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American Zionist Emergency Council, Washington Conference of  
Local Committee Chairmen, 1944.

THE FIFTH SESSION

Wednesday Afternoon, May 24th 1944.

The Chairman, Rabbi Miller, called the session to order at two-thirty o'clock.

CHAIRMAN MILLER: The session will please come to order, ladies and gentlemen. I imagine that others will be coming in from now on, but I do think that we can begin our work. Many of you, I know, want to make a train, and I think that if we begin right away we can expedite matters, and adjourn at a reasonable hour.

We would like to receive reports at this time from some of you who have been able to see either Congressmen or Senators. We are very very much interested in what they had to say, and in what you had to say to them. I think that if we get several reports, we might emerge from this meeting with a pretty good pattern of what they are thinking of on Capitol Hill, and what the prospects are for any action in the immediate future.

Now of course we would like to hear from you, all that you have to say, but you will appreciate the fact that time will not permit extensive and full reports; try to give us the essence of the conversation as briefly as possible. Who

would like to start?

MR. WM. M. RAPHAEL (Hillside, New Jersey): As the baby State, having the largest number of Districts, exceeding New York, I had an appointment with the Honorable Albert Banks, the Senator from the State of New Jersey, for this morning. Unfortunately unbeknown to him when the appointment was made, the Senate adjourned for the day and he was asked to speak in New York before a Treasury Rally. He was designated as the symbolic father of 1944, having lost his son in this war. He is going to speak this afternoon. He was hoping to make a noon train when I got there this morning. His Secretary, Al Lewitt, the only Jewish secretary among the Senators --

RABBI FEUER (interrupting): There are several, ten or twelve Jewish secretaries.

MR. RAPHAEL: Oh, I stand corrected. However, I happen to know Al Lewitt from Newark; he was very regretful of the disappointment; Gentlemen, before the delegation came in, however, he showed me a few statements of the Senator. The Senate Resolution was presented on February 1; on February 2 Senator Banks got out a one-page mimeographed statement which I think the office has, and there he expressed himself emphatically as to his own stand, and I want to say that

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many people do not realize that Senator Hawks, although he was President of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States and is a big business man and superficially is looked upon as one of the reactionaries, is deeply and strongly at heart a friend of the Jews, and I know that his Secretary told us of the work that he did in corralling those midwestern senators, who have no Jewish constituents. He was instrumental in getting at least a half-dozen Senators to pledge themselves whole-heartedly in support of the Resolution.

We have a Junior Senator, Mr. Walsh, a temporary appointee. He certainly is in favor of all we stand for; as far as the New Jersey Senators are concerned, they are one hundred percent. with us. He is a member of the American Palestine Committee, and was present at the Conference.

The suggestion made by Mr. Levitt was that we work on the Foreign Affairs Committee itself, first; don't stop. Keep at them. His attitude is that we should not wait for a certain propitious time but do it now; don't stop your work. Get the resolution out and let them go on record as to how they stand. And of course, being a Republican he might be a bit resentful of the Administration attitude - this military intervention - because Hawks himself resented that military strategy that was introduced before the Committee.

The suggestion given our delegation is: don't stop work. Hammer at them and get them to present themselves on a regular vote. (Applause)

CHAIRMAN MILLER: Fine. Thank you very much.

MR. ROSENBAUM, do you wish to supplement what has been said?

MR. HENRY ROSENBAUM (Plainfield, N. J.): Yes. We had a friendly and open discussion and the man was very amiable and very susceptible to whatever we said.

CHAIRMAN MILLER: You are talking about the Secretary to Senator Hawks?

MR. ROSENBAUM: Yes.

I tried to pose the question about this new Committee. He said if he started on that he could talk a whole day. This is one of the serious handicaps. There is so much confusion in the eyes of the non-Jews, so many Committees appearing at all times, and the goyim don't know what it is all about, and feel that we ought to get ourselves organized, and they will do something for us.

They realize this is a great stumbling block to any action taken on the part of the officials.

MR. ELVIN TRITELBAUM (Johnstown, Pa.): Our Congressman is Harvey Tibbitt. I went to see him at eleven

o'clock and spent two hours with him. He put himself on record with the House Committee with regard to the Palestine Resolution and he authorized me to issue the following statement in his behalf:

"I put myself on record with the House Committee as favoring the Palestine Resolution, and I turned over to the Committee the resolutions passed by organizations in counties served by me. You can count on me to do everything in my power to hasten the day when justice shall be done to the Jewish people in accordance with their rights under the Balfour Declaration and the League of Nations Mandate."

I went with him to see Senator Davis. Senator Davis is thoroughly familiar with the subject, and in order to save time I jotted down the gist of what he said. He said:

"It is an outrage what is being done to the Jewish people by the present British Administration. I intended to bitterly attack and denounce the present policy on the floor of the Senate and that is the way I feel now, but cooler heads prevailed upon me not to do it. I am prepared to fight for the Palestine resolution."

And then he said, facetiously, "I am a Welshman, a member of one of the Lost Tribes, and we Jews must stick together." (Applause and laughter)

CHAIRMAN MILLER: Mr. Teitelbaum, did either the Representative or the Senator give you any indication of whether we ought to press immediately for consideration?

MR. TEITELBAUM: Let me continue with my report, and then I can make a statement or two.

I went to the dining room of the House of Representatives and had luncheon there. I talked to Joseph Martin, the Republican minority leader, and can summarize his remarks in the following words:

It isn't our fault (meaning the fault of Congress) that the Palestine Resolution is not passed. I am opposed to dictation from England as to the policy of the United States with regard to Palestine. In my opinion England's opposition is responsible for the present inactive stand on the Palestine Resolution. Let the Resolution come out of Committee and we will show you what we will do with it.

I talked to a number of other representatives from Ohio and Pennsylvania and found no opposition to the Palestine Resolution.

As far as what action should be taken now, in view of the fact that the Executive Branch of the Government apparently is responsible for the military necessity argument,

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I don't think that there is anything that we can do now, except to continue to keep in touch with our Senators and Congressmen in the hope that when the situation changes an aroused Congress will do something about the Palestine Resolution. (Applause)

CHAIRMAN MILLER: Thank you very very much, Mr. Teitelbaum. We are indebted to you for the trouble you went to to get these things down. You gave us a very succinct and clear report.

I should imagine that it would hardly be necessary for me to point out to you that considering the matter as we are, this is an Executive Session, and that what is said here should be kept among us and should be an off-the record statement; don't talk about it to others.

The doctor from Iowa, I believe, had a very interesting conversation with Senator Gillette; we would like to hear about it, Doctor Fleischman.

DR. A. G. FLEISCHMAN (Des Moines, Iowa.) Mr. Chairman, first I would like to give you a brief resume of the conference that I had with Congressman Cunningham, from my District. I was received most graciously by Congressman Cunningham, and this is the first thing he pointed out to me: he said, "If it is a question of my continued support to this

resolution, you don't have to worry." He went as far as to say that if this organization so desired, he would circulate a petition among the members of the Congress, to take this resolution out of the Committee. I told him that I wasn't in any position to argue that phase of it; I think that is something that the Executive Committee, if they needed, would consult with him, but nevertheless he was kind enough also to introduce me to Congressman Wright, the Democratic leader from Pennsylvania, and there I had a very enlightened conversation. I say this now in the spirit of not trying to divulge any military matters, but Congressman Wright said this, specifically: If we tried at this particular moment to press this resolution we would not get anywhere; he said we would have to pick the time, that he will consult with the President of the United States - I don't know just how much influence he has, - but that it is his opinion that they would bring the bill out of the Committee the first month in the fall.

RABBI SILVER: What does that mean?

MR. FLEISCHMAN: In September, October or November, but he did say there still was an overwhelming majority in favor of it.

Now with reference to Senator Gillette, and Senator Wilson: let me for a moment tell you, before I discuss

Senator Gillette with you, just what the junior Senator from my state said to Ruby, Herson, and myself; we had thought this particular senator was lukewarm on the problem, but he said to us, "If the word of Great Britain was not good when she made this treaty, what right have we to believe that it will be good in the years to come?" That was his statement, and I said, "Senator, how much can we depend upon you?" And he said to the Rabbi and myself, "The doors of my office are open to your organization and I will go as far as you want me to go."

That was the junior senator, Senator Wilson from Iowa.

We had quite a lengthy seance, if I may say, with Senator Gillette, expressing the sentiment of our good Director, I did find Senator Gillette quite confused; particularly the thing we stressed with Senator Gillette was that he had allied himself with an organization that possessed no dignity and no respect and no esteem, not only not in this country, but not in Palestine; that they were creating a rift and dissension within our ranks, and it was very difficult for us to understand his association with this particular organization. The Senator was rather evasive about answering the question that we directed at him, by saying to us that he was not

concerned with the squabbles or diversity of ideas or the various postulates that we may have, but that the important goal with him is the humanitarian approach, the altruistic, and he did not care which way. Well that was not to our liking, and we tried to pin the Senator down; well, he did change somewhat, but in concluding our conference with him, I said to the Senator, and the Rabbi interjected with a very important point at that particular time, we said, "Senator, when this resolution is presented before the Congress will you support it?" And he said, "Yes," and that he still wanted to be considered an important figure in the movement, and that he was extremely interested.

I still don't know whether Senator Gillette intends to continue to affiliate with this organization; he seems to have been impressed a little bit somewhat by the comment of some of these cringing, yellow quixotic individuals who have considerable influence because of their wealth, and he said, "They are a recognized body also," but I said, "Yes, Senator, they represent a microscopic minority, and they don't represent a cross-section of American Jewry." We didn't pull any punches with the Senator; we called a spade a spade.

I am sorry that I cannot say to this group honestly just where the Senator stands with reference to this other

group, but I know that he will support this resolution.

CHAIRMAN MILLER Fine, thank you, Doctor.

RABBI HERSON (Iowa): I haven't very much to add to what Dr. Fleischman has already mentioned, but I did see, besides Senator Wilson and Senator Gillette, the Congressman from our District in Iowa, Congressman John V. Goodwin, but before I go ahead with my report about Congressman Goodwin, I would like to add several remarks about the Senator. First of all Senator Wilson is on the Military Affairs Committee. I especially dealt with the Military reason of General Marshall for opposing the resolution. I told him that as far as we are concerned, although we are one hundred percent behind the war effort, we still do not see any military reasons, perhaps due to our ignorance, I don't know; I made it clear to him, however, that we could not see any military reasons, perhaps he could tell us, and Senator Wilson said, "I Don't see any reasons; and there are no reasons." Those were his words. I believe I am right in that, Dr. Fleischman?

DR. FLEISCHMAN: He made this additional statement, not long ago in an allocation to a farm project which was presented to the government, the excuse for not subsidizing this particular project was because of military reason; he said, "The words 'military exigency' are utilized quite frequently at the present time."

RABBI HIRSHON: And he sort of expressed himself to the effect that the Administration is utilizing the words "military reasons," so as to keep certain things in oblivion - you see he is a republican. That was Senator Wilson.

Now Congressman Goodwin of the Third District of Iowa. I wrote to him and telegraphed him when the resolutions were up in Congress and he replied to me in a letter that I did not like at all; it was very evasive and it sidestepped the issue completely and after I had finished reading the letter I did not know whether he was for or against; as a matter of fact after considering the letter I thought that had I written to him against the resolution, that letter would have been equally as good in a reply.

And so today, I went at him pretty strongly, and I was surprised because he opened up and he said, "I am for it. There is no man that is against the resolution." And I asked him to place himself on record and he promised me to do so, and he said that should the resolution come up he will gladly support it. I told him that I will write to him from Mason City, and asked him to send me in written form his approval of the resolution; he promised that too.

Also in closing, I wish to add that Senator Wilson

13 is highly in favor of the resolution being brought back into Congress now. He stressed that; he mentioned that several times. He said, "If you want me to I will be glad to bring it up again."

CHAIRMAN MILLER: Fine, thank you very much.

This is all very very helpful. Are there any other reports?

MR. JACOB LEVIN (Dallas, Tex.): I had an appointment with the congressman of my district - Hatton W. Sumners. Unfortunately Mr. Summers is in Dallas today; he was called away suddenly, but he left a message for me stating that he knows that I want to talk to him on the Palestine Resolution matter, and that he and I being out of Texas, which is an oil state, know that rather than military reasons the reasons of oil probably played a more predominant part in the temporary tabling of the resolution; he states that although he had over a thousand wires from his district, and his office is cluttered up with mail, he thinks it wise that we continue bothering him on this matter because as soon as another opportunity presents itself he will gladly press the matter.

Our senior Senator is Mr. Tom Connally; I have an appointment with him for three-thirty this afternoon in the Chamber of the Foreign Relations Committee.

Our junior senator - well I am ashamed to mention his name, I haven't even attempted to make an appointment with him, Mr. W. Leo Daniels. I think when I return from my appointment with Mr. Connally I shall have something to add.

CHAIRMAN MILLER: We will look forward to that; we would like to hear what Mr. Connally has to say on this subject; he is quite oily.

RABBI JOSEPH H. WAGNER (Wheeling, W.Va.): I saw both Congressman Shiffler, and Senator Kilgore this morning. Congressman Shiffler is a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, as you know, and as a general statement I would like to say that both Mr. Shiffler and Senator Kilgore confirmed the learned opinion of Dr. Silver, that this entire issue is fluid one - they used that very word - and that by no means has the last word been said. Mr. Shiffler has backed the resolution and he expressed the opinion that the resolution will definitely be passed, and that this particular time was not opportune; he felt that if this resolution were brought to complete life again in an attempt to have it passed at this particular time, he does not think that it would be successful. He pledged his whole-hearted support in the future, as he has in the past.

Senator Kilgore was in a talkative mood; he did most

of the talking, and said this: that the basic issue was oil, and don't let anyone ever tell you anything different. He said, "I have gone into this deeply and I am fully convinced of this fact." He went on to speak about the great amount of propaganda which was being let loose by the great oil companies in this country, and he felt that this was a very potent factor in the opposition. He felt that this proposition should of necessity be fought; he made himself very clear about his approach to the Commonwealth; it is not an approach of rachmonas, or a home for refugees; he believes in nationhood, that Israel should be restored to nationhood, pure and simple; he feels that these resolutions will be revitalized, just as soon as the opportunity presents itself; and he was speaking for those who are backing the resolution.

I think that I have conveyed to you the substance of the remarks that these men have made. I don't think that there is anything further to say, thank you. (Applause.)

CHAIRMAN MILLER: Thank you very much.

MR. JOSEPH GOLDBERG (Worcester, Mass.): Rabbi, I believe that seven or eight members of the Massachusetts delegation called on Senator St. Clair Weeks; he is the only person that we were somewhat concerned about, because the other

senator of Massachusetts, and the representatives have all gone on record.

At the very outset Mr. Weeks told us that he was definitely for the resolution and very sympathetic, and he assured us that it was his conviction that it would go through in the Congress with flying colors. Then as we talked with him he said something to us that I believe disturbed the entire delegation. I believe that we ought to talk about it here. He told us that he had a very dear friend, a very close friend, a military person who had recently come back from the Near East and who was to return to the Near East perhaps tomorrow and who was intimately acquainted with the situation in the Near East, and he thought that he had been brought up and reared in the near East. He was not quite sure whether it was Palestine or Syria, but we all had a pretty good idea of whom he had in mind, and he said that this individual told him that when the war is over it would have to be either British or American bayonets that would have to protect the Jewish community in Palestine. Then he went on to question us, to determine whether or not - he had a question in his mind whether or not the Jews of Europe would want to go <sup>back</sup> to Palestine? and whether or not Jews from this country would want to go back to

## Palestine.

I attempted to refute the arguments that he proposed, and he assured us that those were not his own convictions, but the statements of this military man in the State Department, and Jack Gordon and Rabbi Jacobson from Haverhill all pitched in, to use the vernacular, and I think that we left a fairly good impression with him. However, before we left, he said to us, "Perhaps you would like to talk to this man from the State Department, and if you would like to I can make an appointment for you this afternoon so you can hear yourselves what he has to say," and it occurred to us that if that type of appointment is arranged for this afternoon, that perhaps a man like Emanuel Neumann - we speak very modestly, we think that perhaps we know something about the subject, but we thought that perhaps a man like Emanuel Neumann, or some other member of the Executive or the staff ought to go back with us and help to supplement the information. If the individual is the person we have in mind then I doubt very much whether or not we can sway his already established convictions, but I think that we ought to go back with someone who could help enlighten this individual and confer further with this individual from the State Department.

But I think there is no question but that Senator

Weeks definitely will vote for the Palestine Resolution when it is re-introduced, and I think the entire delegation would like your opinion, Rabbi Miller, or perhaps the opinions of the other individuals in this room.

CHAIRMAN MILLER: I think, Mr. Goldberg, that you ought to take it up now privately with Mr. Shulman or someone else on the Executive, and come to a decision; I think you ought to tell them who the man is that you have in mind.

MR. SILVERMAN: I think that the individual that he has in mind is Mr. Hoskins.

MR. GOLDBERG: That is the individual we had in mind; we thought it was Hoskins.

CHAIRMAN MILLER: Forget it.

MR. GOLDBERG: We thought that if it was Hoskins we would be wasting our time in going back to talk with him.

CHAIRMAN MILLER: Quite so.

RABBI ABRAHAM AVNUTICK (Newburgh, N.Y.): Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I did not visit my senators - Wagner and Meade, whose records are well known to everybody. I did not think it was necessary for me to pay my respects or visit them, but I did pay a visit to my Congressman, who is Hamilton Fish, (laughter) it is not my fault, but he is our congressman.

I knew I would get a laugh at that.

I spoke to Rabbi Feuer last night, and we came to the conclusion that I should pay my respects to my Congressman. I am not at all sorry both from the standpoint of local politics and from the standpoint of Zionism. I was in his office three-quarters of an hour. Primaries come on in my community very shortly; he was happy to see me concerning the Palestine Resolution, and in discussion about Zionism this is what he had to say: He said to me, "As you well know, I am an ardent Zionist," he termed himself a liberal ardent Zionist; by that he meant that he will support us in spite of what the local situation may be concerning the Jewish vote for him or against him.

He said to me however, two things; first he said that he is convinced that there should be a Jewish Commonwealth; he thinks that Zionists may be approaching it from the wrong angle; they should approach the congressmen he said, from the angle of telling them they need a house of refuge, and for that reason he advocates also an establishment of a refuge house somewhere in North Africa, besides Palestine.

He told me this: "As you well know," he said, "in spite of the fact that most of the Jews are voting against me

Orange, Sullivan and Delaware Counties I am not an anti-Jew,  
I am not an anti-Semite. It is not within me to be that." He said, "You know next year we may have a Democratic President, or we may have perhaps a Republican President, but one thing I shall assure you, we shall have a Republican House, and I shall be, according to the rules of the House, the ranking Republican Congressman, the Chairman of the House Rules Committee, and I shall do everything within my power to see that the resolution that will be suggested to me by the heads of your organization, Dr. Wise and Dr. Silver, will go through - my Committee and I will support it, however," he told me that he had the conversation with both the leaders, and with other leaders of the Zionist movement, and he said, "before I will do anything, whether pro, lukewarm or ardent I shall not move without taking consultations from the leaders."

However, he told me this, and this disturbed me a little bit as it disturbed Mr. Goldberg from Worcester, he said that most of the congressmen feel that if Palestine becomes a Jewish Commonwealth this means that American boycotts will have to protest us; that disturbed me a little. We discussed it, not too much at length because he is very much interested in local politics, extremely. I tried to talk

to him on that matter. He said, "I will discuss it more with the leaders," and I thought: that is more advisable.

This is in brief my report, without going into politics, which is very interesting to my community.

RABBI JACOBSON (Haverhill, Mass.): May I add, in the absence of Mr. Goldberg, referring to the remark about bayonets, Mr. Goldberg of course answered Senator Weeks very aptly when he made Palestine part of the general picture of the reconstruction of all the small nations and brought to his mind the fact that if Palestine has to be protected by American or British bayonets it will have to be the combined might of those countries to protect the integrity and the boundaries of all the other small countries to be recreated, so that Palestine is not to be placed in the special category of needing bayonets whereas the rest of the world will be able to get along without them. (Applause)

CHAIRMAN MILLER: That is very good; we are very glad, Rabbi Jacobson, that you pointed that out.

RABBI JACOBSON: I dropped in to Congressman Bates; he testified before the House Foreign Affairs Committee for the Resolution; it was unfortunate that our local papers in Haverhill didn't carry the item; it would have been a help for us in our community, the fact that our Congressman

testified. He was not interested in opposition groups; he knew there was opposition; that didn't sway him one bit, he was out to put this thing across, and he put it across.

RABBI AVNUTICK: I showed Mr. Fish the printed Resolution of Lodge Fish; he was very much interested and very much pleased as a matter of fact I left two copies with him which he filed away with the record.

MR. SIDNEY M. WEISS (Scranton, Pa.): The Scranton delegation called on our Congressman John W. Murphy. I think his record is known; Congressman Murphy is definitely committed to our plans for the establishment of a Commonwealth in Palestine. He was present at the dinner as our guest, that was sponsored by Senator Wagner and the late Senator McNary. He was so impressed by that affair that we are planning something of that sort in Scranton; by the way we are planning that and looking for gentile to establish contact.

I did mention to him the fact that we have decided that we will regard the proposition as in abeyance for military expediency, we are willing to accept that with the hope of course that at the proper time the resolution will be presented again. He made one suggestion along that line. He said he himself is definitely committed, as I said before,

but he said that if that is our idea, that it might not be a bad idea to try to curb in some measure some of the articles which appeared after the failure of the resolution to be presented which indicated a different spirit: In other words, that we are willing to abide and take our time until such time as the military affairs have been straightened out, then we should not give any occasion to any of our gentile neighbors or congressmen to feel differently. I don't know whether anything can be done along that line.

We did mention the fact that there have been mushroom organizations springing up, not to pay too much attention to it. He knows the proper authorities to cultivate and whatever action he will take will be the result of our indications after consulting with him.

MR. ENGLANDER (Kingston, N. Y.): I saw Congressman LeFevre of my district; before I had a chance to say anything to him he asked me why I was here and I told him I was here on a Zionist conference. He said, "You are here because of that resolution. I am for it!" I assured him I knew he was for it because I had read a letter he sent to the then Chairman of the Kingston Zionist District when we were polling the congressmen on this resolution. Thereafter we conversed

for about half an hour and the discussion led me to believe that the Congressman didn't know too much about the whole situation. He asked me questions such as: are the Jews happy in Palestine? He asked me about the Arab question and he asked me about the English question, but each time he would interpose the remark that he was for the resolution. He showed that he knew a little bit about it when he said to me that he had discussed the resolution with his good friend Compton of Massachusetts -

(Whereupon the speaker was interrupted with the information from the floor that Compton was from Connecticut) he did not mention the state, he said Compton from New England, and I assumed it was Massachusetts on the assumption that Massachusetts was the best place in New England. (Laughter)

CHAIRMAN MILLER: That is out of order.

MR. ENGLANDER: He said that Compton was angry that the resolution had been tabled and he saw no reason why the resolution could not be brought upon the floor and passed immediately.

I left him after he assured me again that he was for the resolution, with the invitation that I send him whatever material I could lay my hands on that would be good for the

purpose of acquainting him with the subject.

CHAIRMAN MILLER: Thank you, Mr. Englander.

MR. ISADORE SEEGLIG (New Orleans, La.): Since one of our congressmen has been pledged in writing to our cause there was no point in calling upon him; the other one of the representatives out of New Orleans, although he is not my congressman is also pledged in writing. I called on the third representative, Representative Mahoney. He assured me immediately that if there was any possibility of the resolution ever coming on the floor he was one hundred percent for it.

He warned me against the machinations of the British however; he said, "You know, we can't trust those so-and-so's," but he assured me that whenever it came to the floor he would be for it.

CHAIRMAN MILLER: Thank you very much, Mr. Seelig.

JUDGE WM. NEWCORN (Plainfield, N. J.): I have no report to make of any interview with any of the congressmen. Mr. McLean, the Congressman from our congressional district is committed to the passage of the resolution and has issued a beautiful statement shortly after the introduction of it. I am sorry to say that Donald will resign in the course of a week or two, therefore he won't have the opportunity

to vote for the resolution unless we manage to get it up before then.

My especial meet was Congressman Eaton, the Senior Member of the Foreign Affairs Committee, and whom I have been working on through January, February, March and April, but unfortunately the House adjourned - no business today - and he thought he would go up to the wilds of New Jersey instead. I am a little sanguine that Congressman Eaton will be converted. I think since our first visit with the local committee, Mr. Rosenbaum, Mr. Sigure, and myself; knowing that he was pro-British, I approached him very diplomatically in opening the subject and based our approach for his support on his being a minister of the gospel and upon the humanitarian purposes connected with our movement. I saw him twice in Washington, with Mr. Stone from Boston, had a very nice talk with Tony Martin from Massachusetts, and also Senator McCullum. As a matter of fact we went at the suggestion of the leader of the minority, to ask Congressman Eaton to introduce the resolution. He was perfectly willing to introduce the resolution, but kind of balked at the Commonwealth, but said that he would discuss it with the leader, and then see what would be done.

In the meantime, as a question of policy, after

27 discussing it with Congressman Martin it was decided that he being a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee, it would be better if some other member introduced it and hence Congressman Wright introduced it.

I predicate my hopes that Congressman Eaton will support the measure, upon a communication which I received and which I forwarded to Mr. Shapiro; recently the New York office sent him a copy of "Palestine - Land of Promise," in my name as a gift from me, and after several weeks, which showed that he must have thoroughly read it before he acknowledged it, he said it was the most enlightening literature he has read upon the subject and he was very deeply impressed with it. All I can promise is that whenever I get Congressman Eaton in New Jersey that I will go up to his mountain home and keep hammering away until we are successful in the result. (Applause)

CHAIRMAN MILLER: Thank you very much, Judge Newcorn. Are there any other reports?

DR. SILVER: May I say a word before I go, Mr. Chairman?

CHAIRMAN MILLER: Yes, please do, Dr. Silver.

DR. SILVER: I have to run away to keep an appointment, and so I would like to say just this one word in comment

upon the reports which have just been made, and on the work which you did today. What you have done today is extremely important. These contacts with your Congressmen and Senators from now until the time the resolutions are brought up for a vote on the floor of the House and the Senate are of utmost importance. The resolutions must be kept warm for the next few months. It is clear of course to all of you that the resolutions cannot be brought up for a vote on the eve of the invasion; the minds of leaders of our government and the mind of our Congressmen and Senators are directed to that one, all-absorbing, all-important task. For that matter, our own minds are largely absorbed in that one subject.

From general reports and impressions that we have been gathering here in Washington in the last few weeks, it seems to be the consensus that by the middle of August the crest of the invasion will have been reached and that then other matters of moment and importance will receive the proper attention of our executive and of our legislative bodies. So that for the next ten weeks or three months, during the summer months in other words, it is of utmost importance that you carry on these two things, (a) the thing I spoke about last evening, education, propaganda, cultivating of the people of your community, and (b) more especially the cultivation of

your congressman and your senator; keep in touch with them, not by way of high-pressuring them, but to make them feel that this contact which you have established with them in relation to the resolution is continuing, that the Jewish community is on the alert, that we are waiting for the proper moment for the timing of the resolutions to be brought up.

What you have reported this afternoon confirms the impression that we have had right along, that were the resolutions to be brought up for a vote today on the floor of the House and the Senate they would be approved of overwhelmingly, if not unanimously.

It is important for us to seize the proper moment and as we get nearer to November everything will work in our favor; as we pass the crest of the invasion, which we are all confident will be a successful invasion, and will mark the beginning of the end of the enemy, that these resolutions will be approved of, and approved of overwhelmingly.

That is all, Mr. Chairman. We will keep in touch with you. Our office in Washington and in New York steadily from now on until the resolutions are brought up for a vote, and possibly by August, our movement will reach its crescendo to make sure the proper, full force action on the resolution.

Thank you very much. (Applause)

CHAIRMAN MILLER: Are there any other reports?

JUDGE ISRAEL RUBY (North Adams, Mass.): Mr. Chairman, this is not a report, but I have been privileged to attend the conference in Cleveland, and have also been privileged to attend the Conference here yesterday and today, and it has been amazing to me, as I know it has been to all of us, to have seen this type of a setup, something that I think we can safely say we have never witnessed before, with reference to our type of movement.

You have given us, and I am privileged to consider myself one of them, all the praise for the effort and energy that individually we have done in our respective communities, as well as in Cleveland and in Washington, but in my humble opinion, I believe that that has been occasioned by the type of leadership that we have had, and I believe that the guiding force of this dynamic group, if I may be allowed to call it so, was because of the magnificent leadership of the men and women connected with the Emergency Council.

I have especially witnessed the leaders of this group, coming into these sessions from the minute they start, and being the last ones to leave; they have no other important appointments or engagements to keep, but remain

here so that they might listen and discuss with us. You have done a masterful job. The type of majors and generals that the soldiers have in my opinion will lead to ultimate victory.

I move, Mr. Chairman, that a rising vote of thanks be given to the masterful leadership of Dr. Silver, Rabbi Miller, and the rest of the ladies and gentlemen connected with your office. (Applause)

CHAIRMAN MILLER: I will accept that resolution only if it is amended to leave out my name.

JUDGE RUBY: I refuse to accept the amendment.

CHAIRMAN MILLER: However, I think that the program committee may have something to say, so with your permission Judge Ruby, we will defer the consideration of this motion until the program committee has reported.

I too want to join Rabbi Silver in thanking you for having called upon your representatives and having brought back to us such important and enlightening reports. We shall be benefitted by them, I know; we shall lean upon them to a large extent in determining our future policies.

Are there no other reports?

MR. JOSEPH LEONARD (Allentown, Pa.) Mr. Erone and I visited our Congressman, Charles Gerlach, who is a member

32 of the Foreign Affairs Committee. We went there just to pay him a social visit, and we told him that we came to keep his interest in the resolutions alive. He said that he was in favor of the resolutions, as he told us many times, but that he still believes that we would have gotten much further had we limited the resolutions to the request for the abrogation of the White Paper. Then, when I asked him what his position was on the Commonwealth, although I knew that it was favorable, he said, "Well you know that I have told you on several occasions, and have written you, that I am in favor of a Commonwealth, but I simply felt that you ought to ask for one thing at a time."

Then he said, "Furthermore I think that you are not asking enough; that ten thousand square miles is not enough for all the Jews that may want to go there."

CHAIRMAN MILLER: Has he a little more to offer?

MR. LEONARD: He said, "Ask for more," and then I told him that I agreed with him but we can get about four million Jews into Palestine, that Dr. Lowdermilk has written a book on that and made a study, and I asked him whether he plans to attend the dinner tonight; he said that he had received an invitation but that he could not attend it, so I urged him to go; I told him that I will secure a ticket for

him, and I called up Mr. Megida, and I got him a ticket. When I called his Secretary, the Secretary said, "Can you get me two more, I would like to go too, and take my secretary," so I secured the other two tickets.

So Congressman Gerlach is in favor of the resolution whether it is for the abrogation of the White Paper or for the Commonwealth. (Applause)

CHAIRMAN MILLER: Thank you very much.

JUDGE MAX L. PINANSKY (Portland, Maine.): I am in a very vicarious and difficult situation. On my right is the distinguished Chief Justice of Williamstown, Massachusetts; on my left is the distinguished Miriam Goldberg, wife and better half of that distinguished jurist associated with my cousin, Abe Pinansky. They have mandated me not to leave Maine off the record.

Ladies and gentlemen, I don't like to boast about my own assets, but in Senator Brewster we have a man who is as near a Jewish Zionist as a gentile can be. He said recently that he has been a Zionist longer than any one of us because he was born on Zion Hill in Dexter Maine. (Laughter). Those of you who can, listen to him tonight on the radio; those of you who will be privileged to be here tonight to see him personally will be convinced as we are, of

his deep sincerity, dating back to 1925, when I took him to the Zionist convention of the New England District, Mr. Lipsky was then president, and he said that he could not understand how a non-Jew could show such a Jewish gefulle - pardon the repetition of that word.

When we were here at the Jewish Congress and he was invited to speak at my suggestion, and then again he came here last night. He is what I would characterize as the highest type of Zionist. In our conversation he insinuated that to his mind he was a Rabbi-Abba-Hillel-Silver Zionist, that is the highest type, with due credit to the rest of you. I hope you may hear him. When I gave him that famous brief-case with letters from rabbis with everything except tallith and tefillim, that he took on his trip around the world, I told him that it was an insurance policy in soul insurance that he come back safely. When I came back to greet him on his return, his office was full of people waiting to see him, and he said, "You come in;" we sat in his private office and he told me about his trip, the thing that made him glow, the thing that almost raised new hair on his bald head was that he was able at our request, when some gentleman from New York called me and asked me if I could get him to do it, to

divert from his regular itinerary and take a plane at his own expense too, and took Dr. Meade with him, from Cairo, to visit Palestine; (he sent me a letter which was mailed in Tel Aviv) to go and see Ben Gurion for us and to better acquaint himself with the Zionist problem on that holy soil. He seemed to be happier about that than anything and it was sincere, and tonight when you hear him either over the radio or hear him here in his presence you will be intoxicated not by liquor but by something that will give you an intoxication that will make you feel that this movement is not only pointing toward the successful establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth but has done so much to bring about a better understanding by the goy of our people to insure peace here, and friendly relationship, as we hope to have a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine.

He has changed Maine from a place that formerly, erroneously, had a reputation for narrowness, to a place where the goyim there appoint judges, elect a Jew as a Senator, put a Jew on the schoolboard. Ralph Brewster did that. At the height of the activities of the Klan he had the courage to appoint two Jewish men in Maine, one in Bangor and one in Portland as judges of the largest court in that State. He

36 has been consistently a Zionist since 1925 at least, and today he not only is with us one hundred percent, but he is a missionary for us in Congress. (Applause)

CHAIRMAN MILLER: Judge you make me sorry that I have only one vote to cast for a Senator. I am sorry that there are not more people from Maine here who would have profited greatly by your words, but what you said of Brewster is well, well known to those of us who have met him since he came back from Palestine, and have had an opportunity to talk to him. He has really been a great friend of our cause and I am sure that much of it is due to the influence that he must have received from men like yourself in the State of Maine.

JUDGE PINANSKY: And much of the inspiration that I received was from your dear father, halvi shollem, who was our rabbi.

CHAIRMAN MILLER: Thank you very much.

I hope you don't think that this was pre-arranged.

RABBI EMANUEL LADERMAN (Denver, Colo.): Mr. Chairman, Mr. Louis Gelt and I visited with five of the six members of our congressional delegation this morning.

Without belittling the Senator from Maine, Senator Ed Johnson told us that he drank in Zionism with his mother's milk, and that was sixty years ago. Senator Johnson

was at one time the Chairman of the Committee for a Jewish Army, and it was under the tutelage of Rabbi Wolf Gold and Rabbi Meier Berlin that his misconceptions in Zionism were straightened out, so when Peter Berkman called him yesterday to lend his name for some new endeavor of their committee, Senator Johnson declined to lend his name to that purpose.

(Applause)

Senator Johnson happens to be on one of the oil committees in the Senate now, that is one of those ticklish situations about which he told us, some things off the record and some things on the record, and it is one of those difficulties that may cloud in some other minds the Palestine situation, but we have no reason to fear that he will waiver in any way in his support in everything we are interested in.

We were delighted with our visit with Senator Eugene Millikin, because in all this time we have never had him commit himself definitely and affirmatively. This morning he did, in positive and unmistakable terms, for support of the resolution.

We went to see the Congressman from the Second District, Mr. Hill, who told us some young lady had visited him, and he asked for the use of his name; he didn't know who she

was or what she represented, but he was a good fellow and said, "Okay." He said, "Will you please find out who she is and if it is not in accord with what you are interested in, I will quit." I have just come back after checking up and I understand she is associated with the Berkson group, and so we will so inform Mr. Hill, and I am sure that he will resign from that because he is definitely committed to us.

We sat at luncheon with Congressman Chenwith, and Congressman Gillespie; Gillespie is our baby congressman, he has not been there more than a few months; he is just as much interested in meeting all these people in Congress as we were in meeting some of them, and both of them are ready to support this resolution, and as Gillespie put it, "I don't see how there is any other side but this one in favor of the resolution," not only that, but there is some question of the expressing of his position and he has put the manner in which that expression shall take form, into our hands, so as he says, "It will be expressed just the way you would like to have it."

I am sorry we did not get the opportunity of seeing Congressman from the western slope, Rockwell, but I hope Mr. Gelt will have a chance to see him tomorrow, so that

Colorado will be safely in your hands. (Applause)

CHAIRMAN MILLER: Ladies and gentlemen, before we go on I want to remind you we have the report of the Program Committee to hear. I want Mr. Shulman to make a statement on the oil situation which I think all of you will want to hear, it will clarify some of the doubts in your own mind, and so I think we ought to guide ourselves accordingly. It is already twenty-five minutes to four, and we know that some of you want to catch trains. If you will therefore be as brief as possible, we would like to listen to a few more reports.

MR. LOUIS GALT (Denver, Colo.): I would like to ask for just two minutes. You heard Rabbi Lederman yesterday, you know the caliber of men he is; his modesty forbade him from telling something which makes our Colorado report incomplete, so I would like to say a few words. He has had untold influence on all of the delegation from Colorado. As he told you, Congressman Gillespie is a freshman; he wanders and he flounders, but Rabbi Lederman has so impressed him that when Rabbi Feuer asked Congressman Gillespie to write an article for him, Congressman Gillespie said to Rabbi Lederman, "Will you please write it for me?"

CHAIRMAN MILLER: Congressmen usually do.

MR. GELT: That is true, Rabbi Miller, but it is not always true that he goes to a man that he knows stands in a particular position on the very question.

CHAIRMAN MILLER: That is right.

MR. GELT: So he went to Rabbi Laderman; it was a foregone conclusion that his confidence had been completely won over, and you may rest assured that when the article is written and signed by Congressman Gillespie that it will most assuredly meet with Rabbi Feuer's approval.

CHAIRMAN MILLER: Thank you very much.

We in the office knew already of the very very excellent work that Rabbi Laderman has been doing, and when we made up the program we included his name at the very beginning because we knew that the report he would bring us would be a most instructive and constructive and enlightening one, and I would like to take this opportunity of telling Rabbi Laderman how grateful all of us are to him for the very splendid work that he has done in the Rocky Mountain section.

(Applause)

MRS. ANNA STAMISKIN (St. Paul, Minn.): I just want to report that while I did not see Senator Ball this noon, I had an appointment with him; he had some other arrangement, he is going to call me later in the day. We have

kept in constant touch with all our Senators and Congressmen. We have commitments in writing. Senator Ball particularly can be leaned upon. We also have commitment from Senator Shipstead who has not always been too friendly to some of our causes.

MR. MORTIMER MAY (Nashville, Tenn.): I don't believe there is very much to be said about the Tennessee delegation, as far as I know they are all favorable. I tried to see our congressman; he was presiding over the House this morning; I sent him a note that I was there and he is one hundred percent aligned correctly.

I went to see Senator McKellar; the Senator was out. I spoke to his brother who is his Secretary, and the two collaborate. His brother said, "You know of course that Senator McKellar will do anything the Jewish people want; my own wife as you probably know is a Jewess," - that is the Senator's Secretary, his brother, married a Jewish girl - he said, "There is a one hundred percent Jewish sentiment in this office."

He said, "There is one thing I would like to impress upon you, the article that appeared in the Reder's Digest I believe did the Jewish cause in Palestine quite a bit of harm; my advice would be to tell you to have those in

authority see that it is answered by some sort of reply that will get as much publicity as that article did."

CHAIRMAN MILLER: We are working on it, you know, Mr. May. Thank you very much.

RABBI ISAACKER LEVAN (Trenton, N. J.): My impression from my own visit and from the various reports, that those Senators and Congressmen who are of the Republican Party say that there is no need of further delaying the recalling of the resolution; and the Democrats, on the other hand, even those in sympathy with us say that it is not the time.

I want to ask the question if this is a fact?

CHAIRMAN MILLER: I don't think one can generalize as broadly as you have just done, Rabbi Levin, although of course there is a tendency that manifests itself in the case of many of these congressmen who wish to embarrass the Administration, and those who wish to protect the Administration even though they may not agree with every one of its views, but I don't think we can generalize as broadly as that.

MR. GOLDBERG: I think for the sake of the record, as a good democrat, that there should be no such distinction emphasized.

REV. MARTIN ADOLPH (Paterson, N. J.): You have

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heard the report from the Jersey delegation. I think Mr. Shapiro will bear me out, the majority of the New Jersey congressmen are on record in writing as to their attitude toward the Palestine Resolution.

I would like to make a suggestion in reference to Congressman Eaton and the others who have not gone directly on record: if Irving Abramson, who is the President of the C. I. O. for the State of New Jersey can be of any help to any one of the Jersey Counties, and he is a member in our District and a personal friend of mine - if they need his help in this year of election, if they will turn to him he shall be glad to do anything they want.

RABBI LOUIS J. SWICKOW(Milwaukee, Wis.): I would like to suggest that the Program Chairman turn in his report.

CHAIRMAN MILLER: All right. Before I call on him I want to call on Mr. Shulman for a statement on the oil situation.

MR. HERMAN SHULMAN: Mr. Chairman, my friends, as Dr. Silver told you, our whole situation is a fluid one, obviously that applies to oil as well.

Dr. Silver and the Executive Committee of the Emergency Council recognized when the proposed pipeline was

first announced, that that proposal might seriously affect our whole program, and for that reason he appointed a Committee to deal with that special situation of which I happen to be the Chairman and of which Mr. Emanuel Neumann, Mr. Robert Szék, Mr. David Wertheim, and Dr. Nahum Goldmann are members.

A factual statement of the situation was prepared by Mr. Lurie and was submitted to the Executive Committee; on the basis of that factual report certain recommendations were made and accepted by the Executive Committee. We felt that at the moment we should take no position either as between the proponents of the proposed pipeline or its opponents, nor should we take a position between those proponents who believe that the proposed pipeline as now written should be accepted, and those who feel that there should be greater government control if the pipeline proposal is to be accepted.

In accordance with the program adopted by the Executive Committee your Committee has approached various members of the cabinet, who have been dealing with this matter and other officials. We were told, and I of course can only give you a few of the highlights, I cannot divulge all of the information which we received on the subject, you can well understand that, but the feeling seemed to be that as the

45 matter now stands there having been a basic agreement reached although not as yet announced between our Government and Great Britain concerning the Near East oil situation, that we are somewhat in a better position even than Ibn Saud who cannot treat as between the American interests and the interests of Great Britain; number 2: we were told that the situation is being worked out in a manner which would in the words of a high-ranking government official "not in any way involve" the Jewish Homeland, nevertheless, we feel that it is our duty to keep close watch over the situation and we are doing so. Hardly a week passes without an investigation on our part, and interviews with high government officials who are dealing with the situation.

As you know in the proposed agreement between the government and the oil companies there are certain provisions that might very well concern the Jewish National Home, and the Palestine issue, among them, paragraph 8 which imposes upon the oil companies the active duty to follow the foreign policy of our government concerning the countries to be traversed by the proposed pipe line.

Question necessarily arises: what is to be the foreign policy of our government which is to be supported by

the oil companies?

Paragraph 11 of the proposed agreement provides that the oil companies ought to concern themselves with the peace and prosperity of those areas and ought to actively support the political integrity and sovereignty of those areas. Obviously that too has a direct bearing upon the Palestine issue, and it has been the subject of discussion - those two paragraphs have been the subject of discussion with these government officials.

We also are aware of the fact that if the pipeline is to terminate at Haifa, if Haifa is to be the terminus and that has been put forth, although our information is that that issue has not yet been decided, that there are three or four possible ports under consideration and the issue to date has not yet been decided, if however the pipeline is to terminate at Haifa, then we are very much concerned with certain economic provisions. We are interested to see to it that the price of oil should be such as to make it possible to get whatever industrial benefits might flow from having the refineries there at Haifa; number 2: we are very much interested in seeing to it that the conditions of labor are such as to make possible the employment of a substantial

number of Jews in connection with the oil project.

I simply want to tell you that all of those questions have been presented on your behalf to the appropriate government officials and we shall intend to follow through on that and watch the situation very carefully.

So much for that.

While I am on my feet, Mr. Chairman, I do want to report that we have just received a statement from Senator Wagner, the Chairman of the American Palestine Committee, declining an invitation to join the American League for a Free Palestine and indicating very clearly why he does not intend to join that organization.

This letter will be given wide publicity and will be sent out to all of the members of the American Palestine Committee. I think it should have a very good effect.

Thank you very much. (Applause)

CHAIRMAN MILLER: We are ready to hear from Mr. Lester Cohen of Uniontown, on behalf of the Program Committee.

MR. LESTER COHEN: On behalf of the Program Committee on Plan and Scope of future Activities, we wish to express our unqualified confidence and deepest gratitude to Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, members of the

executive board and their very competent staff of the American Zionist Emergency Council for their wise, enlightened and energetic leadership in the struggle for the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine.

JUDGE RUBY: I move the adoption of that as presented.

CHAIRMAN MILLER: This is a vote of thanks to Dr. Wise and Dr. Silver, and to the members of the Executive of the Emergency Council and the staff. All those in favor?

I don't believe there is any one opposed to that, so it stands adopted. (Applause)

MR. COHEN: This is not a resolution, but a statement:

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Delegates from 38 states, meeting in conference at Washington, D. C., May 24, 1944, under the auspices of the American Zionist Emergency Council, issued the following statement:

"We bitterly denounce and condemn Mr. Peter Bergson and his associates in their successive attempts, under various 'front' organizations and guises, to divide and confuse the American public. They have no authority to speak in any representative capacity. Mr. Bergson represents no one, except possibly a small

terrorist group in Palestine whose actions and policies have been repudiated and condemned by the entire Jewish community in Palestine, and by leading Jewish organizations in this country. We charge Mr. Bergson and his group with being harmful to the best interests of the Jewish people. His fantastic pretensions and undemocratic actions, unless publicly discredited, will result in untold damage to the Jewish people.

"We reaffirm our belief in the democratic processes of Jewish life and are convinced that Palestine will be rebuilt as a Jewish Commonwealth through the efforts and sacrifices of all the Jewish people. It cannot be built by the bombast, the opportunism and the unscrupulous tactics of Mr. Bergson and his kind." (Applause)

JUDGE RUBY: I move that statement as a resolution.

(Whereupon the motion was seconded).

DR. BERKSON: I should like to ask that as a matter of personal privilege, wherever the name Bergson appears, the name Peter should be added. I think his full name, Peter H. Bergson should appear; it always gives me a klap in hertzen.

when I hear the name - the name is Peter H. Bergson, you mentioned it the first time but not in the successive reading.

CHAIRMAN MILLER: Dr. Berkson, we shall accede to your very very understandable wishes.

DR. BERKSON: My own name is Itcha Bair.

MR. JAMES M. KASDAN (Louisville, Ky.): I want to ask that we strike from this resolution the word "terrorist"; we cannot prove it. While I believe that they associate with the terrorist group, we should be very careful in using a term which we cannot prove.

CHAIRMAN MILLER: It has been used in our other announcements, Mr. Kasdan, over and over again.

MR. ENGLANDER: I feel that this statement is a good one; it does not have the things in it that were found fault with last night but it still has the punch that is required from such a statement. But as a matter of form, since this statement will reach an audience which is not all Zionist and not all Jewish, we should not end in a negative fashion, as it ends. As I recall it, it says, Palestine "cannot be built by the bombast...etc." of people like Bergson and his ilk, or something to that effect. I believe that the

positive statement that precedes that should come after this sentence rather than before, so that we end on an affirmative note.

CHAIRMAN MILLER: I think that is a good observation.

RABBI LEVIN: Is it necessary to have Bergson's name mentioned there altogether? I think it gives him more status.

CHAIRMAN MILLER: Definitely, but you see he has succeeded so much in keeping out in the background and in securing the support of these unsuspecting people to cover up his own activities, that it is time that he himself be exposed as the real power behind all of these 'fronts'.

Is there any other discussion?

RABBI LADERMAN: I rise to second the suggestion of Mr. Kandan and to urge that the resolution be amended now to omit any reference to terrorist affiliation, on the ground that I feel whether it is a question of proof or not, I don't like that kind of charges by one Jewish group against another, associating them with terrorism. While I heard the reference made by a gentleman at the head table that such statements have been used already, I feel that there is a

difference between statements which come directly from the Executive and a statement which comes in a more formal fashion from an entity which is gathered from all over the country in this respect.

MR. DAVID WERTHEIM: There is one thing we overlooked; the New York Herald Tribune carried the account of this last week here in Washington with some additional two points in it, one is very important for us here, it was overlooked by our office, I gave the clipping to Dr. Silver yesterday, he didn't know about it before. They mentioned that Bergson made a statement that "we will give up the fight against the White Paper for the duration, we will cooperate with the British as a mandatory power," (for us this is very important) in order to gain favor with the colonial office. Maybe they have some idea of the Jewish State - they have already an embassy, and they offer that they will not fight the White Paper. There were some of us yesterday who didn't believe it was in the Tribune, but I had the clipping.

I think that in a statement of the Zionist Emergency Council such a thing should be emphasized. People think that they are the extreme, the radical Zionists and here is a statement that they will not fight the White Paper.

RABBI WEISS: Why call it to people's attention?

MR. WEINSTEIN: We should call it to the attention of our Zionists; our statement goes out to the country, and our Zionists should know that while they think this is a radical group and they have extreme demands, they should know that it is only an organization which really does not intend to do anything constructive for Zionism, not even so far as the fight on the White Paper is concerned; in order to win Rosenwald they will say, "We are Jews of faith only," in order to win the Colonial office they are ready to say they will not fight the White Paper.

MR. J. S. GORDON (Brookline, Mass.): I think that that word could be changed, to say that they belong to a small group which is uncontrollable or irresponsible.

That is one point. Then another point I want to make is that it does not mention anywhere who is the responsible body. I think that we should say here somewhere that the only responsible body of Zionists, are these parties.

CHAIRMAN MILLER: I think you are right.

JUDGE NEWCORN: The suggestion I was going to make was that I see throughout the whole statement there is no mention of the organization by which Bergson calls himself, say "masquerading as such-and-such organization."

CHAIRMAN MILLER: That is a very good point. We do not refer so that people will not recognize the organization this is pointed at.

We have heard all of these suggestions; some of them have been very helpful. We really have overlooked some of the points that were called to our attention.

MR. ROSEN: Regarding the point Mr. Wertheim brought up, if there is some information in that clipping as to what color he gives the assertion and what implication there is as to what organization is responsible for that assertion, that there will be no fight against the White Paper -

CHAIRMAN MILLER (interrupting): Bergson said it.

MR. ROSEN: If it was said by Bergson as an individual, or if the implication might be contained therein that whoever said it as an individual is speaking for organized Zionism, definitely that should be refuted, positively, in any statement coming from any organized Zionist group.

CHAIRMAN MILLER: He said it for his group, for the Committee of National Liberation/

MR. ROSEN: Then I believe the statement here is sufficient, that we dissociate ourselves and condemn anything his group might say or do.

CHAIRMAN MILLER: You have all heard the statement as it has been read and as it will be amended to conform with some of the valuable suggestions that have been made. Does it now meet with your approval? Will you authorize its issuance?

Those in favor of authorizing its issuance will please say "aye"; those opposed, "no". It is carried unanimously.

Go on, Mr. Cohn.

MR. TANNENBAUM : This is going to be issued as a news release, most likely. I think some action should be taken by our own official periodicals, the New Palestine, the Hadassah News Letter, Order Sons of Zion, in this manner, that the entire thing should be exposed with the same frankness as we are doing here. After all we have a circulation of perhaps 300,000 Zionists and they are our first-line soldiers; they should be informed of the fact, and the entire implication and perhaps a recommendation from our conference to the Zionist Organization of America and Hadassah to carry out this intent should be made.

CHAIRMAN MILLER: They are doing it; we shall tell that to them orally.

HON. M. MALDWIIN FERTIG (New York City): Perhaps I should have said this before the vote was taken, but I think the Committee will take it into account: I think from a public relations point of view one of the important things is to make the contrast between the Zionist Organization and its supporters, and all the related organizations, and the puny, insignificance in numbers, of this group.

Here is tonight's "P.M." Something was said last night about how the press - some satisfaction was expressed over the fact that the press properly understood the situation, yet in the "P.M." it states, "Jewish Groups Meet," and anybody reading that will think they are comparable in size, yet it is a mouse compared to an elephant. I think a paper like "P.M." ought to be better informed.

MR. ABRAHAM FRANKEL (Asbury Park, N.J.): I don't mean to make any particular reference to the point that Mr. Wertheim mentioned, but from that statement it appears to me that there is some negligence, some carelessness somewhere on the part of the Committee in becoming familiar with all the editorial comment or the press releases in that he stated that an article had appeared in the Herald Tribune and no one knew about it. I might also say this: that two months ago my brother was here in Washington in connection with the passage

57 of the resolutions; at that time there was an editorial that appeared in the Newark Evening News; he brought that article to the attention of the Committee, and through some strange coincidence they were unaware of that fact.

I merely make this statement to bring to your attention the importance probably of having such an agency or facility as a press clipping bureau to keep track of these things.

CHAIRMAN MILLER: That is right; thank you very much.

Proceed Mr. Cohen.

MR. LESTER COHEN: Resolved that this Conference urge all local committees throughout the country, representing the American Zionist Emergency Council, to keep alive, by continuing without abatement and with increased vigor, all efforts of organization, education and effectuation until the deferred House Resolutions 418 and 419 and Senate Resolution 247 are favorably acted upon, reaffirming our government's position and sympathetic attitude, to the end that "the doors of Palestine shall be opened for free entry of Jews into that country, and that there shall be full opportunity for colonization so that the Jewish people may ultimately reconstitute Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth."

CHAIRMAN MILLER: This resolution pledges the local community councils, the Emergency Committees, not to relax in their efforts to secure the enactment at a favorable moment when military conditions permit of the resolutions now pending before Congress - this resolution inferentially is an expression of opinion on our part that we do not consider these resolutions tabled, that we do not abandon them, that we are merely yielding as good Americans to the wishes of the military; that at this moment consideration on them be deferred, but that we expect that when the military situation will be favorable that they will be recalled and acted upon, and to that end we wish to continue our contacts with congressmen and senators so that the situation may be kept as Dr. Silver said, "warm" during the next three months.

Is there any discussion of this resolution?

MR. TANNENBAUM: I don't know whether I heard correctly, is there a phrase there "favorably agreed upon?"

MR. COHEN: Favorably acted upon.

MR. GORDON: I want to make an observation.

All your paragraphs seem to start with "The Emergency Committee." We are taking it for granted that everybody knows what the Emergency Committee, or Council is.

59 I can assure you that not only the Christians don't know, but even most of our Jews. They think it is another party of some sort.

CHAIRMAN MILLER: I must call you to order. I can see that that is going to be a very valuable suggestion, but I can see that it is not in place at this moment. We are dealing with one particular subject at this moment. Will you hold that until we are through with this resolution?

RABBI WOLLMENTER: I rise to supplement the resolution. I would like to offer the suggestion that was made to us by our own Congressman, Congressman Magnusson. He suggested that our Committees throughout the country should make an effort to enlist the Congressmen to a petition which requires 218 members to be ready for the time when the military situation will relax, to have this on the desk. The reason for his suggestion is this: that if we have that ready then immediately when the situation clears up they will be prepared to take it from the table to discuss it, so that this will be a great help.

CHAIRMAN MILLER: I think that you will agree that that is a high matter of policy which must be left to the Executive to consider very calmly and dispassionately. It

involves public relations at its highest.

While we are glad your Congressman made the suggestion, we will have to consider it very carefully before acting upon it.

Are there any other comments on the resolution? (Whereupon motion having been made and seconded to adopt the resolution, the question was called for.)

The question has been called for; all those in favor of this resolution as the expression of opinion of this conference will please say "aye"; those opposed, "no." It is so ordered.

MR. COHEN: RESOLVED that local emergency committees immediately launch membership campaigns to enlist the good-will and support of non-Jews through affiliation with the American Palestine Committee and the Christian Council on Palestine.

(Whereupon motion was made and seconded to adopt the resolution.)

CHAIRMAN MILLER: This is a directive to the emergency committees that they set the machinery in motion in their respective communities to increase the membership of the American Palestine Committee and of the Christian Council

How that is to be done must of course be left to you to determine in accordance with local conditions. I don't believe that we could formulate here a directive that would be applicable to every section of the country, but clearly a duty rests upon us, upon the leaders of the emergency committee, to stimulate this activity. We can be in the background, we should be in the background in this respect, but we must stimulate it because in the American Palestine Committee and in the Christian Council on Palestine we have two instruments which can be increasingly effective in our work.

Are there any comments?

REV. ADOLPHI: Quite sometime ago, probably three months ago I was requested by the Emergency Council office in New York to submit a list of names of non-Jews in the City of Paterson who in our opinion would be willing to join the American Palestine Committee. We did so immediately. We sent in a list of 250 to 300 names. I was of the opinion at that time that these men are going to be approached directly from headquarters in Washington. What has been done with that idea?

CHAIRMAN MILLER: Mr. Shapiro will answer that.

MR. SHAPIRO: All the communities were requested to send lists of names; the names have been circulated with the statement and principles of the American Palestine Committee. Within a few days we will send you, prior to the opening of your campaign, the names of those who have sent in their signatures. The rest of the field is open to you after that.

CHAIRMAN MILLER: Any other comments?

(Whereupon the question was called for.)

MR. SHULMAN: I want to somewhat differ with the statement you just made, Mr. Chairman. Of course it is true that the plans which will be submitted to you from the home office will have to be modified, perhaps changed to meet local conditions, but we do intend in the immediate future to send to you specific plans and proposals as to how to go about pointing out to you how you should increase the membership of the two organizations, the American Palestine Committee and the Christian Council for Palestine. Also pointing out to you how you should go about to secure the adoption of resolutions by local and state bodies, and in addition to that, if we are successful, as I believe we will be successful in securing the services of Dean le Surd, there will be presented to you a

plan for organizing regional conferences to be addressed by various important speakers and in addition to that, we are planning at the moment a series of radio broadcasts from local stations by say fifteen or twenty outstanding Americans taken from various walks of life.

In addition to that you are certainly required to submit to us any suggestions that might require a modification of that program in your local committee, or to point out to us suggestions of your own as to the enlargement of that program, but our directives from the home office will be coming to you in the next month or two.

CHAIRMAN MILLER: Fine. I am sure you will be helped a great deal by these directives. The point is that you must determine of course in returning from this Conference that this work will not be put aside or neglected because of the summer months, but that you will proceed with this work immediately.

MRS. STAMESHKIN: May we understand that there will be no contact with our local people until it is cleared with us?

MR. SHULMAN: Not at all. You are free in the meantime to secure as many members as possible.

MR. GOLDSBERG: I want to take a moment to say that I think it is far more effective to have the local communities make these contacts themselves. I think it was an error in the first place to have these letters go out from the national office because you see these men are mostly busy men, they get so much literature that they discard it without reading it.

For example: there was a prominent man in my community, a retired Rear Admiral, who received that type of communication from Washington I believe, and he wrote back and said that he was not interested. Some of us happen to know him; we called upon him and we saw him personally. He is the head of a great educational institution, and he joined; not only did he join but he was one of the 1700 men who issued the joint statement recently.

I think that it ought to be pointed out that people/who may have a certain influence with influential men in the community ought to make these contacts.

MR. SHULMAN: I want to state that our experience confirms the correctness of your statement. We felt at first that in order to - may I put it this way - preserve the independent status of the American Palestine Committee, that

invitations should come from the Washington Office. Our experience has shown that we would get much further on with our campaign if we leave it to the local people, and therefore our plans in the future will be in that direction.

MR. SEELOG: I understand that you are not going to send any letters out to prominent residents in the cities unless you send copies, at least, to the local committee so that they will know what is going on.

CHAIRMAN MILLER: Definitely. We shall leave it to you, after having given you directions of how to go about it.

Is there any other comment? Are you ready for the question?

(Whereupon the question was called for.)

All those in favor will say "aye"; those opposed, "no." It is so ordered.

Mr. Cohen will you proceed?

MR. COHEN: Whereas, it is imperative that we mobilize maximum strength through the establishment of additional local emergency committees, we recommend that all existing local constituent emergency committees assume the obligation of assisting in organizing similar committees in

66 neighboring communities. To that end we recommend that state conferences be called wherever needed, subject to the discretion and advice of the American Zionist Emergency Council.

(Whereupon motion was made and seconded to adopt the resolution.)

CHAIRMAN MILLER: You have heard the resolution, it asks that emergency committees explore the field in their states, in their regions to help in the organization of these committees in communities where they do not exist.

There is a map outside which will give you a very good picture of where we have these emergency committees and of regions where we are not represented. It advises you wherever necessary, you must be the judge of it, to call state conferences so as to coordinate your work and to assist in the creation of emergency committees where they do not exist.

This of course will aid us greatly in the extension of our work.

I don't believe that there is any discussion necessary; I think you all recognize the importance of this resolution.

All those in favor will say "aye"; those opposed? It is carried unanimously, and so ordered.

MR. COHEN: RESOLVED, that we recommend to the American Zionist Emergency Council that such radio programs be developed which will best inform and elicit the deepest understanding and appreciation of the Zionist objectives among the American people.

CHAIRMAN MILLER: This is a directive from you in the communities to us in the national office that we should make better use of the radio. We agree with you and we shall do it. I don't think that has to be put to a vote; I think we will definitely act on it.

MR. SHULMAN: Consistent with our financial capacity.

CHAIRMAN MILLER: Mr. Shulman adds, like a businessman to a rabbi, properly consistent with our financial capacities.

MR. COHEN: We have a final note to add to our resolutions:

We note with satisfaction that the Zionist Organization of America has embarked upon a program for combatting the activities of the American Council for Judaism. We urge the Zionist Organization of America which has undertaken this program to implement it with all possible speed and vigor.

(Whereupon motion was made and seconded for the adoption of the resolution.)

CHAIRMAN MILLER: You have heard the resolution; you know of the American Council for Judaism; you know of its dangerous and pernicious activities in some cities they have succeeded in making very serious inroads. The Zionist Organization has undertaken a campaign of education among the communities to counter-act the effect of the Council, and this conference hails the work of the Zionist Organization in that regard and asks it to intensify it because it is a very very serious menace to our work.

I am sure there is no discussion of this motion, necessary, I think you all agree with its spirit. Unless I hear any objection I will declare that that is the sense of this body.

This completes the work of the Program Committee.

Are there any comments at this point?

MR. KASIDON: Mr. Chairman we were talking about our friends whom we have to enroll in our work. While we were talking about this enrollment, we have a great deal of difficulty to combat our Jewish enemies, and I think we need more information in regard to the American Council for Judaism, the American Jewish Committee, etcetera.

I have come across in my work on the Council, that most of the members - a great majority of them - don't know