Thompson had initiated a committee of German Americans who would appeal to the German people. Dr. Goldstein had accepted the chairmanship of the committee to secure the cooperation of the churches. The medical association and the Bar Association had offered cooperation. It was planned to hold a mass meeting in Madison Square Garden on January seventh, the program of which would be worked out by the Committee.

Dr. Goldmann reported that the Congress had asked Rabbi Perlzweig to go to Washington to discuss with the embassies of neutral countries the possibility of havens for refugees who may be saved. He would also try to arrange that there be Jewish representation on the Commission of Inquiry. The Congress has also arranged with the Free World to carry on publicity in Latin America. It was thought that this might be effective in Germany.

Mrs. Pool urged that the question of a joint committee of the Emergency Committee and the Congress be reconsidered. She believed that the cables from Miss Szold and the Agency placed a responsibility on the Zionists to act as such in this matter. She further urged that the plans for rescuing children be put

in the hands of American Jewish women's organizations. In view of the position already taken up by the Congress in regard to a joint committee, no action was taken on that proposal.

Mr. Segal that the Zionists should now urge upon Great Britain the abrogation of the White Paper. It was decided to discuss this matter further at the next meeting.

Two cables from Palestine were reported: a) to the effect that Barlas was proceeding to Turkey and suggesting that the Emergency Committee send a representative to Lisbon, and b) Expressing the readiness of the Yishuv to adopt 50,000 children.

MR. SHERTOK'S VISIT TO AMERICA

Dr. Goldmann reported that the State Department had guaranteed priorities for Mr. Shertok from London to New York and from New York to Jerusalem. Mr. Shertok had been so advised and had been urged to come here for a fortnight to consult with us, but no answer had as yet been received.

CORRECTION OF MINUTES

Minutes of December 11 #93, under heading "DELEGATION TO PALESTINE"--

for "Mrs. Pool proposed that a delegation of three would be advisable;
and that one should be a member of Hadassah,"
read- "Mrs. Halprin proposed.....

A.L.

CONFIDENTIAL (special)

MINUTES OF OFFICE COMMITTEE MEETING

AMERICAN EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR ZIONIST AFFAIRS

December 25, 1942.

A special meeting of the Office Committee of the Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs was held on Friday, December 25, at 10 A.M. at the St. Regis Hotel.

PRESENT: Mr. Szold (presiding), Mr. Bublick, Mr. Gellman, Mr. Greenberg, Mrs. Halprin, Mrs. Jacobs, Mrs. Pool, Mr. Shulman, Mr. Segal, Dr. Wise, Dr. Goldmann, Mr. Lourie, Mr. Neumann, Mr. Weisgal.

Dr. Weizmann was present for a short time during the afternoon.

(It was agreed that the discussion would be informal and that no one was in any committed to any point of view expressed. The meeting had been called to clarify fundamental questions of policy and objectives and was to be considered in the nature of a tentative discussion.)

STATE DEPARTMENT

Mr. Neumann referred to the possibility that discussions with regard to the future of the Arab states might be taking place or about to take place with official circles and that any future plans for states close to Palestine were necessarily of concern to us. In this connection, Mr. Neumann referred to the paper which Dr. Niebuhr had read at the meeting of the Christian clergy on Zionist problems. Dr. Niebuhr had proposed that in its dealings with the Arabs, the State Department make the acceptance of a special position for Palestine a quid pro quo for the independence of various Arab states.

It was the consensus of opinion that the State Department be informed (a) that the Zionist movement is interested in all negotiations and plans for the future of Arab states near Palestine and (b) Palestine must be considered as apart from the totality of Arab countries. This, it was believed, is a matter of logic and justice and the United States government must be prevailed upon to make clear to the Arabs that Palestine is not part of the complex of Arab countries to be given independence after the war.

Dr. Goldmann reported that Mr. Welles had designated Mr. Wallace Murray to discuss preliminary plans for the future of Palestine with Dr. Weizmann.

Mrs. Pool asked to have recorded her consternation that Dr. Weizmann and Dr. Goldmann had seen Mr. Welles on this matter without being accompanied by an American.

TERMINOLOGY

The Terms "Commonwealth" and "State" were discussed. It was made clear (a) that Commonwealth and State are for our purposes synonymous terms, but that the connotation of "Commonwealth" was more democratic and more in consonance with current political terminology; "state" had acquired unpleasant connotations. For all practical intents and purposes the meaning was identical as it affected sovereignty, form of government, etc. (b) The demand for a Jewish Commonwealth implied the enjoyment of as much or as little sovereignty as would be accorded to any other state in the post-war world, within a democratic structure. (c) In all official documents and statements the term "Commonwealth" is to be used, though in speeches and unofficial utterances, the terms "state" and "commonwealth" may be used interchangeably.

TRANSITIONAL PERIOD

Mr. Greenberg opened the discussion on the organization of a regime for the government of Palestine between the time when the Armistice shall have been signed and the time when there will be a Jewish majority, or a Jewish Commonwealth. He said that in his opinion Jewish control of immigration seems to have as a necessary corollary the establishment of a Jewish provisional government in Palestine, which shall be in control of land-reserves, labor legislation, fiscal powers, etc. He questioned whether it was possible to make such demands without asking in effect, for a Jewish provisional government.

Dr. Goldmann said that (1) whatever suggestions are made to the State Department should be made known to the British at the same time. It would be highly unwise to give the British the impression (a) that we are negotiating without informing them and (b) that we would not want them in Palestine. (2) Ideally, he would choose an international trusteeship for Palestine entrusted to the administration of a neutral country, not tied-up with the Arab World and not motivated by power politics. The Jews and Arabs should be entrusted with the local administration of the country, with an understanding that the Jews should be responsible for the administration of immigration. (3) The neutral power entrusted with the administration must be given the clear directive that its chief task is the development of the country in order to facilitate rapid, large-scale Jewish immigration. The neutral power should not be named at this time as nothing should be done to antagonize Great Britain.

Mr. Shulman took the position that no Jewish provisional government was necessary. Two problems were involved: (a) the government of Palestine as a whole and (b) the maximum development of Palestine for Jewish immigration. As far as (a) is concerned, there was likely to be some form of international trusteeship. In respect to (b) there should be a Jewish authority which should have full power to purchase land, to regulate immigration, to develop the country to the maximum, to cooperate with Jewish National Funds, etc. He saw no conflict between a general governmental authority and a Jewish authority for the purposes specified.

Mr. Weisgal reported Dr. Weizmann's views on the organization of Palestine during the transition period, as follows: Dr. Weizmann took the position (in discussing the matter with friends in Washington) that the question of the control of Jewish immigration was quite independent of the provisional

form of government which might be set up, and of the ultimate establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth. We have two problems: (1) the need of the Jewish people for Palestine and (2) to get a majority in the country.

The matter of immigration must be solved so as to handle both problems as quickly as possible. There will be several million Jews who will have to be fed, clothed and rehabilitated after the war by the United Nations. By securing the agreement of the United Nations to take these people out of occupied countries immediately after the war and sending them to Palestine, we would then be doing something constructive. These refugees will gradually be absorbed into the economic life of the country and will have some hope for the future. Palestine is ready to absorb them and Jewish needs demand that the matter be entrusted to Jews. If such a program is adopted, within three to five years, the entire intermediate problem will be solved, for there will then be a Jewish majority in Palestine.

In this connection Mrs. Pool recommended that an article by Sir Herbert Emerson in the current issue of Foreign Affairs, entitled "Post-war Problems of the Refugee" might be helpful, as a basis of study.

Mrs. Halprin made the point that this was not a refugee problem, but involved the whole economic and political development of the country. She proposed that the matter of finding Arab moderates in the country who might agree to a proposal such as that outlined by Dr. Goldmann, be explored.

The chairman said it would be well to consider what would be the first step to take when the guns cease firing and the British are still in Palestine. In principle, if not in form, a Jewish provisional government might be the only possible solution.

There was a one hour intermission for lunch. The meeting was reconvened at 2 P.M.

Mr. Neumann proposed the following: He said he thought Dr. Goldmann's suggestions admirable, but too optimistic. He did not believe it likely that a small, neutral country would be prepared to undertake the administration of so complex a country as Palestine. Moreover, he pointed out that in many American circles, the idea of international administration, as well as supervision, was gaining ground. It is considered more and more important in many circles to find ways and means of strengthening the international supervision of national administration in colonies and mandated territories. But in Great Britain the idea has not been put forward of giving up any territory to an international setup, in any authoritative quarter. In any plan for the future of Palestine, we must reckon with British, or partly British, control. As for directives, Mr. Neumann recalled, that the directives in the Mandate for Palestine were explicit and clear and that any government, outside of the Jews themselves, entrusted with the carrying out of directives leading to a maximum Jewish immigration, would be confronted with the same difficulties as beset Great Britain.

The only thing to do is to say that this is a unique situation and requires unique solution. There should be two authorities in the country, both deriving authority from a higher power: (a) an authority to deal with the general administration and normal processes of government, and (b) a development authority invested with certain powers in specified fields of action. There is a precedent for this in the TVA, for example, which functions independently of the states in which it operates. This development authority should not devise its authority from the government of Palestine, but its function should be to

carry on work related to the development of the country. Jurisdictional conflicts between it and the local government could be resolved by another body, but if the local government has the proper directives such conflicts should not be sharp. The Jewish Development Authority might be given actual governmental powers within specified fields as a compromise between a Jewish provisional government and a non-Jewish government. Furthermore, the whole idea might be tied up with regional development in the countries of the Near and Middle East.

Mr. Greenberg said that if we proceed on the assumption that the British Empire will remain intact after the war, Dr. Goldmann's proposal, although highly desirable, is too optimistic. He said he would not want to undertake the job of persuading Great Britain to give up Palestine or to persuade a small neutral country to take on the job of policing Palestine and semi-policing the neighboring countries. He referred to the Bournemouth Manifesto of the British Labor Party as evidence that some circles, at least, in Great Britain were thinking in terms of giving independence to colonies after the war under the supervision of an international body. In trying to work out a transition government for Palestine, Mr. Greenberg proposed a tri-partite arrangement to include (a) the present population in Palestine; (b) the Jewish people to be represented by a Jewish Agency; (c) an international body to include Great Britain. He proposed securing the advice of experts who might be helpful in working out such a system.

He did not agree with Mr. Neumann that the TVA was a precedent, inasmuch as there is no precedent for what we are trying to accomplish in Palestine.

In this connection Mrs. Pool said that courses were being given in various Universities on military and social administration of occupied territories. These courses might be valuable for training personnel and it might be well to investigate them.

In response to Dr. Goldmann's question as to whether Mr. Neumann visualized the proposed development authority as regulating immigration, Mr. Neumann replied that immigration regulation would have to be combined with the functioning of the development authority if we wanted to achieve our goal.

Mr. Neumann said he did not see who would be responsible for military or police power under a tri-partite arrangement such as had been proposed by Mr. Greenberg.

Mr. Greenberg replied that the defense of the borders would be under international supervision until such time as the Jewish Commonwealth were established; local policing would be under the control of the Commission representing the three authorities which he had mentioned.

Mr. Neumann said that was the vital question and he wondered where the force which might be relied on would be found in such an arrangement.

Mrs. Halprin said she thought a scheme such as Dr. Goldmann had proposed was quite Utopian and that we had to reckon with Great Britain supplying the police power possibly with some additional control on the part of the United Nations. In her opinion the situation resolved itself into finding safeguards in respect of immediate control by Great Britain in the form of some higher international authority.

Mrs. Jacobs said that in any case small nations would require rehabilitation after the war. She foresaw that some international police power would be created during the transition period. She believed that there would be no possibility of Great Britain's having authority except with the sanction of the combined United Nations. She did not believe that Mr. Greenberg's conception of the relation of Great Britain to Palestine after the war was realistic. The British Empire would remain an Empire, perhaps not as large as it is at present, but, nevertheless an Empire, and the United States would support Great Britain in maintaining this status. She recommended that we find out what trends various post-war planning boards were taking, rather than waste time and energy in planning what may be completely unrealistic. We must try to ride along "on the crest of the wave" of the postwar world.

Dr. Goldmann said he did not think that the possibility of a neutral country taking the responsibility for Palestine was so unrealistic as many believed. Should we succeed in getting the support of the United Nations for a Jewish Commonwealth and with it directives leading to a Jewish majority, then it may be that Great Britain, with all her commitments in the Arab world, may prefer not to be the authority to carry out these directives. However, at the moment he did not believe we should concern ourselves with who the authority would be, but it was important that the local population of Palestine be part of the administration during the transition period, both because this is democratic and educational. In teaching the local population to assume certain responsibilities, it will be easier to achieve a change in the administration.

At this point Dr. Weizmann arrived. Dr. Goldmann summarized the previous discussion for Dr. Weizmann.

Dr. Weizmann made the following remarks, stating that they were informal and in no way binding or final.

He believed we should be making a great mistake in assuming that Great Britain will not have a very important voice in the solution of the problem and he thought a great deal of the decision will be taken there. Great Britain is now passing through a curious stage - a period of rejuvenation. The people feel that they have made many mistakes, for which they are now atoning, but believe that they can do the job as well as anyone else, if not better.

He said that there was on the other hand, in the United States, temporarily at any rate, a swing to the right and an atmosphere had been created in which it was difficult for us to work. In taking these two tendencies into consideration it was easier to work in England. Moreover, with all its shortcomings and difficulties, we are accustomed to working with England. There are unknown dangers in entrusting our fortunes to a new and unknown country from the point of view of middle-eastern politics. He said he would not like to see dual control in Palestine, for that would mean we might fall between two extremes.

He himself favored a plan of bringing over a large number of people immediately after the guns have ceased firing. He said such a plan was defensible, necessary and would to a great extent solve the whole problem. Suppose you bring over a quarter of a million or 300,000 Jews, you would then have effectively (even if not numerically) a majority in Palestine. If these people who, in any case, will have to be fed and clothed, are fed and clothed in Palestine, the country will be rebuilt in the process and we have already proved that we can do it.

If this plan is combined with the development of the country, we are more or less in an unassailable position. If the Arabs refuse, it will put them in a "dog in the manger" position which will not be tolerated in the post-war world. Such a plan will, moreover, win the interest and sympathy of the liberal world and is the key to the solution of our problem. We can prove that we can bring in 300,000 or a quarter of a million as a 10% instalment on future Jewish immigration.

Arabs, he believed, should be associated in the development scheme, to a great extent. This idea had been accepted in the Huleh with success. He had not yet considered the problem of financing the project. He believed his plan would lay the foundation for the rest and that Dr. Ruppin's Institute in Palestine should be asked again to prepare the plans for such a project.

After having heard more about Mr. Neumann's proposals, Dr. Weizmann likened the Development authority of which he had spoken, to a Chartered Company and thought it might be worked out.

He said he thought Great Britain would concentrate its colonial efforts after the war in developing Africa because its possessions in the Far East would go; India would probably be given dominion status. But most of Africa probably would be British. Palestine might fit as a nodal point in this development picture. Moreover Palestine was a sort of social laboratory and many British statesmen view it that way. ~~He thought~~ the JVA plan should be pressed forward as ~~speedily as possible~~.

In response to a question about the White Paper, Dr. Weizmann said that the matter might be pressed after the fall of Tunis and Bizerte.

The chairman proposed that consideration be given to spending money for research work connected with the immediate transfer of a large number of Jews to Palestine.

Mr. Neumann said he had looked over an outline of work prepared by Dr. Ruppin's institute, but it was not the kind of thing that Dr. Weizmann or Mr. Ben-Gurion had had in mind and was not adequate for the problem.

After a brief summary of the meeting, the chairman said that further consideration had to be given to the question of the form of government we wanted and the kind of international trusteeship, which Dr. Weizmann had omitted from his discussion.

The meeting adjourned at 4:30 P.M. The next meeting was set for Monday, December 28, at 8:00 P.M.

A.L.

CONFIDENTIAL

(special)

MINUTES OF OFFICE COMMITTEE MEETING

AMERICAN EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR ZIONIST AFFAIRS

December 28, 1942.

A meeting of the Office Committee of the Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs was held on Monday evening, December 28th 41 East 42nd Street.

PRESENT: Mr. Szold (presiding) Mr. Bublick, Mr. Gellman, Mr. Greenberg,
Mrs. Halprin, Mrs. Jacobs, Mrs. Pool, Mr. Segal, Mr. Shulman, Dr. Wise.

Dr. Goldmann, Mr. Lourie, Mr. Neumann.

POST WAR PLANS:

Mr. Neumann said that in his opinion our plans should be so formulated that they form an integrated program, which can be used in discussion in Washington, London or elsewhere.

Dr. Goldmann said that he should be completely frank in discussions with the British. We should make clear that whatever power becomes the trustee for Palestine, must carry out the directive of getting a Jewish majority in the country as soon as possible. After 25 years of experience with them, he did not believe the British would be able to do it.

Mr. Neumann stated it was necessary to take into account the reaction of Great Britain. In his opinion, Great Britain might find acceptable an arrangement whereby an independent Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine would guarantee certain rights to Great Britain, such as existed in Britain's arrangement with Iraq. Britain will surely resist an arrangement such as was contemplated, but it might smooth the way if we offered a permanent connection of some kind. If the United States could be brought into the picture, so much the better; e.g. the Jewish Development Authority might have an official American advisor, so that the U.S.A. has a part to play in the development of the country.

Referring to the article by Field-Marshal Smuts appearing in the current issue of "Life" magazine, Mr. Neumann said it confirmed his report that England is not thinking in terms of divided responsibility in colonial administration. General Smuts speaks of international supervision of colonies but this of course does not mean administration by an international commission. In any case, Mr. Neumann thought we would have to reckon with Great Britain, and, in this connection, he recalled that Dr. Weizmann said he would prefer Great Britain, since he knew it, to any other power.

Dr. Goldmann believed we should be "more than reluctant" to tie ourselves permanently to the British Empire. He did not think it the historic task of Jews returning to Palestine to be exponents of British imperialism in the Near East. If we were forced into making a choice between a tie-up with Great Britain or with Near East States, he would prefer to see us linked with the Near East States, for many reasons:

(a) For many generations to come the large majority of the Jews will remain outside of Palestine. The more Palestine is tied up with power politics and imperial interests, the more the Jews of the world will be involved in difficult situations. If, of course, the entire Near East is put under a con-dominium status administered by the United States, Great Britain and Russia, for example, then Palestine will fall into that category.

(b) It would be preferable for Palestine to assume the leadership in a regenerated Near East than to be the representative there of British Imperialism.

Mr. Bublick expressed the opinion that if faced with a choice, he would prefer that Palestine be associated with the British Empire rather than with the Near and Middle East.

Mr. Greenberg took the position that from the point of view of political morals, we could not commit our people not yet in the country, to one or other permanent affiliation. That issue must be postponed until the Jewish majority is already in Palestine and can make its own decisions.

It was his opinion that any Near East Federation would be an Arab Federation and that culturally, economically and socially, Jewish Palestine had more in common with the western, than with the oriental, world. If, however, we commit ourselves to that alternative, the practical conclusion will be that for the interim period, England must have the trusteeship. On the other hand, there are extreme dangers in expressing a preference for an affiliation with any potential Near East Federation, which may, or will, mean an Arab Federation; it will be impossible to maintain our standard of living, our culture in such a setup.

We have been working on the assumption that in the post-war period we will have only regional federations without local states. That may be desirable, but there will be some exceptions even within that system. For example, it is conceivable that if Europe were regionally federated, Switzerland, because of its history and tradition, may remain an independent state; the same may be true of Turkey. The only path we can pursue is to stress the uniqueness of our position both as a people in relation to the geography and history of Palestine and the nature of the task which will be undertaken there. If we then take the position that in ten or fifteen years from now the population of the country must make its own decisions as to affiliations we can face the world with a clear conscience and a valid position. We might even think in terms of parallel treaties, not mutually exclusive.

Dr. Goldmann said he agreed with Greenberg's conclusions. He believed the ideal status for Palestine would be permanent neutrality, internationally guaranteed by international protection. We are the neutral people of the world and certainly our claim to neutrality is as valid as that of Switzerland. He thought it might be well to present this to the State Department as a solution which fits the unique status of Palestine, geographically in the east, but culturally part of the western world. In this connection, he again suggested that it might be easier to make a transition from the trusteeship of a neutral country to internationally guaranteed neutrality, than from British trusteeship to such neutrality. He said he was opposed to an international commission administering Palestine; this would be a cumbersome method, difficult to deal with.

The whole matter, of course, will depend on whether, after the war, there really will be set up an efficient world federation with efficient police power.

Dr. Wise made the point that any plans made by us at this state were mere "Kinderspiel" and would be considered naive, unless we knew what the British were thinking. He urged that before we make any program we try to find out what is in the minds of the British with regard to Palestine.

Dr. Goldmann said that if we took that position then we would have to postpone making any plans or any program, for the British would certainly take no position on Palestine until after the war was won.

Mr. Newmann thought there was value in Dr. Wise's suggestion. We must remember that Britain has the dominant position in the Near East and the likelihood is that the United States will follow its lead on questions relating to that region. The idea of a neutral Palestine originated with Herzl. Our unwillingness to commit ourselves to being a factor in British Imperialism is correct; on the other hand, we can envisage that after the transition period is over and self-government has been granted, a special connection between the Jewish Commonwealth and Great Britain shall exist. There is no reason why we cannot also have a relationship with the Near East states. Current political literature mentions "two way states", connected with one group for one reason and another for other reasons. We must bear in mind, too, that any Near East Federation will involve British power politics on another level. At the moment, the British are thinking of a federation to include Syria, Palestine, the Lebanon, Transjordan, which is, in effect, a completely Arab Federation. We would be better off thinking in terms of affiliation with the British Commonwealth. Actually, a reaction has set in against federations in all talk of post-war planning.

If the war were over tomorrow, the best we could hope for would be a return to the status quo ante, with a somewhat improved version of the League of Nations. Our goal at the moment with our own government under the present circumstances should be to try to get a large immigration to Palestine with Britain as trustee for a certain period of years, and that part of the administration, such as immigration, should be turned over to us.

The chairman suggested that the power to carry out the directive proposed might be a Jewish provisional government. If that is unrealistic then we must think in terms of what Great Britain will allow.

Mr. Shulman said that we should not be dissuaded from thinking in terms of a changing world. We are not going to ask for what is possible, but present a program of what we want. We should tell our government that we want Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth, with a neutral status internationally guaranteed and ask whether it is possible to fit such an arrangement into the post-war world.

The meeting adjourned at 10:30.

A.L.

MINUTES OF OFFICE COMMITTEE MEETINGAMERICAN EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR ZIONIST AFFAIRS

December 29, 1942.

A meeting of the Office Committee of the American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs was held on Tuesday, December 29, 1942 at 4:00 p.m.

PRESENT: Dr. Goldstein (presiding), Mr. Bublick, Mrs. Halprin, Mrs. Pool, Mr. Segal.

Mr. Lourie, Mr. Weisgal.

Excuses for absence were received from Mr. Szold, Dr. Goldmann and Dr. Wise.

EMIGRATION OF BULGARIAN JEWS

Mr. Lourie reported that according to information received by Bulgarian Jews here, the Bulgarian government was prepared to facilitate the emigration of Jews in Bulgaria to Palestine and Syria. There was fear that if action was not taken to evacuate these Jews in the near future the annihilation policy of the Nazis might also be introduced by them in Bulgaria. The Jewish Congress authorities were approaching the Free French in regard to Syria.

It was agreed that a committee of the Emergency Committee be appointed by the chairman to see Lord Halifax on the matter with a view to obtaining a) certificates; (b) relaxation of the rule that refugees from occupied territory shall not be admitted to Palestine. Dr. Weizmann and Dr. Wise are to be consulted as to the wisdom of including a member of the Bulgarian Jewish Community in the delegation.

ENVOY IN NEUTRAL COUNTRY

A cable from Bernard Joseph was reported to the effect that Mr. Barlas would be sent to Turkey to ascertain what might be done on behalf of Jewish refugees through neutral countries. Mr. Joseph had proposed that an American representative be sent also to Lisbon.

In this connection Mr. Lourie reported that the Jewish Congress had obtained permission from the State Department to send an emissary to North Africa in connection with the refugee situation there, also the repeal of the Vichy anti-Jewish laws. It was agreed that the Committee keep in touch with the Congress on the matter, with a view to having the person who represents the Congress also represent Zionist interests.

CABLE FROM MR. SCHMORAK

Mr. Lourie reported the receipt of a cable from Mr. Schmorak with reference to the possibility of the manufacture in Palestine of standardized supplies for refugees after the war.

It was decided to put this matter on the agenda of the next meeting. Mrs. Pool recorded her regret that this matter had been dealt with by a lengthy and costly cable, rather than by mail.

AMERICAN COUNCIL FOR JUDAISM

The Baltimore Zionists had requested guidance for their public relations council meeting to be held on December 30.

Mr. Lourie reported that the sub-committee appointed to deal with the matter of the American Council for Judaism had, at the request of Rabbi Heller, not yet met, pending a meeting between Heller and a number of other Zionist Reform Rabbis on the one hand and Rabbi Lazaron and some of his supporters on the other, fixed for January 5. The purpose of the meeting would be to seek a way out of the conflict which threatened as a result of the establishment of the American Council for Judaism. The fact that the meeting had been arranged was to be treated as confidential.

It was decided to inform Mr. Keiser of Baltimore of the position. So far as a possible protest meeting in Baltimore was concerned, it was agreed that the Emergency Committee should not attempt to restrain the holding of such a meeting and strong approval of the idea of similar meetings elsewhere was voiced by some of the members present.

UNITED NATIONS

It was reported that an expression of opinion from the Committee had been sought on the question of seeking official status for the Jewish people as a constituent member of the United Nations.

It was the opinion of those present that this was a question with many implications and merited the consideration of the full Emergency Committee. Dr. Weizmann is to be asked for his views on the matter and a full meeting is to be convened to discuss it.

ALL JEWISH CONFERENCE

Mr. Segal proposed that a sub-committee be immediately appointed to bring in concrete proposals and recommendations for the convening of an all-Jewish Conference, as previously considered by the Office Committee. His recommendation was accepted.

Arthur Lourie.