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American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs, Minutes,
1942.

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. Lipaky 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. Weissgal 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.



CONFIDENTIAL

MINUTES OF OFFICE COMMITTEE MEETING
AMERICAN EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR ZIONIST AFFAIRS

Wednesday, 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. Rosenbaum;
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. Warheim 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. Fool 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. Weismann 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. Weismann'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.

Meeting - Questions
Past Pres.

Devotion - Sermons

Friends - (Sawyer)
(Proffered)

War - (Old lady)

Temple - Minded
Rel. School

4. Know th - Sweet

3. Loyalty - Criticism

Helen King
 Edith Roberts
 Mary Robinson
 Ruth Jones
 Helmi Steiner

June 1914



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 WEIZMAN

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. Gruso, 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. Gruso 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. Criso 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. Gruso 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. Aglicn, representing the Free French was to participate. He was a friend of Zionism and could be counted on for support.
7. Frank Bennett'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 mat'l. 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	1730.11
Jewish Legion Anniversary (This amount is not complete)	74.75
Palcor	415.00
Conference to Dr. Weizmann	3535.52
Contribution to Free World	550.00
Subsidy to Hechalutz	<u>843.75</u>
	11,735.46

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 Levintzhal, Judge Rosenblatt, Dr. Silver, Messrs. Bablick, Cruso, Furmansky, Gellman, P. Goldman, Mereminski, Naiditch; Mesdames Samuel Goldstein, Jacobs, Schoolman, Epstein, Fedor, 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:

WLC
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.

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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. Morawinski proposed that the money be secured on the basis of monthly contributions to meet a monthly budget.

Mrs. Schoelman 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. Wolgal 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 Lovinthal 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.

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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. Cruse 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. Callman, 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 Gewerkschaften, 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. Furmansky, 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. Furmansky 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 BENGURION AT MEETING LAST WEDNESDAY MORNING WAS CLEAR AND UNCONDITIONAL. BENGURION 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

ABRA 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 UFA 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. Harlin, to represent the Geworkschaften 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'rai 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.

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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 Mr. 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 Mr. 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. I. 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.

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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 KK and the KH 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. Worthheim 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. Casalet 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 these 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 Bornstein 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. Publick, Mrs. Epstein, Mr. Furmansky, Mr. Gollman, Mr. P. Goldman, Rabbi Gold, Mr. Greenberg, Mr. Itzkowitz, Mrs. Jacobs, Rabbi Kowalsky, Miss Leibol, 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-rate 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. Shortek.

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 Loudermilk'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. Weizgal'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, Mizrahi 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 Mizrahi be recorded: (See copy attached).

He further recommended on behalf of Mizrahi that any resolution passed include a request that Dr. Magnes be asked to resign his post as head of the Hebrew University.

Sept. 9, 1943

Mrs. Schoolman made the following points:

1. She thought the negative connotations of the resolution as proposed unwise.
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 Levinthal 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 vote 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 haste 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-Hurion 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, Ir. 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 Abdal 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 Sachar 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 a Jewish State in 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. Lurie, 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 UFA 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 Luni 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 Old 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 Mizrahi, 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 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. Wedsworth, 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 Yishav 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 mechanics 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. Weismann 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 Buksan 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 Mizrahi 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 Mizrahi 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 Mizrahi 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 spoiled. 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. Publick 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 MEETINGAMERICAN 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 Peale 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 AJO 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. Schulman, 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, 1943

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. Publick, 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. Wiser, Mr. Scheloff 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. Kaiser 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. Kaiser 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 Zionist 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 sub-committee 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. Collman, Mr. Greenberg, Mrs. Halprin, Mrs. Jacobs, Mrs. Pool, Mr. Shulman, Mr. Sogal, Dr. Wise, Dr. Goldmann, Mr. Lourie, Mr. Neumann, Mr. Weizmann.

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 derive 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, 1943.

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. Eublick, Mr. Gellman, Mr. Greenberg,
Mrs. Halprin, Mrs. Jacobs, Mrs. Pool, Mr. Segal, Mr. Shulman, Dr. Tise,
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. Buhlick, 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.