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American Zionist Emergency Council, minutes, 1945.

COPY OF LETTER FROM M.S.

TO THE HIGH COMMISSIONER DATED 4th JUNE 1945

Your Excellency,

I have the honour to address you, on behalf of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, on the subject of the future of German settlements in Palestine.

2. The German community in this country comprised before the war four rural settlements and three urban or suburban quarters, apart from the number of individual residents, firms and institutions. The political frame of mind of this community was for years before the war a source of profound concern and anxiety to the Jews of Palestine and, it is believed, to the British authorities. With the advent of Hitler, the vast majority of the Germans of Palestine embraced the Nazi doctrines with enthusiasm and gave every tangible indication of their political and ideological allegiance to the Third Reich. In the disturbances of 1936-39 their sympathies were avowedly with the terrorist bands and their supreme leader, Amin el Hussein. German settlements were known to be harbouring terrorists and assisting them with information, shelter and technical means. German workshops were used for the manufacture of land mines and other means of destruction and for the instruction of Arab terrorists in their handling. On the outbreak of war some of the younger members of this colony left Palestine in time to join the German army. Some were subsequently sent back to Palestine as spies or agents. One Palestinian German is reported to have achieved greater notoriety as a principal commissioner in charge of the extermination of Jews; he showed a thorough knowledge of Palestinian-Jewish affairs and even boasted a knowledge of Hebrew. Authentic reports which reached us indicate that with very few exceptions, the interned inmates of the German colonies Sarona, Wilhelma, Waldheim and Bethlehem were throughout the war and are to this day fervent Nazis. On the day of the German capitulation the entire youth of Bethlehem marched through the colony singing Nazi songs, while the memorial service for Hitler held in that colony on V Day was essentially a re-dedication to the ideals of the lost Fuehrer.

3. It is not for the Jewish Agency to stress the dangers from the British point of view involved in the continuation of this vehemently hostile element in Palestine. The JA however feels it its duty to give emphatic expression to Jewish feeling on this subject. Jews in Palestine feel utterly unable to contemplate the return to their country or the resumption of free residence in it of this community of Jew-haters. It appears to them inconceivable, after millions of their brethren were exterminated by the Nazis and their henchmen with the tacit approval of the mass of the German people, that here in the very land of the Jewish National Home, Nazi Germans as fanatical as any of those who perpetrated the horrors in Europe should be allowed to re-establish themselves in so close and revolting proximity to Jewish settlements and quarters and outrage the feelings of every Jew who meets them. The JA cannot believe that H.M.G. should desire to subject the Jews of Palestine to so violent a provocation and to create in Palestine this new source of grave trouble and possible bloodshed.

4. It is therefore the earnest submission of the JA that the former German residents of Palestine who are now in Germany or elsewhere abroad should not be allowed to return to Palestine; that the Germans still in Palestine, presumably all in internment, should be evacuated to Germany - in short, that the German colony in Palestine should be wound up and their fatherland be called upon to

make room for its loyal and worthy sons and daughters deported from a country where their presence, because of Germany's own misdeeds, has become an intolerable anomaly.

5. If it be argued in any quarters that it is harsh and vindictive to uproot with one stroke a thrifty and hard-working community settled in this country for over 80 years, it may be pointed out in reply that some of the Jewish communities which were wiped out in Germany and other countries of Europe had been in continuous existence for over 800 years; that the measure here advocated is very mild as compared with the large scale of transfers of population which have already been or will yet be resorted to as a result of this war with a view to removing sources of instability and insecurity from the countries affected by it; that, in any event, the case of the German Nazis in the country of the Jewish National Home is unique and that the situation which has rendered their evacuation and transfer an absolute and imperative necessity is entirely of Germany's own making.

6. The Jewish Agency fully realises that, in view of their far-reaching import, the present submissions will have to be referred to the highest quarters. We would therefore be grateful for their earliest possible transmission to the Secretary of State and would be happy to know that they have Your Excellency's sympathy and support.

7. The Jewish Agency proposes to address Your Excellency separately on the cognate subject of the disposal of German property in Palestine which forms part of the larger question of reparations due to the Jewish people.

I have the honour to be,

Your Excellency's most ob't servant,

M. SHERTOK

EXECUTIVE OF THE JEWISH AGENCY

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

June 11, 1945

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Monday, June 11, at 3:30 P.M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Hayim Greenberg (presiding), Mrs. Judith Epstein, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Mrs. Etta Rosensohn, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Louis Segal, Herman Shulman, David Wertheim, Dr. Stephen S. Wise.

Dr. Nahum Goldmann; Rabbi J. Fishman, Eliezer Kaplan; Samuel Cherr, Prof. Milton Handler, Emanuel Neumann, Mrs. Tamar Pool, Louis B. Rucker, Captain Abraham Tulin.

Dr. Benjamin Akzin, Jacob M. Alkow, Dr. I. B. Berkson, Gerold Frank, Arnold K. Israeli, Arthur Lourie, Meyer W. Weisgal.

Gershon Agronsky, Reuven Zaslani.

SAN FRANCISCO CONFERENCE

Dr. Goldmann, who had just returned from San Francisco, reported on developments there in connection with the trusteeship chapter of the United Nations charter and the proposal which had been made by Russia to eliminate Paragraph 5, the terms of which, in the form adopted by the trusteeship committee, would safeguard our rights under the Mandate.

As had been believed, the Russian request to eliminate Paragraph 5 was not due to any opposition to Zionism, but was advanced because in their view the paragraph, as phrased, might freeze the position of mandated territories and make it possible not to transfer them to the Trusteeship Council. In order to meet the Russian view, a sentence was added to Paragraph 5, reading as follows:

"This paragraph should not be interpreted as giving grounds for delay or postponement of the negotiation and conclusion of the agreements for placing mandated and other territories, as provided for in Paragraph 3, under the trusteeship system."

The language of the original paragraph was amended, further, to read: "...or the terms of existing international instruments to which member states may respectively be parties," instead of: "... or the terms of any mandate." The reason for this change was that the Russians and the Americans did not wish to have a specific reference to mandates included, since they were never parties to any mandates.

Dr. Goldmann further reported that the American delegation, as well as Mr. Fraser himself, had indicated their intention of supporting strongly the retention of this paragraph. The telegrams which had been sent to the heads

of the Latin American delegations (among others), when the news reached New York of the Russian proposal to eliminate Paragraph 5, had been very well received by them. Mr. Kenen and Mr. Elishu Epstein, who had stayed on in San Francisco after the various delegations left, had done very effective work during the last two weeks, keeping in contact with the American and British delegations, etc.

Dr. Goldmann had been informed that apart from Paragraph 5, the Palestine issue underlay the struggle that had centered on the wording of Paragraph 2(B) of Section B of the trusteeship chapter:

"To promote the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the trust territories and their inhabitants and their progressive development toward self-government or independence as may be appropriate to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned..."

The Egyptians had put up a hard fight in an effort to have the word "peoples" changed to "people." This referred only to Palestine, and everybody knew it. In the end all voted against Egypt's amendment with the exception of the five Arab states.

A further attempt made by the Egyptian delegation to have "of any peoples" in Paragraph 5 changed to "of any people" was again defeated.

Paragraph 5, with the one change and additional sentence indicated above, was adopted unanimously by the trusteeship committee at its final meeting. No member of the committee placed himself on record as abstaining from voting, which was important since this made it impossible for the question of this paragraph to be raised again in the Trusteeship Commission or in the Assembly.

The adoption of Paragraph 5 by the trusteeship committee was regarded in San Francisco as a success for the Zionists.

Dr. Goldmann also reported on a conversation he had had with Mr. Fraser, chairman of the Trusteeship Committee, on the general Zionist question. (Report on file). Mr. Fraser expressed a desire to visit Palestine and hoped that he would be able to do so quite soon.

Mr. Elishu Epstein, supplementing Dr. Goldmann's report, touched briefly on the Arab position at San Francisco. The appearance of the Arab countries at the United Nations Conference, - their first appearance at an international conference, - was a great advantage to them. The Syrian-Lebanon crisis, further, helped to make them the center of attention.

The Arab delegations had approached Mr. Fraser and many other delegates at the Conference and distributed much material among them. They were also in contact with the Latin American delegations. They made clever use of the Arab Christians, trying to prove that the Arab League was not only a Moslem League. With the Arab countries participating as of right in future international conferences, Mr. Epstein said, matters would become even more difficult for us, remaining outside, and it was therefore all the more important to obtain an immediate decision on Palestine. Our friends in San Francisco also realized this.

Following the reports on the San Francisco Conference, a vote of appreciation to the delegates for an outstanding job done in safeguarding our interests, within the limits possible in view of the nature of the Conference, was adopted unanimously. It was further decided to transmit this Resolution to the Jewish Agency

Executive in Jerusalem, as soon as the trusteeship chapter becomes part of the Charter of the new Security Organization.

It was indicated that a comprehensive report on the San Francisco Conference was being prepared to be sent to the Local Emergency Committee Chairmen.

CONFERENCE WITH PRESIDENT

Mr. Shulman reported on a number of steps that had been taken, including conversations with individuals close to the President, in connection with obtaining an appointment with Mr. Truman before his departure for the Big Three meeting.

GOVERNORS' PETITION

The Governors' Petition had been signed by 32 Governors and three other Governors had promised to sign. Governor Tobin of Massachusetts was trying to arrange, together with two or three other Governors, to see the President and present the petition to him.

With regard to those who have not signed the petition, the Governor of New Jersey, for example, did not sign because, he said, he had made it a policy not to sign any petitions to the President, but he was ready to write him a personal letter. The Governor of Oregon refused to sign because he has no knowledge of the problem. The Governor of Washington would have signed were it not for the fact that he expected to be host to the President in Seattle.

ROUND ROBIN LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT

Mr. Greenberg reported that 197 Representatives and 41 Senators had signed the round robin letter up to that day.

In the course of the discussion that followed, Dr. Akzin advanced a number of reasons why more signatures of Representatives and Senators had not been obtained, among them the technical reason that a large number of Congressmen were out of the country. (Of 96 Senators, 22 were away).

The question was raised as to whether the effort to obtain further signatures to the round robin letter should be continued, or whether the petition should be presented to the President before his departure for the meeting with the Big Three (which there was every indication would be very soon), with the signatures obtained by that time. It was thought that there would be a majority of the members of the House, although perhaps a minority in the Senate.

It was the consensus that the effort should not be discontinued, since it was hoped that a substantial number of Senators and Representatives would still sign, under pressure of their constituents, and as a result of further follow-up in Washington. It was pointed out, further, that if it is decided to reintroduce the Resolution in Congress it would be helpful to have as many Congressmen as possible on record in favor of the establishment of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth.

After further discussion, a motion was adopted unanimously to the effect that we continue with the round robin effort, without prejudice to other activities, at least until the signatures of a majority of the House and Senate is obtained.

It was further decided to have the Governors' petition presented to the President before his departure, even if no more than 32 signatures are obtained.

LETTER FROM MIZRACHI

A letter received from Mr. Leon Gellman, President of the Mizrachi Organization of America, was read. (Copy attached).

A full discussion followed, in which suggestions were made as to the kind of reply to be made to the Mizrachi. A committee was appointed to draw up this reply, consisting of Mrs. Epstein, Judge Rothenberg and Mr. Wertheim.

A resolution was unanimously passed expressing the view of the Executive Committee that the leadership of the Emergency Council has carried out the policies adopted by the Council with capability and vigor, this resolution to be quoted in the reply to Mr. Gellman.

(Copy of letter to Mizrachi also attached).

The meeting was adjourned at 6:30 P.M.

A. L.



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June 15, 1945

Dr. Stephen S. Wise
91 Central Park West
New York City

Dear Dr. Wise:

I don't have to describe to you the internal situation in American Zionism at this moment. The sharp cleavage in our ranks and the manner in which it manifests itself publicly is bound to undermine whatever remains of the prestige or reputation of our leadership. I have no doubt that it also weakens our position vis-a-vis government circles both here and abroad. Personally, I feel completely incapacitated and under the present circumstances it has become impossible for me to carry out my duties as Chairman of the Executive Committee. I have no choice but to submit to you my resignation from the above mentioned office. Whatever my strength and abilities I cannot use them for any constructive purpose in the unbearable atmosphere of raging factional strife.

I should like to express through you my sincerest gratitude to all those friends who considered me worthy of occupying a position of responsibility in our movement at this crucial time. My thanks go particularly to you and Herman Shulman for your unqualified cooperation and genuine personal friendship, which I hope I shall be privileged to enjoy also in the future.

I consider my resignation effective as of today.

Hayim Greenberg

AZEC
6/19/45

18th June, 1945.

Your Excellency,

I have the honour, on behalf of the Executive of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, to address you on the subject of Jewish immigration in the new circumstances created by the defeat of Germany and the liberation of Europe from Nazi oppression.

2. From reliable reports it would appear that, apart from the Soviet Union, only 1,400,000 Jews have survived in Europe. Over 6,000,000 European Jews, including at least 1,000,000 in the Soviet Union, have been annihilated. So gigantic a campaign of extermination has no precedent in history. By its magnitude and frightfulness the Jewish tragedy stands out unique even among the horrors wrought by the Nazi regime.

3. The tragedy is the result of the exceptional position of the Jews as a homeless people. Their cruel destiny pursues them into the post-war world. Against the general background of war devastation, the destruction of the Jewish communities in Europe presents a problem sui generis. The physical and economic condition of the survivors is precarious in the extreme. Eye witness reports about the position of Jewish survivors in various parts of Europe - in Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Greece, to mention a few examples - tell of appalling distress, heavy child mortality, unspeakable housing conditions, disease and starvation, and utter hopelessness. Their pre-war economic positions have been destroyed beyond recovery, their homes and possessions have fallen into the hands of others who are now combining for the defence of their ill-gotten gains. In view of the insecure position of the Jews in Eastern Europe before the war, a reversion to the status quo ante would in any case have been a bleak prospect. Today, after the havoc wrought by the Nazis, it is quite unthinkable.

4. The position of the survivors is further aggravated by the virulent growth of anti-semitism in most countries of Europe. The Nazis have inculcated their anti-Jewish doctrines into every nation that fell under their sway, in particular into the younger generation. Everywhere the Jew, emerging from his hide-out or returning from the concentration camp, is an unwelcome apparition. It is tragically significant that many of those in western countries who, during the German occupation, abstained from anti-semitic activities for fear of becoming identified with the Nazis, are openly indulging in Jew-baiting now that this no longer taints them with "collaborationism". In France and Belgium there is a militant body of opinion against the restitution of Jewish property. Throughout the continent, Governments whose position is yet tenuous are putting off indefinitely the actual restitution of Jewish property even where legislative measures to that effect have been enacted. In some countries feeling against the Jews reaches the intensity of fierce animal hatred. Poland could not have been turned into the slaughter-house of European Jewry had it not been for the connivance - and in many cases the active assistance - of the local population. The feeling of thankfulness to Hitler for having rid Poland of the Jews is reported to be widespread and vocal. Even after the liberation, during the one month of March, over 150 Jews are known to have been murdered in broad daylight in various parts of Poland. It is reported that Poles who had helped to save Jews from the Nazis are now begging their Jewish friends not to divulge their kind acts lest their own position become untenable among their neighbours. A spokesman of the Soviet-

sponsored Polish Government recently stated that the atmosphere in Poland was so full of anti-Jewish venom that even the small remnant that had survived the Nazi mass slaughter would have to be evacuated. What is true of Poland applies also to other countries in Eastern Europe. Eye witnesses report that the mass extermination of the Hungarian Jews was carried out with the active collaboration of the Hungarian population and that since the liberation of the country there have been grave anti-Jewish excesses in the parts not directly controlled by the Russian Army; many cases have occurred of Jews coming out of their concealment only to be killed by their Hungarian neighbours. The Nazi design of turning the accumulated hatred and bitterness of the exhausted nations of Europe against the Jews is bearing rich fruit.

5. From all parts of Europe the Jewish Agency is receiving urgent pleas for immigration permits to Palestine - from France and the Low Countries, from Italy and Greece, from the many thousands of Jewish refugees stranded in Switzerland and Sweden, from the survivors of the horror camps in Germany and Czechoslovakia. Within a few weeks of the opening of the Palestine Office of the Jewish Agency in Rumania, 30,000 Jews had filed applications for admission to this country. There was a similar rush for certificates in Budapest. Recent messages received from various European centres warn us that every week of delay spells further deterioration of conditions, more disease and mortality, more insecurity amidst the new internal struggles in the liberated countries where the Jews are again serving as scapegoats for all that goes wrong. Particularly frantic calls for immediate evacuation to Palestine are reaching Jerusalem, London and New York from the 70,000 odd survivors of the liberated death-camps in Central Europe who are haunted alike by the memories of past horrors and the dread of forcible removal to their countries of origin. But the claim for admission to Palestine is not limited to the Jews placed in such untenable conditions. Jewish refugees from Germany who found temporary sanctuary in England during the pre-war years and in the early months of the war are becoming increasingly aware that the prospects of their permanent settlement in England are slight. As the idea of a return to Germany is utterly repugnant to most of them, their minds are inevitably turning to Palestine. Similarly, most of the Jewish soldiers in the Polish army who fought in the western campaign, particularly those in Italy, are determined not to return to Poland, whatever its political fate, but seek admission to Palestine. The present demand for immigration certificates comes indeed not merely from those who had long ago tied up their future with this country. It is voiced by many formerly not associated with Zionism whom the cataclysm of the last decade has driven to see in Palestine the only hope of rehabilitation.

6. Nor is the urge to migrate and settle in Palestine confined to Jews who were direct victims of the European catastrophe. It is widespread and growing throughout the oriental communities, from Morocco to Iran, from Istanbul to Aden. A combination, in varying degrees, of a number of factors - economic distress, religious persecution, the memories and fears of massacres, political and social disabilities - is producing among the Jews of the East an ever-increasing gravitation towards the National Home. There is a growing practical interest in Palestine also among the Jews in Great Britain, the Dominions and the United States. There are in England many hundreds of young Jews, many of them British born, who, for years past, have been preparing themselves for eventual settlement in Palestine. A similar pioneer movement has taken root among the Jewish youth in America and South Africa. The war, the Jewish catastrophe in Europe and the sporadic growth of anti-semitism have produced a great awakening of Jewish national consciousness in these countries, which does not merely find expression, as in former years, in moral and material support for the National Home, but in impelling many to seek new roots in the ancient and newly revived land of their people.

7. The situation created by all these developments calls for a fresh approach to the immigration problem. The Jewish Agency does not in this memorandum propose to raise the larger political issues forming the subject of its comprehensive memoranda to His Majesty's Government of October 1944 and of May 1945, in which the claim for a large Jewish immigration and the vesting of immigration control in the Jewish Agency occupied a prominent place. It cannot, however, in view of the untenable position of the surviving Jews of Europe and the many urgent demands for immigration facilities from elsewhere, postpone any longer the submission of its plea for an immediate preliminary decision regarding immigration in the coming months. In order to meet the most urgent claims the Jewish Agency hereby begs to apply for the allocation of 100,000 immigration permits to be placed forthwith at its disposal. One-quarter of this total is to be earmarked for the admission of children without parents on the strength of special funds to be supplied for this purpose by Jewish organizations abroad and facilities to be provided by the Jews of Palestine. A detailed analysis of the country's absorptive capacity for new immigrants, as summarised in the attached memorandum, shows that the other three-quarters can be productively absorbed under present conditions.

8. It will be observed that the data on the immediate prospects of economic absorption set forth in the attached memorandum, are based on the framework of the present Jewish economy without taking into account the plans for the expansion of Jewish agricultural and industrial enterprise. They show, it is submitted, that an immigration of the size indicated is not only immediately practicable, but that it would generally benefit the economic structure of the country. The memorandum also indicates the housing schemes which are immediately practicable. A more radical solution of the housing problem depends primarily on Government action by authorising the importation of a larger volume of building materials, and by empowering the local authorities to requisition, for the accommodation of refugees, buildings and apartments now used for non-essential purposes, and by adopting concerted measures for the lowering of the cost of building. It should be borne in mind that even a temporary discomfort in Palestine would be considered by most immigrants from Europe infinitely preferable to the lot they now have to endure; also that many immigrants would find accommodation with their relatives by whose insistent and anxious claims for the immediate bringing over of their surviving kith and kin the Jewish Agency is now daily besieged.

9. The Jewish Agency is aware of the difficulties of exit, transit and transport hampering immigration from most European countries under the present, still abnormal, circumstances. It would, however, point out that the piecemeal allocation of permits has in the past gravely impeded the efforts made to deal with these problems. These difficulties were further aggravated by the practice of fixing rigid totals from time to time, which made it impossible to respond to any newly emerging need without cutting into, or completely cancelling, earlier commitments. The recent instances of the virtual "freezing" of blocks of certificates allocated to the Balkan countries and to Mauritius, respectively, which for a diversity of reasons could not be immediately utilized, may be cited as cases in point. Only if a large total of permits is immediately available for distribution to all countries of provenance, will it be possible to plan ahead with regard to transport, to coordinate shipping facilities and to grapple effectively with the problems of exit and transit.

10. The Jewish Agency is fully aware that the decision for which it pleads would imply the abandonment of the immigration policy embodied in the White Paper of May 1939. It is not proposed in the present context to go again over

the grounds on which, in previous communications of the Jewish Agency, the moral and legal validity of the White Paper was challenged. Nor is it intended to cite here the authoritative statements to the same effect made at the time of its promulgation, in particular on the immigration issue, by the Permanent Mandates Commission and by prominent members of the present Government. The restrictive immigration policy has been fraught with disastrous consequences for the Jewish people during the most tragic years of its history. The Jewish Agency finds it inconceivable that a measure of expediency resorted to under the shadow of the oncoming war should, after its successful conclusion against the major enemy, continue to serve as an obstacle to the rescue and rehabilitation of its victims. In the name of the entire Jewish people we appeal to the wisdom and magnanimity of His Majesty's Government to right the wrong committed in the stress of a difficult period and to open the gates of Palestine to receive the remnants of European Jewry and all those Jews who feel impelled by spiritual attachment or by external pressure to seek a new home among their own people in their ancestral country.

I have the honor to be,
Your Excellency's
Most obedient servant,

M. Shertok
EXECUTIVE OF THE JEWISH AGENCY



AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

June 19, 1945

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Tuesday, June 19, at 3:30 P.M. at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Hayim Greenberg (presiding), Mrs. Judith Epstein, Daniel Frisch, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Louis Lipsky, Mrs. Etta Rosensohn, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Herman Shulman, Mrs. Rebecca Shulman, David Wertheim, Dr. Stephen S. Wise.

David Ben-Gurion, Dr. Nahum Goldmann, Eliezer Kaplan.

Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt, Samuel Cherr, Prof. Milton Handler, Emanuel Neumann, Captain Abraham Tulin.

Dr. Benjamin Akzin, Jacob M. Alkow, Dr. I. B. Berkson, Gerold Frank, Arnold K. Isreeli, Arthur Lourie, Meyer W. Weisgal.

Isaiah L. Kenen, Henry Montor.

The Chairman extended a hearty welcome to Mr. Ben-Gurion, Chairman of the Jewish Agency Executive, who had just arrived from England.

MR. BEN-GURION'S REPORT

Mr. Ben-Gurion reported on the political scene in London and spoke of the serious situation now confronting the Jews of Palestine. (Complete report on file).

MR. GREENBERG'S RESIGNATION

A letter from Mr. Greenberg to Dr. Wise tendering his resignation as chairman of the Executive Committee of the Council was read. (Attached). After a discussion in executive session a motion was adopted unanimously that Mr. Greenberg's resignation be not accepted. Mr. Greenberg agreed to continue to act for a further two weeks, by which time the whole question of future policy will have been taken up.

It was decided that a meeting of the Executive Committee be held Friday afternoon, June 22, to be devoted to a discussion of policy; and that a further meeting, in executive session, be held Saturday evening, June 23.

POLITICAL REPORT

Mr. Shulman reported on a proposed meeting with President Truman, and on a number of conversations had with individuals in Washington. (Report on file).

It was also intended to seek appointments with members of Mr. Truman's Cabinet and individuals who are to accompany him to the meeting of the Big Three.

Plans were proceeding for a radio program on a national hook-up, the script for which was being prepared by a prominent writer, and in which Eddie Cantor was taking an active part.

Governors' Petition: 34 Governors had signed to date, and the signatures of two more were expected.* The plan to have a few Governors meet with the President and present it to him was still being worked on.

Round Robin letter by Congressmen: Up to that day close to half the Representatives and 47 Senators had signed the letter.**

ARAB LEAGUE

It was reported that a reply had been received from Joseph C. Grew, Acting Secretary of State, to the letter sent him by Dr. Wise in connection with the report which had appeared in the New York Times on the address delivered by Mr. William Phillips, Special Assistant to the Secretary of State, at a dinner of the Institute of Arab American Affairs, in which Mr. Phillips had expressed approval on behalf of the American Government of the newly organized League of Arab States. In Dr. Wise's letter he had referred to the Annex to the Arab League Pact dealing with Palestine and had pointed out that the provisions of this Annex are in direct conflict with the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate for Palestine and that Mr. Phillips' statement must be regarded as prejudicial to the rights of the Jewish people in regard to Palestine and irreconcilable with the frequently reiterated policy of the United States Government with reference to Palestine. Dr. Wise had further requested the Acting Secretary of State to grant him and his colleagues an opportunity to discuss this matter, as well as certain related questions of immediate urgency, with him.

In his reply, Mr. Grew said he would be glad to meet with Dr. Wise and his associates, as requested. As regards Mr. Phillips' address, he enclosed the complete text of his remarks from which, he indicated, it would be noted that although Mr. Phillips welcomed cooperation among the Arabs, "he said nothing which could be interpreted as giving blanket endorsement to all activities in which the Arab League might engage."

LONDON CONFERENCE

It was reported that plans were proceeding to hold a Zionist Conference in London. Information had been received from the Jewish Agency indicating the number of people who were to be invited to attend the Conference from each country. There were to be 12 American Zionists, together with three members of the Actions Committee resident in the United States.

Mr. Ben-Gurion added information which he had concerning the Conference plans. He explained that there are great difficulties in arranging the Conference, in view of the lack of hotel accommodation and the food shortages in London, because of which the British Home Office was reluctant to issue any considerable number of visas. The number of those to attend the Conference had to be limited to 60.

* 39 Governors have now signed the petition.

** 257 Representatives and 54 Senators have now signed.

The Conference would indicate to the British Government that there could be no further delay in announcing a new policy for Palestine and that we would not tolerate the White Paper any longer - that its continuation was bound to lead to trouble. It was desired to tell this to the British Government with the voice of the entire Zionist movement. No binding decisions could be taken by the Conference; but in case it should be necessary to take any decisions, arrangements were being made for the Smaller Actions Committee to be present in London (or, if all the members cannot be present, to designate others to take their places).

Dr. Goldstein stated that it depended on what the terms of reference of the Conference were. If something important was to come up, which required decisions to be taken, it would not be right for American Zionists to be represented by only 12 delegates. There was also a problem as to how to select only three or four from among all those in the Z.O.A. who have a contribution to make.

Mr. Ben-Gurion pointed out that it was not intended to discuss internal questions. The necessity for the Conference arose from the political situation only. He did not see any way of choosing a new Executive now. We must preserve the World Zionist Organization now. A Congress would be called at the first opportunity.

It was impossible to have representatives of the entire movement attend the Conference; thus although there are only 5,000 Jews left in Greece, for instance, it was desirable to have a representative of the Greek Jews present to speak to the British Government on behalf of the Jews of Greece.

After some discussion, it was decided that the Emergency Council send representatives to the State Department to obtain the assistance of the Acting Secretary of State in connection with transportation, passports, etc. It was further agreed that Dr. Goldstein take the initiative in getting the four parties together and deciding on the number of delegates to be selected by each party.

The meeting adjourned at 6:15 P.M.

A. L.

C
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Pol/68/45

20th June, 1945.

The Chief Secretary
Government Offices
J e r u s a l e m .

Sir,

I have the honour to refer to your letter C.S/709 of the 28th May, 1945, informing us of the Secretary of State's approval for a scheme of progressive reduction of the Jewish Settlement Police, and to make the following submissions on the subject.

2. In making its representations the Jewish Agency is fully aware of the paramount responsibility which Government bear for the external and internal security of Palestine and their exclusive prerogative to determine the organisation of the country's security forces. On the other hand, the Jewish Agency trusts that Government realise that nothing can absolve the Jewish Agency, as the representative body of the Jewish people, from the responsibility of watching over the security interests of the Jewish community and of making such representations to Government on security matters as are, in its judgment, called for by past experience and the needs of the situation. We venture to hope that such representations will always receive the earnest consideration of Government.

3. The Jewish Agency fully appreciates the vital importance, from the stand-points of finance and man-power, of the reversion of security arrangements to peace-time standards. We beg, however, to draw attention to certain aspects of the security situation which make it appear doubtful whether, as far as the defence of Jewish settlements is concerned, the time for such reversion has already arrived.

4. It is true that the increase in the establishment of the J.S.P. in June 1941 to its previous maximum of 2650 was carried through under the impact of war conditions, viz. the operations in Syria. The increase then authorised, however, was not confined to the north of Palestine but applied to all Jewish settlement zones. The reinforced J.S.P. were manifestly intended to serve not so much for repelling attacks from without as for dealing with outbreaks within the country, such as seemed possible in the state of tension then prevailing. That particular form of war-time tension, due to the expectation in certain quarters of Allied defeat, progressively abated until, with the decisive turning of the tide of war, it completely disappeared. But the very end of the war in Europe has produced a new powerful source of potential unrest borne of the unsettled state of political affairs in this country, as indeed in various parts of the world, including the Middle East.

5. Bearing in mind the chronic insecurity of the Yishuv and the possibility of turbulent phases through which the country may have to be steered until its political stability is achieved - including also the possible repercussion of upheavals in neighbouring countries upon the internal security of Palestine - we cannot but give expression to the apprehensions generally felt at the present intention to reduce, at this stage, the defences of Jewish settlements comprised within the framework of the J.S.P. Sight has not been lost of the fact that considerable forces of the British Army are now and will probably remain stationed

in Palestine. Yet experience has shown that unless each Jewish settlement and outlying quarter has an adequate local protection ready to ward off any sudden attack, it is liable, in the event of an unexpected outbreak, to suffer avoidable loss of life and destruction of property even when considerable forces are available for ultimate use in protecting the settlements and maintaining law and order generally.

6. Moreover, the presence in Palestine of considerable units of Arab armed forces has a direct bearing on the point at issue. During the war, units of the Arab Legion of Transjordan were for the first time stationed in Palestine, some of them in the vicinity of Jewish settlement areas. Units of the T.J.F.F. stationed in Palestine appear to have increased in number. It is idle to expect the Yishuv to perceive in these forces a bulwark of its security. It cannot help regarding them rather as a potential source of danger. In a whole series of incidents the personnel of these forces has manifested its active hostility to Jews. The reduction in size of the one specifically Jewish security force, at a time when Arab armed forces have been expanded and are from time to time prominently displayed in this country, is bound to have a disturbing and unsettling effect on the morale of the Jewish population and cause regrettable but inevitable nervousness.

7. Another consideration which appears to be relevant is the marked change which has occurred during the war in the racial composition of the Palestinian section of the Police Force and its Auxiliaries. The following table indicates the trend:

Jews and Arabs in Palestine Police

	JEWS			ARABS		
	Regular Police	Auxiliaries	Round Total	Regular Police	Auxiliaries	Round Total
End of 1939	818	4184	5000	1624		1600
1941-1942	700	5279	6000	2000	933	3000
Present state	688	4424	5100	2432	3921	6300

It will be observed that the ratio of Jews to Arabs in the Regular Police has dropped from 1:2 at the outbreak of the war to less than 2:7. In the whole Palestinian section of the Police the ratio has gone down from 3:1 to less than 5:6. The reduction now proposed will drive the ratio further down to 2:3.

8. For all these reasons the Jewish Agency would earnestly plead for the postponement of the reduction of the permanent strength of the J.S.P. until such time as the clarification of the political situation will make it possible to see in a clearer perspective what the future holds in store for Palestine, so far as its internal security is concerned. The fact that, whilst being advised that a reversion to peace-time standards is called for, Government nevertheless fixed the establishment at a figure 371 higher than the pre-war total is duly appreciated. The actual net result, however, of the proposed change is the disbandment of 900 members of the J.S.P. now permanently on duty. Such a considerable cut, even if carried through by stages, is liable to cause alarm in the Yishuv, particularly in the rural communities, without the Jewish Agency being in a position to defend the reduction. A deferment of the reduction, at least pending further consideration, appears to be fully warranted.

9. In connection with the general question of the size of the J.S.P. it is pertinent to point out that since March 1939, seventy five new Jewish settlements have been established, a large proportion of them in the outlying parts of the

country. At a certain stage in the past the principle was laid down that the establishment figure of the J.S.P. must be regarded as a rigid total to which no additions can be authorised, so that in the event of a new settlement being founded, the necessary complement of men and arms must be provided at the expense of older settlements. The Jewish Agency has never considered this principle justified. Once the competent authority has reached the conclusion that the protection of a certain settlement requires a certain number of armed men, it is difficult to see why it should be called upon to manage with less merely because protection has to be provided for yet another settlement, sometimes a long way off. The Jewish Agency would therefore urge that, whatever the outcome of the consideration of its present submissions, this principle should be abandoned and in the future protection for newly-established settlements should be provided by increasing the total establishment and not by weakening the defence of settlements already existing.

10. On the question of Special Constables (i.e. the unpaid reservists of the J.S.P.) a misapprehension seems to have occurred. It is true that at a certain stage the establishment of 7550 was laid down in theory, but it was never enforced in practice and, as far as the Jewish Agency is aware, in July 1939 the establishment of 14,897 was authorised. In June 1941 that establishment was increased by 1500 earmarked for Galilee. Meanwhile, as already mentioned, 75 settlements have been added to the list. Since no payment of salaries is involved in the case of special constables, it is hoped that in any case their existing establishment may be left intact.

11. On the question of procedure, I would recall that in the past any important change in the establishment of the J.S.P., or any scheme of re-distribution of the given establishment, which had been decided upon always formed the subject of close preliminary consultation with the Jewish Agency before it was carried into effect. The detailed proposals of the Jewish Agency as to how to effect the redistribution were always fully taken into account. It is, I would submit, in the interests of all concerned that, whatever the decision, its mode of implementation should be such as to commend itself in the greatest possible measure to the sections of the Yishuv directly concerned by approximating as closely as possible to the detailed proposals of the Jewish representative body.

12. In conclusion, the Jewish Agency cannot refrain from an expression of regret that a scheme effecting so serious a change in the organisation of the defence of Jewish settlements, a field in which the Jewish Agency has throughout cooperated closely and, it is believed, effectively with Government, was elaborated and submitted for the Secretary of State's approval without the Jewish Agency having been informed of its nature and accorded a prior hearing on it. It is sincerely hoped that the approval already granted by the Secretary of State will not preclude the consideration of the present submissions by His Excellency the High Commissioner on the merits of each argument. The Jewish Agency feels deeply gratified by the praise so generously bestowed by the Secretary of State and His Excellency the High Commissioner on the services rendered by the J.S.P. in the past. It hopes very much that this Force will continue to be a credit to the Yishuv and to Palestine in the future and that its organisation will continue to form a subject of harmonious cooperation of the Jewish Agency with the Palestine Administration.

I have the honour to be,
Sir
Your obedient servant,

M. Shertck
EXECUTIVE OF THE JEWISH AGENCY

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

June 22, 1945

A special meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Friday afternoon, June 22, at 2:30 o'clock, at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Hayim Greenberg (presiding), Mrs. Judith Epstein, Daniel Frisch, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Louis Lipkay, Mrs. Etta Rosensohn, Herman Shulman, Louis Segal, David Wertheim, Dr. Stephen S. Wise.

David Ben-Gurion, Nahum Goldmann; Dr. Philip S. Bernstein, Samuel Cherr, Prof. Milton Eandler, Mrs. Tamar Pool, Captain Abraham Tulin, Judge B. Rosenblatt.

Dr. Benjamin Aksin, Jacob M. Alkow, Dr. I. B. Berkson, Gerold Frank, Arnold K. Israeli, Arthur Lourie, Meyer W. Weisgal.

Elihu Epstein, Isaiah L. Kenen, Israel Mereminski, Reuven Zaslani.

POLITICAL PROGRAM

Mr. Ben-Gurion introduced the discussion on the political program which should be carried on during the coming few weeks.

1) While we must continue our educational work vis-a-vis the Jewish people and vis-a-vis the American public, our main task now is a short term policy, that is, action for the next few weeks and months which may be decisive in the history of Zionism. When he said the next two weeks, he referred to the coming meeting in Berlin of the Big Three. It is highly probable that Palestine will be discussed at that meeting. It is difficult to imagine that the crisis in Syria and Lebanon will not come up, and if that subject comes up it is bound to bring in Palestine. And even if Syria and Lebanon are not discussed, there is a probability that Palestine will be discussed. There may be a decisive decision taken. If the Americans present will be indifferent, or less than that, then it may really be decisive.

Mr. Ben-Gurion did not mean to imply that only the next few weeks are important, since Berlin may not be the last word, but the question will have to be decided in the next few months. We are nearing the moment of decision, and if a definite decision is not arrived at, it may amount to a decision in effect - for a decision is not needed for the White Paper to remain in effect.

2) While we must continue our general educational work - educating public opinion, the press, Congressmen, etc., in view of the present situation our policy must be aimed at the executive branch of the Government. - those people who are determining American foreign policy, namely, the President and his closest advisors.

3) What we must aim at is not only declarations of sympathy (although we must continue to get declarations of sympathy from all circles in this country), but the main thing now is effective intervention of the American Government for a practical solution of the Palestine problem. Resolution, letters, etc. have no value at the present time. What is needed is effective intervention of the American Government in Berlin, and later in London, to press for the immediate abolition of the White Paper and the immediate establishment of a Jewish State. They are different aspects of the same thing. A negative policy alone (abolition of the White Paper) leads nowhere.

To achieve this end, to get the American Government to intervene effectively, we must emphasize the gravity both of the Jewish position in Europe and the position in Palestine, and urge an immediate decision, because the matter cannot wait any longer.

Dr. Goldmann referred to action already taken to press home the urgent need for an affirmative decision. Talks had been had with the British delegates at San Francisco in which it had been stressed that a dangerous situation was developing which was becoming continuously more serious as a solution was postponed. Talks had also taken place the previous day with the new head of the Middle East division of the State Department.

Dr. Goldmann agreed that we have to concentrate now on the major thing - on the Jewish State. The issue is no longer that of immigration for on the fundamental decision, immigration will depend. It would be a catastrophe if they agreed to abolish the White Paper and to admit even 100,000 immigrants without announcing a decision on the Jewish State, because a delay in obtaining that decision, even for a year, would mean indefinite delay. At this moment, therefore, we have to concentrate on the major decision.

Dr. Goldmann agreed, too, that in America this was primarily a matter at this time for the Executive branch of the Government - the President and some of his advisors, as well as a few Senators close to the President. The suggestion that we re-introduce the Resolution in Congress cannot be acted on now, because if the Senate takes up anything before the recess, they will take up the question of the ratification of the charter of the Security Organization. Dr. Goldmann added that when, on his return from San Francisco at the beginning of June, he made the suggestion that the Resolution be re-introduced, he did not think that the Senate would concern itself with ratification of the charter before the recess.

Members of the Emergency Council would have to spend more time in Washington during the next few weeks.

In the discussion which followed, Captain Tulin, Mr. Shulman and Mr. Greenberg referred to specific action to be taken in the coming few days. Mrs. Epstein, Dr. Goldstein, Mr. Segal and Mrs. Rosensohn dealt with the need for mobilizing public opinion in support of other action, and Mrs. Halprin urged that serious consideration be given to a national petition. The temper of the American Jewish public might be gauged from the fact that in a short time and without professional help Long Island alone had obtained 15,000 signatures.

Mr. Ben-Gurion stated that while he agreed with various observations which had been made, he believed that he had not been fully understood.

What is our political objective? What we want now is not a State for the sake of having a State, and not the abolition of the White Paper, but to bring into Palestine in the shortest possible time, in a year or perhaps two years, at

least the first million Jews. In order to achieve that we need five things:

1) A Jewish State. A British or a Russian or an Arab State will not bring a million Jews into Palestine.

2) That Jews should control immigration and the development of Palestine. It is no good to satisfy oneself with a formula about Jewish immigration. If you want the Jews back in Palestine, you will not get them there in that way. Unless there is a Jewish government, the Jews will not be allowed in. But even assuming that the doors are open, it will not be enough. In Palestine you cannot settle unless you colonize the country and for that you must have control over water resources, land, etc.

3) Even with State powers, you must have means. For the implementation of a major irrigation plan, you must have LP 65,000,000. We need international financial help. We ourselves cannot provide the monies required.

4) We, more than any other people, are entitled to indemnity from Germany. In the last war, everybody recognized the priority of the Belgians to indemnity. If anybody deserves indemnity after this war, it is the Jewish people.

5) We must have international facilities for exit and transit for Jews to go to Palestine.

The only thing that will assure our future is the bringing of 1,000,000 Jews into Palestine. That is now the objective of Zionism. To achieve that we need the State and all the other things outlined above.

Mr. Ben-Gurion agreed we must continue with the general educational work. But today the executive branch is vital. There is danger in allowing ourselves to be too easily intoxicated by the very effective public action taken from time to time - meetings, petitions, resolutions in Congress, etc. That will have to continue even after we have the State. But the 'plane is leaving and we may miss the 'plane. For some things Yalta was decisive. Berlin may be even more decisive in our matters. Things are being decided now. Our approach must be to the people who will be making these decisions.

Mr. Ben-Gurion discussed the situation in England and the attitude of Mr. Churchill. There was need for effective intervention on the part of America which should tell England that the question of the Jewish people must be dealt with as a part of the general settlement and that in all the arrangements now being made, only the Jewish people are not provided for.

Referring to a question put by Mrs. Rosenschn regarding the fundamental indifference to the Jewish case of those in authority, Mr. Ben-Gurion said he realized that the moral claim was not enough. But that case must be made and they must be made to consider also the realities, including the possibility of trouble in Palestine. An anti-Zionist solution means a negative solution, which means no development of Palestine at all. But there cannot be a final negative solution. People will come in without immigration visas, etc. and your negative solution will be no solution. Tel Aviv cannot be unbuilt. If it be said that the Negev should remain a desert, it will not remain so. We will develop it, though it may be made very difficult for us. We seek a positive solution which shall be a final solution. The "tachlis" now is not a paper solution, not even a State, but the entry of a million Jews. We too want to put an end to unrest in Palestine. When the first million Jews are brought in, it will be a final solution.

Effective intervention means - if the Americans will understand the problem, that they should tell England: We have a great Jewish population here, we cannot allow more Jews to come to America, but we cannot be indifferent to the fate of the Jews. Palestine is primarily a British concern, but we cannot be indifferent, because there will be trouble in Palestine, and there will be trouble in Europe. Churchill himself has said the White Paper is a breach of faith. President Truman should tell Mr. Churchill that he will be tested by his own words.

There will be effective intervention on the part of the American Government only if the decisive people here, those who are going to Berlin, press the British to allow us to bring in a million Jews.

Dr. Akzin said that the division made in certain quarters between public propaganda and quiet work, called by some "stadlanuth", was not the significant one. The line should be between effective methods and ineffective methods. We must seek to devise a program for the next few months which will be effective. E.g. the Resolution in Congress has become a sort of shibboleth, a symbol. If you are for dynamic Zionism you are for a resolution, it is said, and vice versa. For certain reasons he considered a Resolution in Congress at present would be an ineffective method.

Dr. Akzin then turned to the question of effective methods, and dealt in particular with the interest of the two political parties in the "Jewish vote."

Of other public efforts, Dr. Akzin would discourage mass meetings at present. There have been too many already. Everything has been said. The press has stopped even reporting such meetings. Things done for the first time get more attention than when they are repeated.

Mrs. Halprin's proposal for a petition, on the other hand, was worth trying. Because of the interest of novelty, it would get better coverage from the press and our Jewish followers would be interested in it. But he suggested one condition - it should only be done if we can organize our staff so that a certain number of people would work on it and the rest of us would deal with the political work. If everything else has to be sacrificed to it, it is not worth it.

As regards approaches to the President, it was of importance that Mr. Truman was far more accessible to Senators and Congressmen than had been Mr. Roosevelt.

Informal pressure through Congressmen could be more important than formal pressure.

Turning to the press, Dr. Akzin said that the real public opinion of this country is made by the editorial pages of the great newspapers. Everybody pays attention to them. To regard our press relations as a job primarily of issuing press releases was obviously inadequate. We must try to place in the daily newspapers, the weeklies and monthlies, articles on the general situation, showing why it is in the interest of world peace that Palestine should be given to the Jews. Our press department should occupy itself with the writing of articles which should get into important journals, such as Harpers, etc. The columnists should be cultivated.

Finally there was the subdued but felt public opinion of the intelligentsia. For this the A.C.P.C. was the most effective instrument.

Dr. Akzin went on to say that while there are now in Washington permanent representatives of the Council for Judaism, the Arab Legations, etc., the Zionists

are leaving the Washington front open. It was not sufficient that there be occasional visits by Zionist leaders. Structurally we must re-adapt ourselves.

Judge Rothenberg asked what methods we are to employ to get the results Mr. Ben-Gurion talked about. Up to now we used whatever channels we could to influence the government officials all the way up to the President. Judge Rothenberg was not criticizing those methods. We were in duty bound to exhaust that method. But, in Judge Rothenberg's opinion, the diplomatic method had failed. By that he did not mean that we should not see Mr. Truman before he goes to Berlin. But he did not believe it would work. If it had not worked with Mr. Roosevelt it would not work with Mr. Truman.

Our position is a great deal more difficult today than it was a year ago. While the war was on the tragedy of the Jewish people was before the eyes of the world and everybody felt keenly that something should be done, even though it was not done. With the war at an end, people throughout the world do not think the Jewish question is so acute. They are not aware of the seriousness of the problem. Judge Rothenberg did not think President Truman realizes the situation.

The moral argument is insufficient. We must get American Jews no longer to beg, but to demand. Petitions, etc. were ineffective. We need a new line. The details can be worked out. The time has come when the Jews must be stirred up to the extent that they should demand that our Government translate the platforms, etc. into concrete action. The time had also come for a strong attack on the British Government, in regard to the repudiation of their pledges. Mr. Churchill now tells us we have to wait until the end of the war, perhaps another two years. Half the Jews in Europe will have died by that time.

Judge Rothenberg did not mean to say that what we did up to now was the wrong course. It was the right course. But now the Jews of America should make clear that they expect the pledges given in the party platforms and elsewhere to be fulfilled, and that those who repudiate their promises will be in turn repudiated.

If we agree on the general policy, we will find ways and means of doing it. A sub-committee should be working on it.

Mr. Shulman said that things may come to the stage when the issue will come to a head-on conflict. Mr. Ben-Gurion advocated certain steps before such a point was reached. It is important that whatever program we select, whatever methods we decide on, they must be completely synchronized with the methods of the World Zionist movement; before we determine on an all out attack on Great Britain, that we know in advance what the Jewish Agency wants us to do. It does not follow that what they do in England must be the same as what we do here, but what is done in both countries must form part of one pattern.

The immediate task is to prepare for the conference in Berlin. We should, however, not get ourselves into the frame of mind that Berlin will definitely decide our problem, though it may do so and we must seek to press for a decision.

It is important first that the President be fully informed. Mr. Shulman indicated various steps that were being taken in this connection.

In addition to the President it was hoped to see Mr. Byrnes who had that day received a great deal of data on our problem.

Mr. Shulman agreed that we must get a group of Senators who will make it

their special interest to contact the President and State Department on our problem.

Mr. Ben-Gurion had referred to the question of reparations. This was now under consideration by the Commission in Moscow and a memorandum had been submitted to the American member on our behalf. He indicated, however, that under his terms of reference he could only consider claims of sovereign states. He would need additional directives to consider those of the Jewish people. Steps should be taken in that direction.

Mr. Shulman made a specific suggestion in respect to securing the interest of influential persons in the J.V.A. idea, and pointed out that such development projects, which aim to benefit socially and economically an entire region, are more in line with American policy in the Middle East than giving blanket approval to the Arab League.

Action had also to be taken in support of the idea of an international loan for development purposes.

As far as the political situation is concerned, however regrettable, it is a fact that there is not in existence at this time the moral cry for justice that there was at the end of the last war. We should do what we can to see that it is created. But we must supplement it by political action. The fact that the present Administration is very politically minded, is important. In this connection a real effort should be made to obtain a maximum of Jewish unity without whittling down any of our demands. But this must be done without making it the all out activity for the day.

Mr. Shulman hoped that we would not get lost in any plans, whether they relate to program, reorganization, or personnel, and fail to make use of the political weapon.

Mrs. Epstein stated that with regard to the coming months we are hardly going to use our energies now to negotiate with groups who are against us. We always had groups ready to go with us on immigration. But we can't expect unity on the kind of program that Mr. Ben-Gurion had outlined here today.

She agreed with Mr. Ben-Gurion about the danger of becoming intoxicated with our own activities. Too much time also has been spent by us in order to answer the criticisms of those attacking us, saying we are not sufficiently militant, etc. She did not agree with Judge Rothenberg that diplomatic pressure was without value at this time.

With regard to a proposal for an all-out anti-British campaign, that was a very serious step to take. We would find ourselves with strange bedfellows, and be accused of seeking to drive a wedge between the United States and Great Britain.

The arguments Mr. Ben-Gurion said we should use we have used ad nauseam. In Washington they answer these arguments by saying that America has a great interest in the Near East, --- oil -- etc.

A special committee should think through this so-called militant action. Once you take such action you cannot go back. We have to know what we are going to face.

Dr. Goldstein asked whether it was to be assumed that as far as the forthcoming conference in Berlin was concerned, we had done what we could. He referred to conversations he had had with persons who were acquainted with the President.

Mr. Weisgal proposed that our best people should go down to Washington, and stay there for the next fortnight. He also suggested that telegrams be sent by individuals throughout the country to the President before his departure. He was critical of the proposal in regard to an anti-British campaign.

In the course of further discussion, Mr. Lipsky said that in talking about telegrams and advertisements we should bear in mind that there is not a Senator in Washington who does not know our case. If it is thought that we will make an impression on President Truman with telegrams and ads, we are wrong. These are important things, but they are not the essence. The essence of the action is the personal work that has to be done with the President and his advisors.

Mr. Weisgal pointed out, with regard to advertisements, that advertisements had been prepared recently, but by the time the machinery of producing the ads, getting the necessary space in the newspapers, etc. was completed the ads were no longer applicable.

A motion was adopted unanimously that a group of people be asked to go to Washington and remain there under the direction of the officers in the service of our cause for the coming fortnight.

With regard to telegrams, after discussion a motion was made and passed by a majority vote that it be left to the discretion of the officers, in consultation with the staff, whether it is advisable to have telegrams sent to the President.

Professor Handler said that the discussion during the first part of the meeting had been interesting and valuable. He feared, however, that good ideas might be put forward and then forgotten. With regard to methodology, we should distinguish between demands made to officials of our Government leading to immediate action, and those asking for ultimate action on their part.

We want the ultimate program, - we won't settle for less. But that does not mean that we should not ask for action on the things that require action at once, and at the same time get a promise that a decision will be taken on the main issue.

During the war, the War Department had a division called War Planning Division. It helps in administration if you have a plan written out in advance and responsibility assigned. In our body this has particular significance. We had the unfortunate incident recently of one constituent body saying they did not approve of the action taken by the body, although they never dissented at meetings.

It is important for the Administrative Committee, or another committee, to draw up a scheme which will deal respectively with plans and methods and give some indication of the timing of the plans and the timing of the methods. We should vote on each plan and each method. That should constitute our program for the next three months. It should result in the assignment of certain responsibility to the staff and to those not on the staff.

Professor Handler said he would deplore it if these valuable discussions would end with the ideas thrown into the hamper and everything left to the officers to act on. He suggested some such plan, so that when we conclude our meetings we know exactly what our program is.

Captain Tulin wished to associate himself with what Professor Handler said. Everything is thrown on the officers and the officers are overworked. It seems that the duties of all the other members is to come to meetings and then go away.

The entire Executive Committee should be harnessed to the job and the work distributed in an orderly fashion.

A motion was made, and passed unanimously that Professor Handler's suggestions be adopted. It was further agreed that a sub-committee be appointed, of which Professor Handler should be chairman, to bring in recommendations with regard to dividing up the work.

The meeting adjourned at 6:10 P.M.

A. L.



AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING HELD JULY 12, 1945

A meeting of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Thursday, July 12th, at 8:15, at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Stephen S. Wise (presiding), Rabbi Philip S. Bernstein, Maurice Boukstein, Samuel Cherr, Pinchas Cruso, Mrs. Judith Epstein, Daniel Frisch, Leon Cellman, Paul L. Goldman, Mrs. B. J. Goldstein, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Prof. Milton Handler, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Rabbi I. M. Kowalsky, Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Louis Lipsky, Emanuel Neumann, Mrs. Tamar Pool, Mrs. Etta Rosensohn, Miss Dvora Rothbard, Samuel Rothstein, Louis Segal, Herman Shulman, Mrs. Rebecca Shulman, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, Robert Szold, Captain Abraham Tulin, David Wertheim.

Dr. Nahum Goldmann, Eliezer Kaplan.

Dr. Benjamin Akzin, Jacob M. Alkow, Gerold Frank, Hyman Getzoff, Arnold K. Isreeli, Hans Lamm, Meyer W. Weisgal, Elishu Epstein, Reuven Zaslani.

Harry Batchaw, Dr. Joseph Cohn, Gottlieb Hammer, Dr. Ludwig Lewisohn, Miss Marie Syrkin, Dr. Michael Trabu, Zorach Warhaftig, Mrs. Rachel Yarden, Baruch Zuckerman.

The Chairman extended, on behalf of the Emergency Council, congratulations to Mr. Arthur Lourie, Secretary of the Council, on his recent marriage. It was decided to send a letter of congratulations to Mr. Lourie and his wife and to appoint a committee to secure and present a suitable gift to them on behalf of the Council.

LETTER FROM MR. GREENBERG

The Chairman read the letter he had received from Mr. Greenberg explaining why he was not present at this meeting. (See Minutes of Executive Committee of July 12).

POLITICAL REPORT

Mr. Shulman presented the following report on the political activities of the Council since the return of the Council's delegation from San Francisco.

On returning from San Francisco, measures were taken in connection with the Conference of the Big Three to be held in Berlin.

Mr. Shulman had a talk with one of the President's close advisors in which he stressed the necessity for action now; and urged that an appointment with the President be arranged for a Zionist delegation, and that an opportunity be provided to present in writing the case calling for immediate consideration of our question at the forthcoming meeting.

A report given to Mr. Shulman thereafter indicated that the President had

said he would be very happy to have prepared for him a comprehensive brief dealing with the Palestine question in all its aspects, to which he would give his very careful attention, and he would bring the matter up at the earliest opportune time. He also recalled the visit of Dr. Wise, Dr. Greenberg and Mr. Shulman and the statement that he made to them that he would follow President Roosevelt's policy on Palestine; and he indicated that he wished to have another talk with them as soon as possible. He could not do so, however, before his visit to San Francisco. He would try to work it in thereafter, but there was the possibility that he might not be able to see them until after he returned from abroad. In any event, he would study the memorandum very carefully in order to familiarize himself with the picture.

Mr. Shulman had also had a conversation lasting an hour and a half with Mr. Macy, with whom Mr. Hannegan had suggested he discuss the Palestine question. During this conference Mr. Shulman told Mr. Macy of the various promises and pledges which had been made, indicating to him the important factors which called for immediate fulfillment of those pledges and pointing out to him the disappointment and bitterness which prevails in American Jewry. Mr. Shulman indicated to him that that disappointment and bitterness could not be met with more promises, but must be dealt with by concrete steps taken to fulfill the promises already made. He also discussed with Mr. Macy various political aspects of the problem. At the conclusion of this conference, Mr. Macy asked Mr. Shulman to send him a letter setting forth much of what he had told him and he promised to discuss the matter with Mr. Hannegan, after which they would all three have a further talk on the subject. Mr. Shulman prepared such a letter. (Copy on file).

About a week or so later, Dr. Wise and Mr. Shulman had a long conference with Mr. Hannegan, Chairman of the Democratic National Committee. This conference also lasted about an hour and a half, and both he and Dr. Wise were impressed by Mr. Hannegan's sympathetic and intelligent interest. Mr. Hannegan told them that in Chicago he personally spoke to the President about the inclusion of the Palestine plank in the Democratic party platform and urged its inclusion. Dr. Wise and Mr. Shulman stressed, in this interview, the reliance which American Jews placed on the pledge written into the Democratic Party platform and the historical statement of President Roosevelt supporting that plank and pledging to make every effort to bring about the earliest realization of Zionist aims. Mr. Hannegan said he realized how important it was, in view of the European situation which was described to him, to take some concrete steps to bring about a decision.

Mr. Hannegan had asked them to prepare a brief on the question and to forward it to him, and he said that he would deliver it personally to the President and to others who would accompany the President to Berlin. He also said that he would make every effort to arrange for a meeting with the President before he left for Berlin. He indicated, however, that the President would probably leave sooner than originally contemplated, although that, too, was subject to change. In any event he would convey to him personally everything which had been said to him on the matter.

A 12 page brief was prepared by Mr. Lourie in consultation with Mr. Greenberg, Mr. Ben-Gurion and Mr. Shulman, which was delivered by Mr. Hannegan together with a covering letter signed by Dr. Wise. Word was received both over the telephone and in writing, from Mr. Hannegan to the effect that he personally delivered the memorandum to the President, and that he also personally delivered a copy to Secretary of State Byrnes. Mr. Hannegan also stated that he had spoken to the President about a meeting but he was very sorry that he could not, under the circumstances, arrange an appointment before his departure.

Mr. Shulman reported further on contacts with Mr. Byrnes to whom a number of documents, including the Jewish Agency memorandum to the San Francisco Conference and other memoranda had been given, which he took with him to his summer home in South Carolina. He said he would go over them very carefully there. Secretary Byrnes subsequently stated he had read the material sent to him, that he was sympathetic to the Zionist aspirations while he was in the United States Senate, and that he was still sympathetic to our position, and that he would seek to have the matter raised at the forthcoming meeting.

Mr. Ben-Gurion had a long talk on the Palestine problem with Mr. Ben Cohen, newly appointed Special Assistant to Mr. Byrnes.

Near East Division of State Dept. A number of changes had taken place in the Near East Division of the State Dept. Mr. Ben-Gurion and Dr. Goldmann, on behalf of the Jewish Agency, had a number of talks with Mr. Loy Henderson, the present head of this Division, and his associates. There is reason to believe that Mr. Henderson takes a more sympathetic approach to our problem than his predecessor, Mr. Wallace Murray, whose antagonism was notorious. Mr. Henderson and his associates are preparing a report on the Palestine question for submission to their superiors and it is hoped that some of the information conveyed to them will be included in the report.

Conference with Acting Secretary of State. Dr. Wise, Dr. Greenberg, Dr. Goldmann and Mr. Shulman had a talk with Acting Secretary of State Grew about a week ago. Mr. Loy Henderson was present at the interview. The purpose of this visit was first to deal with the alleged endorsement given to the Arab League Pact by William Phillips, Special Assistant to the Secretary of State (reported in Minutes of Executive Committee meeting of June 19th) and also to deal with the matter of passports, visas and transportation to the Conference in London.

The general problem was also discussed with Mr. Grew and the various factors which should compel an early consideration of the matter were pointed out to him. It was also made clear to him why the situation is likely to deteriorate if no action is taken at the forthcoming meeting of the Big Three. Mr. Henderson took the occasion to express appreciation of the State Department for the work done by the Jewish representatives at San Francisco in connection with the trusteeship plan and indicated that the suggestions made and the attitude adopted there by our representatives were very helpful and greatly appreciated.

Round Robin letter and Governors' petition. Prior to the San Francisco Conference, the Council embarked upon a program to have a round robin letter signed by the majority of both Houses of Congress petitioning the President to take immediate action to redeem the pledges made in connection with the Zionist program and pledging to the President their support in any action to be taken by him. Further, a petition was circulated to be signed by Governors of the various states, also addressed to the President and calling upon him for action now. Mindful of the fact that the late President Roosevelt had indicated that he would welcome a wider demonstration of support from non-Jews for Zionism, it was felt that a petition signed by the majority of State Governors and also of members of both Houses of Congress would be valuable.

The Governors' petition was circulated by a group of Governors themselves. After some initial difficulty, a group of sponsors was finally secured, consisting of Governor Maw of Utah, who was chairman of the recent Governors' Conference, and Governors Dewey of New York, Tobin of Massachusetts, Baldwin of Connecticut and McGrath of Rhode Island. In their names a petition was circulated to all the

Governors and the signatures of 39* out of 48 Governors were secured. This petition was sent to the President from Mackinac Island with a covering letter signed by Governor Maw and it received a tremendous amount of publicity throughout the country. There is reason to believe that it made a profound impression in Washington. Mr. Frank and Mr. Getzoff did a magnificent job in arranging for the distribution of the petition among the representatives of the press and for the necessary publicity out of Mackinac Island. A copy of the petition was also sent to Secretary Byrnes.

With respect to the round robin circulated among the members of Congress, after an intensive campaign lasting over a period of about two months we finally succeeded in securing the signatures of a majority of the members in both Houses. Further signatures are still being obtained. (262 Representatives and 55 Senators have signed the petition). It was felt advisable, however, to have the petition sent to the President before his departure for Berlin and arrangements were made for a press conference in Washington, to be attended by Senator Wagner, Senator Taft, the Majority and Minority leaders in the House and other important members of both Houses of Congress. Senator Wagner also attempted to arrange an appointment with the President for a delegation of Representatives and Senators to present the petition and discuss the question with him. However, the President met with Senator Wagner at lunch and requested that publicity should not be given to the petition at this time. Instead, he asked that it be presented to him in person at the White House, and indicated that he would take it with him and give it proper consideration. He again expressed sympathy with our program and indicated to Senator Wagner that he would do everything he could at the forthcoming conference, but he felt that because of other problems connected with the Near East at this time it would not serve our cause to have the publicity we had in mind given to the petition. Senator Wagner agreed to follow the President's suggestion and therefore delivered the petition in person to him at the White House and received an acknowledgment from the President. Because of the President's wishes we did not go through with our program for a press conference in connection with the petition. We felt, however, that the President's request did not apply to the Governors' petition and for that reason the plans made by us in connection with the Governors' petition were carried out, and carried out very successfully.

Telegrams to President. Pursuant to action taken by the Executive Committee of the Emergency Council, various Jewish organizations in the American Jewish Conference and the Emergency Council had sent messages to the President urging him to take appropriate action at the Berlin meeting to secure a favorable decision in accordance with our program.

Princeton Conference. During the period under consideration, a two day Seminar in Princeton of important Christian leaders in various parts of the country, was arranged. This Seminar was designed for speakers, in order to give them as much information as possible and thus enable them to deal with the issues in their local communities more effectively. Coming as it did a few days prior to the President's departure for Berlin, it resulted in the sending of a telegram to Secretary Byrnes signed by the leading figures present at this Conference demanding that the Palestine question be dealt with at the forthcoming meeting and that the pledges made to the Jewish people be fulfilled. Mr. Shulman said that Mr. Isreeli would report on the Princeton meeting.

Memorandum of American Jewish Trade Union Committee for Palestine. There was also sent to the President and Secretary of State a memorandum by the American Jewish Trade Union Committee for Palestine, speaking for millions of American workers - both AFL and CIO, who had adopted resolutions endorsing the Committee's program. Considerable publicity was also given to this memorandum.

* (41 Governors have now signed the petition).

PRINCETON CONFERENCE

Mr. Israeli, who had been present at the Speakers' Seminar arranged by the American Christian Palestine Committee at Princeton July 2nd and 3rd, reported on the conference. About 50 people representing churches, universities and national women's organizations, as well as a number of newspaper columnists and radio commentators, attended. It was one of the most remarkable conferences he had witnessed, said Mr. Israeli, and he had attended many.

The addresses delivered were of a very high calibre, particularly those of Dr. Niebuhr and Prof. Friedrich, who spoke on the philosophy of Zionism, and on American and international aspects of Zionism, respectively. The views expressed by them from a Christian standpoint, were a real contribution.

Prof. Lindeman spoke on his experiences travelling throughout the United States, ^{encountering} increasing anti-Semitism wherever he went. He looks upon the problem of anti-Semitism and its solution as an American affair and not one with which the Jews alone should deal.

Rabbi Philip Bernstein and Marvin Lowenthal were at the Conference and were very helpful. There was an excellent debate after the presentation of the reports. At the close of the Conference Mr. Ben-Gurion spoke, and he made a very deep impression on his Christian audience.

There were two liberal Catholic leaders present at the Conference, Dr. Francis MacMahon and Father John Sexton. The latter was very much impressed by all he heard at the conference. Among others attending were some who were instrumental in organizing the Christian conferences last year, including Dr. Cummings of St. Louis, who also holds that this is the business of the non-Jews, not of the Jews themselves. Present, too, were leading columnists and commentators such as Edgar Ansel Mowrer, and Mr. McFarlane, a fine commentator who lived in Daganja for six months.

Mr. Israeli said he had been impressed in Princeton by the fact that here was a very sincere group of Christian Americans who place the Zionist movement on a much higher level than we usually find on the part of non-Jews.

Mr. Israeli, concluding his report, said he had written an article four columns in length for the Yiddish press on the Princeton Seminar, which aroused great interest.

Rabbi Bernstein, supplementing Mr. Israel's report, said that the only thought he would like to add was based on the experience of that conference and on his own experience of twenty years working among non-Jews. He found it easy to convince thoughtful Christians on Zionism. The more progressive they are, the more inclined they are to become interested in our program. The Christian Council, which Rabbi Bernstein had some part in organizing, is testimony to that. He has found completely unrealistic and dishonest the idea advanced by the American Council for Judaism that Zionism contributes to anti-Semitism. He had gone around among Christian groups for a long time and found that they realize that Zionism has a kinship with Americanism and they consider it self-respecting.

Rabbi Bernstein said he saw the process of education take place right at the Princeton conference. Some of those present had never been in contact with Zionism before. They began with general statements about loving Jews, etc. and gradually, through the influence of men such as Prof. Niebuhr, they came to an understanding of

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

July 12, 1945 at 12 noon

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Thursday, July 12th, at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Stephen S. Wise (presiding), Pinchas Cruso, Mrs. Judith Epstein, Daniel Frisch, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Louis Lipsky, Mrs. Etta Rosensohn, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Herman Shulman, David Wertheim.

David Ben-Gurion, Dr. Nahum Goldmann, Eliezer Kaplan.

Samuel Cherr, Prof. Milton Handler, Mrs. Tamar Pool, Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt, Captain Abraham Tulin.

Dr. Benjamin Akzin, Jacob M. Alkov, Gerold Frank, Arnold K. Isreeli, Meyer W. Weisgal, Reuven Zaslani.

GOVERNORS' PETITION

Mr. Gerold Frank reported on the visit which Mr. Getzoff and he had made to Mackinac Island in order to release from there the story on the petition to the President signed by 37 Governors. (Two additional Governors signed after the petition was submitted).

A vote of thanks was moved to Mr. Frank and Mr. Getzoff for their excellent work in publicizing this activity.

CABLE FROM DR. GOLDSTEIN

A cable received from Dr. Goldstein from London was read. Dr. Goldstein indicated that there were more Palestinians coming to London than originally planned and he suggested that the parties and the members of the Jewish Agency in the United States join in demanding that a larger number of Americans attend the Conference, or, if that were not possible, that assurances be obtained that there would be no decisions taken without adequate representation of American Zionists. Dr. Goldstein cautioned, however, that there was a serious problem of securing accommodation in London, as well as a possibility of considerable delay in returning to this country from England.

Mr. Ben-Gurion indicated that there would be no action taken in London unless ratified by the Actions Committee.

TRUSTEESHIP SECTION OF UNITED NATIONS CHARTER

It was reported that after the adoption of the Charter, in order to emphasize that the safeguarding clause included in the chapter on Trusteeship was intended to safeguard specifically the rights of the Jewish people, a request for

a statement to that effect was addressed by Dr. Goldmann to the Chairman of the Committee on Trusteeships. In reply a letter not for publication, but containing certain assurances, had been received.

MISHMAR BULLETIN RE SAN FRANCISCO

Reference was made to the statement on San Francisco which had appeared in the Mishmar Bulletin and strong criticism was expressed of what was described as a falsification of the facts.

It was agreed that the matter should be brought up at the meeting of the Council that evening.

GERMAN SETTLEMENTS IN PALESTINE

Reference was made to the cable in regard to German settlements in Palestine sent by Mr. Shertok to the Jewish Agency Office in London on June 9th.

It was reported that there had arrived that day from Jerusalem copy of a memorandum on the subject submitted by Mr. Shertok to the Chief Secretary of the Palestine Administration. (Previously circulated to Committee).

It was agreed that wide publicity should be given to this matter, and it was further suggested that representation be made to the State Department.

REORGANIZATION

The Chairman read a letter which he had received from Mr. Greenberg. (Attached).

A telephone message received from Dr. Silver was also reported. Dr. Silver suggested that since he had been invited to attend this meeting of the Executive Committee only that morning and since he learned that the Mizrahi representatives would not be present, a meeting of representatives of the parties together with Dr. Wise and himself be held after the conclusion of the Executive Committee meeting.

After discussion it was agreed to adjourn the Executive Committee meeting in order to hold a meeting of the Peace Committee with the representatives of the groups and Dr. Wise and Dr. Silver.

The meeting adjourned at 2:00 P.M.

A. L.

C
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P
Y

July 12, 1945

Dr. Stephen S. Wise
Chairman, American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Wise:

I had to leave town for a few days to take care of an important private affair, but I must confess that this is not the only or the main reason for my absence from today's meetings.

After I submitted my resignation on June 19th, I agreed to remain in office for another two weeks. My resignation, therefore, came into effect last Wednesday. The other day I announced to the Greater Central Committee of Peale Zion my withdrawal from the Council as a whole. As one who does not belong any longer to the body of the Emergency Council, and being determined as I am not to accept any office in the future, regardless of the nature of the contemplated or planned reorganization and also in the highly improbable case that no reorganization takes place, I have no right to offer advice on organizational matters.

I wish you success in your deliberations and efforts to create conditions for harmonious Zionist work in this country. I assure you that I shall never fail to respond and cooperate whenever the Council, regardless of its set-up, will choose to give me concrete ad hoc assignments.

Yours sincerely,

HG/LB

Hayim Greenberg

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

July 15, 1945 at 12:15 A.M.

At the conclusion of the meeting of the Emergency Council held on the evening of July 12th, Dr. Silver called a special meeting of the Executive Committee, in order to take up a number of matters on which action was required before the American delegation left for London.

PRESENT

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Pinchas Cruso, Mrs. Judith Epstein, Daniel Frisch, Leon Gellman, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Louis Lipsky, Emanuel Neumann, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Louis Segal, Herman Shulman, Mrs. Rebecca Shulman, David Wertheim, Dr. Stephen S. Wisc.

APPOINTMENT OF EXECUTIVE STAFF

Dr. Silver stated that the appointment of an Executive Director and other staff members must be made at once. He suggested that the Committee approve the appointment of the following four men, who had been in the organization before: Harry L. Shapiro, as Executive Director, Harold P. Manson, Abe Tuvim and Harry Steinberg. With regard to the people who had been added to the staff during the last six months it was desired to retain them. A method of coordinating the work of all the staff would be worked out and submitted to the Executive Committee at its next meeting.

In the discussion which followed, Mrs. Halprin explained the reasons why she would find it necessary to vote against the appointment of Mr. Shapiro. She further pointed out that the post which he had held previously in the Council was not that of Executive Director, that he had never received such an appointment. Mr. Wertheim agreed that there had never been a vote in favor of such an appointment but said that Mr. Shapiro had in fact acted as director.

Dr. Silver stated that Mr. Shapiro and the other three men would be brought back to the post: they held previously in the Council.

After further discussion, a motion was made and seconded that Mr. Shapiro, Mr. Manson, Mr. Tuvim and Mr. Steinberg be re-employed by the Council. This motion was adopted. It was understood that the members of the staff engaged during the last six months would be retained, and that the Chairman of the Executive Committee would study the functions of all the members of the staff.

DELEGATION TO LONDON

Dr. Silver said he had been requested to attend the London Conference as a representative of the Z.O.A. He felt, however, that he should go as a delegate of the Emergency Council, in which case there would be room for another designee of the Z.O.A.

It was pointed out that the arrangement made was that the officers of the Council would go to London together with three representatives of the Z.O.A., three of Hadassah, two of Peale Zion and two of Mizrahi. Since Dr. Silver is now chairman of the Executive Committee, he should go as a designee of the Council. The fourth designee on the Z.O.A. slate, Mr. Frisch, would take the place of Dr. Silver as representative of the Z.O.A.

INTERIM COMMITTEE

The question was raised of provision being made for authority in the absence of the officers. It was agreed that a small Interim Committee should be designated before the delegation leaves for London.

The meeting adjourned at 12:45 A.M.

A. L.



AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

July 20, 1945

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Friday, July 20th, at 2:00 P.M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Pinchas Gruso, Mrs. Judith Epstein, Daniel Frisch, Leon Gellman, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Emanuel Neumann, Herman Shulman, Mrs. Herman Shulman, David Wertheim, Dr. Stephen S. Wise.

David Ben-Gurion; Samuel Cherr, Captain Abraham Tulin.

Dr. Benjamin Akzin, Dr. I. B. Berkson, Gerold Frank, Arnold K. Isreeli, Arthur Lourie, Harold P. Manson, Leo Sack, Harry L. Shapiro.

Isaiah L. Kenen, Reuven Zaslani.

Apology received from Louis Segal.

HADASSAH'S PLACE ON BOARD OF OFFICERS

A letter was read from Hadassah in which they indicated that they had decided to accept the place of one of the vice-chairmen of the Executive Committee rather than retain the treasurership of the Council, and Mrs. Halprin was named to serve in that post. Mrs. Halprin will, therefore, be added to the list of vice-chairmen.

It was made clear that action on the appointment of a Treasurer would be deferred until the return of the delegation from London.

INTERIM COMMITTEE

Judge Rothenberg was named chairman of the Interim Committee, to serve in the absence of the delegation to London, a representative of Hadassah, Poale Zion and Mizrachi to be appointed by the parties to serve with him on this Committee.

The Mizrachi representatives indicated that Rabbi Kowalsky would serve as their appointee on the Interim Committee. Hadassah and Poale Zion indicated that they would notify the office of their designees.

DELEGATION TO LONDON

In view of the fact that Mr. Shulman was not certain whether he would be able to go to London, and if so whether he could arrive in time, Dr. Silver proposed that the position of Mr. Shulman be left open in case he could go, but that a substitute be selected for him in the event that he could not. He strongly urged that Mr. Neumann join in the delegation to London, with the right to vote in Mr. Shulman's place pending the latter's arrival. After discussion a motion was adopted to this effect.

MEETING WITH STAFF

Dr. Silver reported that he had had a two hour meeting with the staff that morning. It was a very gratifying meeting in many ways. The staff was able to offer some very valuable suggestions for the intensification of our work and for the correction of some of the things done hitherto. From the reports rendered at this meeting, he gained the impression that some very good things had been done, and in other directions the staff felt the work should be done along other lines. Some departments need reorganizing; some need expansion, some contraction. All the suggestions made by the staff will be incorporated in a comprehensive report when the delegation returns from London.

Dr. Silver said he had asked Dr. Akzin to look after our work in Washington during the absence of the delegation to London, and until we define our work in Washington, which will depend, too, on the negotiations to be conducted in London with the Jewish Agency with regard to our work in Washington.

Dr. Wise suggested that it would be well to have a summary of the plans to bring to London so that they might be discussed there with the Jewish Agency Executive. In London there will be a collating of plans for London, Washington and Jerusalem.

It was agreed that this should be done and Mr. Shapiro was instructed to prepare a summary of the plans before the delegation leaves.

JEWISH AGENCY AND COUNCIL

Mr. Frisch suggested that the Agency should not proceed to expand the Washington office until conferences have been held in London between the American delegation and the Agency.

Mr. Ben-Gurion said he saw no reason for Mr. Frisch's suggestion. The delegation is leaving for London in a day or two. If there was a need in those two days to do anything about the work in Washington, it would be done; but he did not think that need would arise.

Dr. Silver said we want to approach this as a joint problem rather than in a competitive spirit.

FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION REPORT ON PALESTINE

Reference was made to the Report by Mr. Grant S. McLellan published by the Foreign Policy Association, on "Palestine and America's Role in the Middle East."

It was reported that when it was learned that Mr. McLellan was preparing this report, Mrs. Pool and Captain Tulin arranged a meeting with him and had a long talk with him. Subsequently Dr. Berkson also met with Mr. McLellan and gave him a memorandum and an outline of the Zionist position in Palestine. When the Report was finally ready, Mr. McLellan submitted it to Dr. Berkson for comment.

Dr. Berkson indicated that Mr. McLellan had reacted favorably to many of his suggestions and that the Report as published was much improved as compared with the original, and contains a far better and more balanced statement of the Zionist position than in the original draft. It had eliminated many negative statements; the American Council for Judaism had been reduced to one sentence. On the Arab side, Mr. McLellan did not need much informing. There is a good statement at the back of the Report on organizations in America interested in Palestine. On the

question of American policy in the Middle East, however, Dr. Berkson had not been able to dissuade Mr. McLellan from following the line he did, despite a very long discussion. Mr. McLellan had adopted what was regarded by a certain section in the State Department as a "realistic" line with regard to foreign policy. He stresses oil, Russia's interest in the Middle East, etc. Whatever positive suggestions he makes in his report are very vague.

A discussion followed on a reply to be made to Mr. McLellan's Report. It was pointed out that the Report gives us an excellent starting point to show the fallacy of the point of view indicated by the F.P.A. with regard to America's role in the Middle East, and that our reply should point out that Mr. McLellan's analysis is not complete, and that he has not taken into consideration those interests of the United States which run parallel with Zionists' interests.

Since Mr. Lourie had been invited by Mr. McLellan to comment on the Report it was agreed that advantage should be taken of this invitation and that the Committee on Contacts with Postwar Planning Groups, together with Mr. Lourie and Dr. Berkson and Dr. Aksin prepare a comment on the Report.

In addition, it was felt that since there was little hope that any comment made by the Council on the Report would be published by the New York Times, or elsewhere, it would be desirable to have a group of people such as Prof. Friedrich, Prof. Hanna, etc., issue a statement on American policy in the Middle East, in reply to F.P.A., which might be published.

It was further suggested that rather than have a statement issued by a group of people, it would be preferable to have an outstanding individual, identified with international law, such as Sumner Welles, for example, write an article on the subject for publication in a magazine with a wide circulation.

It was agreed that both these suggestions be referred to the Committee headed by Mrs. Pool and Captain Tul to be further explored.

SIGNATORIES FOR CHECKS

In view of the fact that some of those now signing checks on behalf of the Council are going to London, it was decided to designate the following to be authorized to sign checks in their absence: Mr. Cruso, Mr. Rucker and Rabbi Kowalsky.

The meeting adjourned at 4:15 P.M.

A. L.

[Enclosures put in chronological order]
Mr. Manson

American Zionist Emergency Council

342 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
Murray Hill 2-1160

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS

Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America
Mizrachi Organization of America
Poale Zion-Zeire Zion of America
Zionist Organization of America

July 20, 1945

To the Members of the Executive Committee:

I enclose the following:

1) Minutes of Meetings of the Executive Committee held June 11, June 19 and June 22. Minutes of the Executive Committee and Emergency Council meetings held July 12 will follow.

2) Copy of letter from Mr. Shertok to the High Commissioner for Palestine dated June 4, 1945, on the subject of the German settlements in Palestine.

3) Copy of letter from Mr. Shertok to the High Commissioner, dated June 18, 1945, on the subject of immigration.

4) Copy of letter from Mr. Shertok to the Chief Secretary of the Palestine Administration, dated June 20, 1945, on the subject of the Jewish Settlement Police.

Yours sincerely,

AL:LB
Encs.

Arthur Lourie

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

August 27, 1945.

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Monday, August 27th, at 3:30 o'clock, at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Pinchas Cruso, Mrs. Judith Epstein, Daniel Frisch, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Rabbi I. M. Kowalsky, Louis Lipsky, Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Emanuel Neumann, Louis Segal.

Samuel Cherr, Mrs. Tamar Pool.

Dr. Benjamin Akzin, Dr. I.B. Berkson, Gerold Frank, Arnold K. Isreeli, Arthur Lourie, Harold P. Manson, Harry L. Shapiro, Abe Tuvim.

Eliahu Epstein, Rabbi Leon Feuer, Isaiah L. Kenen, Mrs. Denise Tourover.

MINUTES

The Minutes of the Executive Committee meetings held July 12th, 13th and 20th were approved.

ESCO FOUNDATION

A letter from Mrs. Frank Cohen of the Esco Foundation for Palestine was read, in which the request was made that the Emergency Council transfer to the Zionist Library and Archives the Esco Foundation Palestine Collection which had been turned over to the Council as a loan. Mrs. Cohen further requested that the Council send a copy of the manuscript prepared by Dr. Berkson to the Foundation by registered mail. They had already received the master copy of the Study, but in order to establish their ownership of the document it was necessary that they receive a copy in this manner. As soon as they arrange for copyright they would return the copy to the Council to be continued as a loan.

Dr. Berkson indicated that the matter of the Esco material was a complicated one, from the point of view of the Emergency Council and the author of the Study. Dr. Berkson had been engaged for three years in preparing this manuscript, which is a comprehensive report on Palestine, largely from the political point of view, and which, when published, will comprise three volumes. In addition to Dr. Berkson, fifteen people have worked on it. There had been an original grant of \$30,000 from the Esco Foundation, and the Emergency Council has put a further large sum into the preparation of this report.

It was decided that in view of the ramifications involved and in the desire to expedite the matter to the satisfaction of all, a committee of three be appointed to study the question of the disposition of the Esco Foundation material.

POLITICAL REPORT

Pres. Truman's statement on Palestine

Reports were given on efforts made by Dr. Akzin, Mr. Epstein and Mr. Lourie to obtain further information in Washington concerning the statement on Palestine made by President Truman at his press conference on August 16th. Among those seen had been Mr. Ben Cohen, Rep. Sabath, who had had a conversation with the President (see Minutes of meeting of Council Aug. 28, 1945) and the Oriental Advisor to the American Embassy in London.

Dr. Akzin and Elishu Epstein had also met with Mr. Loy Henderson, head of the Near East Division of the State Department. (Report on file).

Judge Levinthal reported on Earl Harrison's investigation of the situation of the Jews in Europe and his report to President Truman; there was reason to believe that the report was entirely sympathetic.

Statement of Arab League Secretary re Pres. Roosevelt's meeting with Ibn Saud

A report was given on action taken to contradict this statement in the press. Attention was drawn to the fact that in the earlier of the two reports which appeared in the New York Times it was specifically stated that there was no confirmation from members of the party who had accompanied the President home from Yalta.

In the discussion which followed, Pres. Truman's statement was analyzed by various members of the Executive. It was the consensus that the efforts of the Council should be concentrated on disabusing the President's mind of the idea that large numbers of troops will be required to keep peace in Palestine if a decision is made favorable to the Jews.

A motion was adopted that the Council's reaction to President Truman's statement should be to deflate that part of the statement which talks about the need for 500,000 troops, and that efforts be made immediately to arrange for meetings with the Secretary of State and the President.

There was some discussion also on the attitude of the State Department to Zionism and the need to expose its anti-Zionist line. (See analysis by Dr. Berkson in Minutes of Council meeting of August 28th).

Mr. Epstein referred to the visit of Dr. Bayard Dodge to this country; he was one of the greatest assets to the State Department in pushing the Pan-Arab policy. Dodge came here to collect money to open a second American University in the Near East (in Damascus, Syria). The Syrians want such a University for two reasons: They want a substitute for the French. They prefer the Americans to the British as such a substitute.

It was decided that a committee of the staff be appointed to give careful thought to the steps to be taken to expose the anti-Zionist line of the State Department and to draw up a plan of action.

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY ORDER SONS OF ITALY

Judge Levinthal referred to an excellent Resolution on Palestine which had been adopted by the Order Sons of Italy, an organization comprising some 450,000 members. Mr. Alessandro, who was helpful in having this Resolution adopted, is a member of the American Palestine Committee.

DELEGATION TO PALESTINE

The suggestion was made that a delegation of Representatives and Senators be invited to visit Palestine.

A number of reasons were put forth why it was not desirable to carry out this proposal. We are now pressed for time. We want a decision quickly. As to the idea that an official body be sent out, we ourselves ought not to suggest a new procedure which will involve delay. There will be an excuse for doing nothing until the commission returns. Furthermore, whether the report brought back by such a commission will be what we want is questionable, for the usual procedure of investigating commissions is to suggest a compromise.

It was decided that the question of a delegation to Palestine should be brought up at a subsequent meeting.

PROF. HOCKING'S LETTER TO HERALD TRIBUNE

Reference was made to the letter sent to the Editor of the New York Herald Tribune by Prof. Hocking, which had appeared on August 26th.

It was agreed that an answer must be made to this letter, and the office was requested to prepare a reply.

VISIT TO PALESTINE BY PROF. FRIEDRICH

It was recalled that Prof. Friedrich had indicated a desire to visit Palestine, since he felt that he would be in a much better position to talk and write on the Zionist case if he had a first hand acquaintance with Palestine. It was suggested that now that the war is over, it would be a good thing to arrange for him to go there.

A motion was adopted that Prof. Friedrich be invited to visit Palestine and that a sum of money be appropriated by the Council for that purpose.

The meeting adjourned at 5:40 p.m.

A.L.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

September 10, 1945

A meeting of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Monday, September 10, 1945, at 4:15 P.M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Pinchas Cruso, Mrs. Judith Epstein, Daniel Frisch, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Rabbi I. M. Kowalsky, Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Louis Lipsky, Emanuel Neumann, Louis Segal, Dr. Stephen S. Wise.

Prof. Milton Handler, Meyer W. Weisgal; Dr. Benjamin Akzin, Jacob M. Alkow, Dr. I. B. Berkson, Gerold Frank, Hyman Getscff, Arnold K. Israeli, Arthur Lourie, Harold P. Manson, Leo Sack, Harry L. Shapirc, Abe Tuvim.

CHRISTIAN CONFERENCES

Mr. Tuvim presented the following report on plans and activities in connection with American Christian Palestine Committee conferences to be held during 1945-46.

A rather elaborate program of ACPC conferences has been prepared for the coming months. The communities are to be asked to pay the local expenses involved in these conferences, while the Council will cover such costs as those incurred in connection with speakers, printing of literature, etc. With such participation by the communities it will be possible to hold more conferences throughout the country.

New York

The first big project is a three day conference to be held in New York October 14-16. The first day will be devoted to activities which will draw attention to the conference, e.g. sermons in churches, club activities, radio broadcasts, newspaper editorials, etc. During the following two days seven or eight sessions will be held at the Commodore Hotel: 1) for newspaper people, 2) for radio commentators, 3) a women's tea, 4) for educators, 5) an economic session, to which business men, members of Chambers of Commerce, etc. will be invited, 6) for ministers, 7) closing dinner.

It is also planned to arrange, with the cooperation of the Board of Education, a series of assemblies for teachers of public and high schools. It is hoped to have at least three such assemblies, in each of various regions.

The New York project is a very ambitious one. It may require the services of 20 speakers. Preliminary work has already been done in connection with this conference; in ten days the preparations will be well under way.

Mr. Tuvim said he was receiving excellent cooperation from the entire Z.O.A. staff, including the Z.O.A. field men. He had met with the Presidents of the various Z.O.A. Regions which will be involved in the conference and the field men. The Regions are contributing \$10,000. toward the cost of the New York conference.

The most important work to be done is to secure local Christian activity. A Christian committee is being set up, of which the Vice-Chairmen will represent the Regions. It is hoped to set up Christian groups in each of the Regions.

World Christian Conference

This is being supported by the Agency. Until the relations between the Council and the Agency with regard to the Washington offices are clarified by the Committee of eight, technical details such as preparing the lists of invitees, etc. are being dealt with by the Council staff. A temporary office has been set up at the Roosevelt Hotel in Washington. November 1st and 2nd have been reserved at the Hotel Statler for the Conference.

Other Conferences

It is planned to hold a second conference in St. Louis. There are now over 1500 members in the A.C.P.C. in St. Louis. It is hoped to reach new groups of Christians in that city.

Detroit will hold a Conference March 16-17. The President of the Chicago Z.O.A. Region is making arrangements to hold a Christian Conference in Chicago. It is further planned to organize an ACPC group in Houston, Texas, and to hold a conference there in the early spring, to which would be brought outstanding Christian speakers. It is hoped to arrange for conferences, or meetings, to be held in a half dozen of the Southern cities, as well as in a number of the smaller communities in New York State; and Milwaukee, Minneapolis, Des Moines, Kansas City, Omaha and Lincoln are also on the schedule.

It was urged that in drawing up plans for ACPA conferences, special attention be paid to the cities where the Council for Judaism is strong.

LETTER FROM U.P.A.

A letter from the United Palestine Appeal, dated July 24th, was read, in which it was stated that the UPA had decided to launch in the next three or four months, a campaign to be known as "Open the Gates of Palestine." Since this decision involves a political matter within the purview of the American Zionist Emergency Council, the UPA requested that the Council advise them of their reaction to the plan.

Since it was not clear just what was involved in this campaign, it was decided to obtain further information from the UPA before taking any action.

NATIONAL PETITION

Mr. Frisch, reporting on behalf of the sub-committee appointed after the last meeting of the Council to make a thorough study of the question of a national petition, submitted the committee's recommendation that the Emergency Council adopt a resolution calling for a mass petition to be undertaken immediately, and urging that this resolution be submitted to the constituent groups of the Council for their ratification within two weeks; a time limit of ten weeks to be set for the implementation of the project.

Mr. Segal, who had also served on the sub-committee, stated that this recommendation of the committee was unanimous. In deciding in favor of a petition, the committee had been encouraged by the fact that the American Trades Union Committee for Palestine has already enlisted the support of the Trades and Labor Council, who have undertaken to sponsor the petition in the trade union movement.

A memorandum outlining the project, which had been approved in general by the sub-committee, was submitted to the meeting. The cost of the undertaking, as estimated by Mr. Shapiro in this memorandum, which is only a first draft of the plan, would be approximately \$59,500.

In the discussion which followed, it was recalled that the idea of a petition was before the Council for consideration several times. Last year it was shelved in favor of the Congressional Resolution, which gave us the focal point around which we could build a variety of activities. A mass petition, it was felt, would do for 1945 what the Resolution did for 1944. If properly launched, on a large scale, it would activize our cause and dramatize it, bringing it to the attention of every citizen of the United States. It would serve, too, to bring pressure on our Government and on the British Government.

This project would, furthermore, bring the organized Zionist bodies into the picture. Its success would depend on them. Other groups would also be called upon to help in obtaining signatures.

It was urged that the term "petition" be not used, but rather some other term, such as "mass declaration" or "manifesto".

In discussing the cost of carrying out this project, it was felt by some members of the Committee that \$59,500 was a considerable underestimation. Mr. Shapiro indicated that when the plan is worked out in greater detail, it may be found that the cost will be as much as \$100,000, of which \$25,000 would be covered by items already in the budget and about \$75,000 additional would have to be provided.

It was pointed out that the local communities would agree to cover the local expenses. The communities are eager to undertake such a project, and the members of the Hadassah chapters and Zionist youth groups throughout the country will do a great deal of the work in obtaining the signatures.

There was some discussion, also, as to whether the aim should be to have the manifesto signed by Jews alone, or by Jews and non-Jews. There would be no difficulty in obtaining the signatures of a large number of the Jews of the United States, but doubts were expressed as to whether we could get a cross section of the non-Jewish American people to sign. In this connection, the example of Long Island was cited, where 20,000 signatures, 90% of them non-Jews, were obtained last year, at very little cost.

It was the consensus that limiting the petition to Jews would be unwise. There would be political significance in getting large numbers of Christians to sign such a declaration. We should set ourselves an objective of perhaps ten to fifteen million signatures, which should not, of course, be announced.

After further discussion, it was decided by a unanimous vote of all present that the sub-committee's recommendation be adopted, that we accept the principle

of a mass declaration of the American people on the Jewish National Home within the nearest possible time, and that this recommendation be submitted to the constituent organizations. It was understood that the communities would be asked to participate in the costs locally.

A suggestion made that Balfour Day would be an appropriate time to launch the declaration was approved.

It was understood that the wording of the declaration would be submitted to the Executive Committee for its approval.

LETTER FROM ERNST FRANKENSTEIN RE MR. HART

It was reported that a letter had been received from Dr. Frankenstein inquiring whether the Council would be interested in inviting to this country a Mr. Hart, who had addressed a small gathering in London on Great Britain's military interest in Palestine at the time of the London Zionist Conference. The Canadian delegates to the Conference who had heard this address were so impressed that they discussed the possibility of inviting Mr. Hart to Canada. Dr. Frankenstein indicated that Mr. Hart had been military correspondent for the "Manchester Guardian" for three years and is considered a military authority. He would be prepared to lecture in the United States if he were invited, possibly by a non-Jewish military or political group, and could leave England at short notice.

It was felt that it would be very valuable to have Mr. Hart lecture in this country, but before taking any decision it was decided to seek the advice of the Jewish Agency office in London.

ARTICLE IN "FORTUNE" BY DEAN LANDIS

Attention was drawn to the article by Dean Landis appearing in the current issue of "Fortune" which carries the implication that nothing must be done to antagonize the 100,000,000 Moslems in the Middle East.

It was suggested that a reply should be made to this article, and that Oscar Gass be consulted.

MARCH OF TIME FILM ON PALESTINE

Reference was made to the excellent MARCH OF TIME film on Palestine which will be released shortly.

DR. BERKSON'S MEMORANDUM RE WORK OF COUNCIL

At the last meeting of the Executive Committee a committee of the staff had been appointed to draw up a plan of action to expose the anti-Zionist line of the State Department. Dr. Berkson had prepared a report, which it was decided to circulate among the members of the Board of Officers, who would meet within the next few days.

POLITICAL REPORT

It was reported that in connection with the London Conference of the Foreign Secretaries of the Big Five, there was reason to believe that members of the American delegation would meet with the leaders of the World Zionist Organization in London. Dr. Goldstein suggested the need for an American Zionist to be present in London during this conference, to keep in close contact with the American delegation.

It was also urged that a number of people in Washington be seen, who will play a part in the British-American economic talks now getting under way.

With regard to the appointment which it had been decided to seek with the President, it was reported that efforts were still being made to arrange a meeting. Dr. Silver suggested that not only must a delegation of the Council see the President, but in addition, the American Jewish Conference should designate six to seven prominent Jews, speaking for all American Jews, to meet with him.

It was further suggested that representatives of the Council should meet with five or six Senators, and get their views on the best way to obtain Congressional support at this point.

Letter from Judge Rosenman: It was reported that an official communication from the Secretary of the Council, had been sent to Judge Rosenman asking for an opportunity for a delegation of the Council to meet with him. A reply had been received from Judge Rosenman stating that he was on the point of leaving for a short vacation and that if the matter was one of urgency we should see Mr. Benjamin Cohen.

Mrs. Roosevelt's statement to Dr. Wise re the late President and Ibn-Saud

Dr. Wise reported that Mrs. Roosevelt was prepared to deny the statement alleged to have been made by President Roosevelt to Ibn Saud. The late President had told her on his return from Yalta exactly what he told Dr. Wise.

It was agreed that Dr. Wise should ask Mrs. Roosevelt to make public the information she had on this subject.

The meeting adjourned at 6:15 P.M.

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LONDON, SEPTEMBER 12, 1945 (Rec'd Sept. 13)

NLT WISE SILVER LIPSKY GOLDMANN JEWISH AGENCY

342 MADISON AVENUE NEW YORK CITY

FORTNIGHT AGO COLONIAL OFFICE OFFERED US 1500 CERTIFICATES AS BALANCE WHITEPAPER
QUOTA ON UNDERSTANDING MONTHLY MAXIMUM 1500 ENTRANTS BE MAINTAINED STOP WE
REPLIED UNABLE ACCEPT THESE PERMITS AFTER OUR APPLICATION FOR 100,000 BEING
BEFORE GOVERNMENT FOR TWO MONTHS STOP ALSO STATED QUOTE IN GENERAL NOW WAR
IS OVER EXECUTIVE CANNOT POSSIBLY BE PARTY TO OR ENTER INTO DISCUSSION OF ANY
ARRANGEMENTS BASED WHITEPAPER 1939 UNQUOTE WE DECIDED UNPUBLISH THIS PENDING
CLARIFICATION WHOLE POSITION WITH GOVERNMENT STOP SINCE THEN HAD LENGTHY
INTERVIEW COLONIAL SECRETARY ALSO INFORMAL TALKS FEW OTHER MEMBERS GOVERNMENT
STOP DISCUSSIONS TIME BEING INCONCLUSIVE GOVERNMENT REPRESENTATIVES PLEADING
SHORTNESS TIME IN OFFICE PREOCCUPATION WITH MULTITUDE MAJOR PROBLEMS APPEALING
OUR PATIENCE STOP THIS MEANS IN EFFECT THAT WHITEPAPER CONTINUING IN FORCE
IMMIGRATION PRACTICALLY AT STANDSTILL LAND REGULATIONS UNREPEALED STOP MEANWHILE
POSITION INMATES CAMPS GERMANY ITALY AND POLISH REMNANT REMAINS UNBEARABLE EVERY
MORAL MATERIAL RESPECT LIABLE BECOME CRITICAL WITH ADVENT WINTER WHEN INADEQUATE
FOOD COMPLETE LACK PROPER CLOTHING BOUND CAUSE HEAVY MORTALITY STOP PLEASE DO
UTMOST REGARDING IMMEDIATE GRANT OUR IMMIGRATION CLAIMS ABROGATION WHITEPAPER
EVEN BEFORE CONSIDERATION DECISION OUR MAIN PROPOSALS

EXECUTIVE

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

September 19, 1945

Mr. Manson

A special meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Wednesday evening, September 19, at 8:30 o'clock, at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Stephen S. Wise (presiding), Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mrs. Esther Gottesman, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Rabbi I. M. Kowalsky, Emanuel Neumann, David Wertheim, Rabbi Seymour M. Zambrowsky.

Dr. Philip S. Bernstein, Prof. Milton Handler, Mrs. Tamar Pool, Captain Abraham Tulin, Meyer W. Weisgal.

Dr. Benjamin Akzin, Arnold K. Israeli, Arthur Lourie, Harold P. Manson, Harry L. Shapiro.

S. Dingol, Jacob Fishman, Isaiah L. Kenen, Marvin Lowenthal, D. L. Meckler, Morris Weinberg.

FEDERAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA

It was reported that word had been received on September 14 from one of the local emergency committee chairmen that members of the Executive Committee of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America had received a memorandum on Palestine which, according to the letter accompanying the document, presented the Christian view of the question, and which was to be discussed at a meeting of the Executive Committee to be held September 18. The document was a subtle but vicious attack on Zionism. (It followed the line of argument of the American Council for Judaism). The covering letter urged that the Executive Committee approve the contents of the memorandum, publish it and give it wide circulation.

Dr. Atkinson, Dr. Poling and Dr. Voss had taken action in the matter, and the committee had by a large majority refused to act on the memorandum. It may still be presented to the Administrative Committee of the Federal Council, but it would have to be referred back to the Executive Committee for its approval before it could be published.

NATIONAL PETITION

It was reported that the Z.O.A., the Poale Zion and Mizrahi had notified the Council office that their Boards had met and had approved the plan for launching a mass declaration. The Hadassah Executive Committee had also approved of it, but it had still to come up before the Hadassah National Board.

In the meantime, the staff is preparing radio material, arranging for special meetings, advertisements, etc. and if Hadassah, too, approves of the project, it is hoped to launch the campaign on Balfour Day. That will be possible if the constituent organizations will dedicate a special issue of their publications to the plans for the petition. In ten days material for the campaign will

be ready. The wording of the declaration will be submitted to the next meeting of the Executive Committee.

It was further reported that it was planned to hold a meeting of the local emergency committee chairmen about October 10, in Washington.

POLITICAL REPORT

Dr. Akzin reported that not much progress has been made with regard to obtaining an appointment with the President. Senator Wagner had volunteered to arrange a meeting and to accompany Dr. Silver and Dr. Wise. He tried to get the appointment, but without success. In the last few days, Senator Taft also took an interest in this matter and he conferred with Senator Wagner. Senator Taft called the White House during the last few days, and in one of his conversations he was told that President Truman would prefer not to see any Jewish delegation for the moment, that he was doing everything he could.

Dr. Silver will be in Washington next week, when he will see various people in the Capitol and will urge them to start energetic action on our behalf. An appointment with the Acting Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, has been fixed for September 20.

An interesting development has been that the Inter-Governmental Committee for Refugees, which up to recently has appeared to take little interest in our problem, is now planning energetic action. This is due to two reasons: 1) Lord Winterton, its chairman, who was the dead hand on the committee, has resigned; and 2) Earl Harrison, who replaced Myron Taylor as the American Representative on the Inter-Governmental Committee, has been very active. As a result of Harrison's efforts it has been decided to register all those who do not wish to be repatriated. Instead of the Inter-Governmental Committee deciding who was repatriable and who was not, as had been the case heretofore, a new policy has been adopted. All those who say they do not wish to be returned to their places of origin will be regarded as non-repatriable. Furthermore, the people in the Displaced Persons camps will not be classified only as former Poles, etc., but the Jews and non-Jews will be classified separately.

Dr. Akzin referred to an off the record talk which he had with Mr. Loy Henderson, head of the Near East Division of the State Department.

Cable from Jewish Agency Executive

A cable from the Jewish Agency Executive, dated September 12th, referring to the proposal of the Colonial Office for a grant of 1,500 certificates monthly, was read (attached); also the JTA Jerusalem despatch of September 18th (attached).

The members of the Committee of Eight who were available in New York met on Sunday, following which Dr. Goldmann embodied a statement of his position in a letter which he asked to have read as he was unable to be present at the meeting today. (Letter on file).

A conversation which Dr. Silver had had with Dr. Weizmann on the transatlantic telephone on September 15th was also reported. (On file).

A long discussion followed in which various suggestions were made as to action to be taken in view of the Reuter dispatch and in view of the action proposed by the Agency Executive.

The danger of pressing the demand for 100,000 certificates instead of fighting for the full program was stressed. It was agreed that we cannot have one line here and another in London, and it was therefore moved, and passed that we communicate with the Jewish Agency Executive in London by telephone and indicate to them the danger of placing all the emphasis on the demand for an immediate allocation of certificates to the exclusion of a fundamental solution at this time.

ADVERTISEMENTS

A motion was adopted that we initiate immediately a newspaper campaign, the details to be worked out by a sub-committee to be appointed by the joint chairmen.

Mr. Shapiro pointed out that if we undertake this project, we will have to ask the Funds for an allocation. It will cost \$60,000. to \$70,000.

CABLES TO MR. DALTON AND MR. GREENWOOD

Dr. Wise read two cables which were being sent to Mr. Dalton and Mr. Greenwood under Dr. Silver's and his signatures.

The meeting adjourned at 11:20 P.M.

A. L.



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From JTA Daily News Bulletin
September 19, 1945

JERUSALEM, Sept. 18. (JTA) — Jews here are alarmed by a dispatch from Reuter's received tonight, in which the British news agency, which is close to official circles, states that all major Zionist demands have been rejected in a report submitted to the cabinet by a sub-committee appointed by Prime Minister Attlee to draft the Labor Government's policy with regard to Palestine.

The sub-committee, according to Reuter's, makes the following recommendations:

1. Jewish demands for the abolition of the British White Paper should be rejected. The demands for free immigration under Jewish control, as well as for the establishment of Palestine as a Jewish State are declared to be unacceptable.

2. The future Palestine policy of the British Government should be based on the White Paper, but amended for the time being to permit a maximum of 1,500 Jewish immigrants monthly. Similarly, the restrictions on land acquisition should remain in force and be amended only "by some delimitations of three zones."

3. A Palestine Legislative Council should be established, with limited authority over internal affairs only, while all questions concerning foreign policy, security and defense should continue to be under the control of the British Government.

4. Jews should be compensated for the restricted immigration by offering them representation in the Legislative Council larger than the one-third originally proposed some time ago.

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AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

September 24, 1945

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Monday, September 24, at 3:30 P.M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Pinchas Cruso, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Rabbi I. M. Kowalsky, Louis Lipsky, Emanuel Neumann, Mrs. Tamar Pool, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Louis Segal, David Wertheim, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Rabbi Seymour M. Zambrowsky.

Dr. Nahum Goldmann; Rabbi Philip S. Bernstein, Meyer W. Weisgal.

Dr. I. B. Berkson, Gerold Frank, Arnold K. Isreeli, Arthur Lourie, Harold P. Manson, Harry L. Shapiro, Abe Tuvim.

Joel Gross, Rabbi Irving Miller, Ben Silverman, Rabbi Samuel Wohl.

POLITICAL REPORT

Dr. Goldmann reported that he had had several talks with Mr. Shertok on the trans-Atlantic telephone, and Dr. Silver had also spoken with Dr. Weizmann, from which the following information had been obtained:

The British Cabinet had appointed a sub-committee (the members of which are not known to us) to deal with the Palestine question. The sub-committee had completed its work and made its recommendation (as reported by Reuter September 18). It was reported that they proposed that the White Paper be continued, with 1500 Jewish immigrants permitted to enter Palestine each month, and with some slight modifications with regard to land sales.

The sub-committee's proposal had been discussed by the full Cabinet and on Friday (September 21) the information was that a majority in the Cabinet was inclined to accept it. Mr. Shertok said it was not final, since some of our friends were opposing it.

Mr. Shertok indicated that the main thing to do here is to organize Jewish and non-Jewish public opinion.

Mr. Byrnes, who at first could not see Dr. Weizmann, finally fixed an appointment for Saturday, September 22. (Mr. Bevin is to see Dr. Weizmann later). Byrnes was friendly. He pointed out to Dr. Weizmann that the main responsibility is Great Britain's, that America can only help. Dr. Weizmann said the main thing necessary was for America to indicate a desire to help, e.g. to give economic assistance. It seems that the talk with Byrnes was not conclusive. Ben-Gurion expected shortly to leave for Palestine.

In connection with the press reports indicating that the British had requested the American Government to share responsibility, Dr. Weizmann said he heard nothing to that effect from Mr. Byrnes.

On September 23, the following cable arrived from the Executive in London:

"LEARN RELIABLY PRESIDENTS REQUEST 100,000 CERTIFICATES REJECTED STOP BEEN DECIDED TIME BEING MAINTAIN WHITEPAPER ALLOWING JEWISH IMMIGRATION MONTHLY MAXIMUM 1500 ONLY STOP ANNOUNCEMENT THESE LINES EXPECTABLE SHORTLY STOP DECISION MEANS WHITEPAPER SANCTIONED BY NEW GOVERNMENT DOOMING MASSES JEWS IN INTERNMENT CAMPS AND ELSEWHERE TO DETERIORATION AND DEATH MAINTAINING NUREMBERG LAND LAW IN PALESTINE STOP TAKING GRAVEST VIEW POSITION AND DISASTROUS CONSEQUENCES ANNOUNCEMENT ENFORCEMENT SUCH POLICY STOP PROPER IMMEDIATE REACTION JEWISH GENERAL AMERICAN OPINION MAY PERHAPS STILL AVERT THIS CATASTROPHE STOP CABLE ACTION"

Dr. Silver had informed Dr. Weizmann over the telephone of the action being taken here.

ACTION TAKEN

Madison Square Garden Meeting

Dr. Silver reported on the action taken over the week-end, immediately after learning of the Reuter dispatch.

Dr. Wise and he decided that a great demonstration ought to be arranged in New York. Because of the holiday a meeting of the Executive Committee could not be called to consider this matter, but since the time was so short they decided to book Madison Square Garden for the following Sunday (September 30). A meeting of representatives of the ZOA districts was hurriedly called, and held Sunday, and plans were drawn up for the mass demonstration. Arrangements were made for advertisements to appear in the Yiddish press daily until the meeting, for spot announcements of the meeting on the radio and for radio commentators to include mention of the meeting in their broadcasts. It has not yet been possible to arrange for the meeting to be broadcast; since Sunday is a very busy night on the air it may not be possible to get the time. 250,000 notices of the meeting are being sent out. All the organizations are cooperating; the women's organizations are using telephone squads to contact as many people as possible in connection with the meeting; the youth groups are working; letters are being sent to 700 Rabbis asking them to make an announcement in their synagogues.

Dr. Silver said he envisaged the Madison Square Garden meeting as a great demonstration, with the Garden as the center of the demonstration and tens of thousands of people milling about outside.

Advertisements

In addition to the advertisements which will appear in the press announcing the Madison Square Garden meeting, a number of ads dealing with our case are being prepared which will appear in about 40 newspapers throughout the country. The New York Times will carry the advertisement September 27 or 28.

Other Action

Immediately following the appearance of the Reuter dispatch, a strong statement had been released to the press, in which announcement was also made of the mass meeting to be held at the Garden to give expression to the sense of apprehension

and indignation aroused by the news of the decision reportedly being taken by the British Government to continue the White Paper.

In addition, wires were sent to the local emergency committee chairmen asking them to have as many letters and telegrams as possible sent to the President from their communities.

In the discussion that followed, a number of suggestions were made for additional activities to be undertaken in order to arouse public opinion throughout the country.

The meeting approved the recommendation that the Mayors of the various communities be asked to communicate with the State Department and the President.

Other proposals included the following: arranging a street demonstration, with the shops closing and the labor unions participating; that returned soldiers be asked to take part in a street parade; that prominent individuals, whose names carry weight, be asked to help in this effort, perhaps by writing an open letter to President Truman; that we call together our friends in Congress in Washington within the next few days and discuss the matter with them.

The suggestion that the Trade Union Committee for Palestine be asked to send a cable to Sidney Hillman, now at the World Trades Union Conference in Paris, requesting him to arrange, and participate in a delegation to call on the Foreign Office in London, was approved. The meeting further approved the proposal that the leaders of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations be requested to sign one of the advertisements which is to appear in the English press, which might be entitled "American Labor Speaks to British Labor."

Dr. Silver reported that he was going to Washington that day to see a number of Senators and to seek their cooperation. He also indicated that Dr. Wise and he had been in touch with prominent individuals in Washington, who are deeply concerned, and have undertaken to do what they can to assist us.

TELEGRAM FROM RABBI ZEMACH GREEN

A telegram addressed to Dr. Wise by Rabbi Zemach Green of Washington was read, in which Rabbi Green suggested that the N.Z.O., the American League for a Free Palestine, the Agudas Israel and the American Jewish Committee be invited to join with the Council in the Madison Square Garden demonstration. He further stated that he had discussed the matter with Peter Bergson, who indicated his readiness to cooperate.

After some discussion, in which it was the consensus that only those organizations whose program calls for Palestine as a Jewish State should be invited to the meeting, it was agreed that the N.Z.O. should receive an invitation similar to that issued to all other cooperating organizations.

WASHINGTON CONFERENCE

A suggestion made that about fifty delegates of the American Jewish Conference be invited to the conference of local emergency committee chairmen to be held in Washington, October 4, was approved.

The meeting adjourned at 5:45 P.M.

A. L.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

October 2, 1945

A special meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Tuesday, October 2, at 4:00 P.M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Pinchas Cruse, Mrs. Judith G. Epstein, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Rabbi I. M. Kowalsky, Louis Lipaky, Emanuel Neumann, Judge Morris Rothenberg, David Wertheim, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Rabbi Seymour M. Zambrowsky.

Capt. Abraham Tulin, Meyer W. Weisgal.

Jacob M. Alkew, Arnold K. Isreeli, Arthur Lourie, Harry L. Shapiro, Abe Tuvim; Rabbi Leon I. Feuer, Isaiah L. Kennen.

AMERICAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE OFFICE IN WASHINGTON

It was reported that the A.P.C. had found suitable quarters for their office in Washington, but it will be necessary for them to sign a lease for five years, at an annual rental of \$4,200.

Although the office is ideally located and there should be no difficulty whatever in subletting it at any time, it was pointed out that investigations ought to be made to ensure that O.P.A. regulations, etc. will not prevent the A.P.C. from subletting. With these precautions, it was agreed that the A.P.C. should be authorized to proceed with renting the office.

MADISON SQUARE GARDEN MEETING

Gratification was expressed at the outstanding success of the Madison Square Garden demonstration. According to police estimates, about 45,000 people participated in the meeting outside the Garden, in addition to the 22,000 within. It was encouraging to note the really deep concern which has been indicated in our problem. The reaction of the press, too, has been most gratifying.

Dr. Silver paid tribute to the Council staff, who had built up this tremendous meeting within a week. They not only manifested ability, but also great devotion. Credit is also due to the constituent organizations, he said, who cooperated admirably.

CONFERENCE IN WASHINGTON

It was reported that over 400 delegates would be attending the conference to be held in Washington October 4 of local emergency committee chairmen. Delegates were coming from as far away as the coast.

The program of the conference will be as follows: There will be a meeting of the delegates early in the morning, when they will hear the full story of recent events; they will then go to see their Congressmen, with whom they have already made appointments from their home towns; there will be a further meeting in the afternoon, when the delegates will report on their interviews with their Congressmen and an outline will be given them of action to be taken in their local communities. That evening there will be a mass meeting, to be addressed by national leaders. It is expected that this will be an overflow meeting.

OTHER ACTION TAKEN

In addition, it was reported, the local emergency committee chairmen have been asked to flood Washington, especially the White House, with telegrams. From reports today it appears that the White House has already received some 200,000 such communications.

Word has been received from other parts of the country that great mass meetings have been arranged. Chicago will hold its meeting on October 15 in the Stadium in that city; Baltimore has arranged a demonstration for October 4; large meetings are scheduled in Philadelphia, Detroit, Los Angeles, Hartford, Jersey City etc. To date twelve large mass meetings have been arranged in the neighborhood of New York.

PARTICIPATION OF RABBIS

It was further reported that the Synagogue Council of America has arranged for prayers to be offered throughout the country Thursday evening, October 4. In New York there will be a convocation of Rabbis at the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue. From that meeting will come wires to Washington and London.

ACTIVITIES IN CANADA

Mr. Weisgal reported that the Canadian Zionists have arranged for a large meeting to be held in Toronto, with outstanding non-Jews participating. The Canadian Zionist leaders had asked Mackenzie King, the Premier of Canada, who had left yesterday for England, to intervene with the British Government, and he had written Sir Ellsworth Flavelle, chairman of the Canadian Palestine Committee, that he would do so.

Mr. Coldwell, leader of the C.C.F. party in Canada, sent two very strong cables to Mr. Attlee and the British Labor Party Executive, in which he made the point that it was very distressing to the Socialist movement that the British Labor Party is acting as it is on the Palestine question, and its action is likely to cause difficulty to the Socialist movement all over the world.

Mr. Weisgal indicated that he had asked Mr. Zacks to attend the Washington conference. It was agreed that he should be asked to report there.

CABLE TO MR. ATTLEE FROM LABOR LEADERS

It was reported that Philip Murray, President of the C.I.O., and William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, had both sent strong cables to Mr. Attlee.

ADVERTISEMENTS

The advertisements in the general press are continuing. "An Open Letter to Mr. Attlee" had appeared in several papers, including the "New York Times", and

was appearing that day in the "Sun". Altogether it was scheduled to appear in 39 papers.

SUBVENTION TO CHICAGO

Dr. Silver reported that in connection with the mass meeting which Chicago was arranging, to be held in the Stadium there, Judge Fisher had telephoned urgently requesting a subvention from the Emergency Council to help them cover the large cost involved. In view of the fact that the New York meeting at Madison Square Garden was financed entirely by the Emergency Council, the Chicago ⁸⁸⁸³¹⁸ feel that they should receive at least a subvention for their meeting. They asked for \$10,000, Dr. Silver said, but he would recommend \$5,000.

Although it was realized that it would not be a good thing to start a precedent by subsidizing the Chicago meeting, it was felt that some assistance should be given the Chicago committee in view of the large affair they are undertaking. It was pointed out that since the Council subsidized the New York meeting it would be proper to help one city in the West.

After further discussion a motion was adopted that the Council subsidize the Chicago mass meeting to the extent of \$5,000.

OTHER ACTIVITIES TO BE UNDERTAKEN

There was some discussion on the advisability of arranging for a street demonstration, as proposed at the last meeting.

Mr. Tuvim pointed out that a street demonstration could be arranged in two ways. If it were to comprise only the Zionists of New York, there would probably be a turn-out of sixty to seventy thousand. If, however, the lead is taken by the Labor Unions, the participants would number very much more. The most effective method would of course be the latter, with the shops closing at 3:30 and the parade starting at 4:00.

Mr. Tuvim indicated that he had been endeavoring to contact Mr. David Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, but he has been out of town. If he indicates a readiness to cooperate, a successful street demonstration could be arranged. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union is ready to go ahead. Mr. Tuvim was dubious as to the advisability of proceeding with the larger demonstration if Mr. Dubinsky does not agree to work with us. He pointed out further that the projects on which the Council is now engaged (the Washington Conference and A.C.P.C. Conference in New York, in particular) are taking all the time and energy of the staff. A street demonstration will require a great deal of work which could not be begun until the middle of October without hurting the other activities.

Mr. Segal was strongly in favor of a mass street demonstration, with the participation of all the Labor Unions. He pointed out that it was not necessary to obtain the consent of Mr. Dubinsky; that closing the shops and having the workers take part in the parade could be arranged through the managers of the locals and their business agents.

Mrs. Epstein reported that a suggestion was made to Hadassah that they organize a women's demonstration, the women to march in front of the British Consulate when the debate opens in the House of Commons. The advantage of having it limited to women would be that not more than two to three thousand participants would be required to be effective.

It was suggested that a women's demonstration, which is something unique, should certainly be carried out if practicable.

The point was stressed that in the short period up to the opening of Parliament and Mr. Attlee's statement on Palestine to be announced at that time, which are the crucial days, everything possible must be done to exert the full pressure of American public opinion.

After further discussion, it was agreed to leave it to Hadassah to decide whether a women's demonstration should be held. It was further decided to postpone a decision for a few days on a mass street demonstration.

A suggestion was made, and approved that the Trade Union Committee for Palestine endeavor to have several hundred union locals send cables to the British Labor Party.

The meeting also approved the proposal that collective cables by people whose names are well known be addressed to Mr. Attlee or the British Labor Party and be publicized here. Mr. Xenen undertook to carry out this proposal.

NEW YORK TIMES

It was reported that a reply had been prepared by Rabbi Milton Steinberg to the letter of Prof. Lazaron which appeared in the New York Times on Sunday, September 30, and would be published by the Times on Sunday, October 7.

REPORT ON MEETING WITH PRESIDENT TRUMAN SEPTEMBER 29

Dr. Silver reported that Dr. Wise and he had met with President Truman on Saturday morning, September 29. The invitation was extended to them for Friday morning, but Dr. Wise could not attend on that day and it was therefore arranged for Saturday. It was not deliberate, therefore, that the President received a Zionist delegation at 10:00 o'clock Saturday morning and a delegation of the American Jewish Committee immediately thereafter, at 11:00 o'clock.

The invitation to meet with Mr. Truman came rather unexpectedly, because the impression had been gained that the President did not want to meet with a Zionist delegation until after Secretary Byrnes returned. (Report of interview on file).

In the discussion which followed, it was pointed out that the big issue now is the line being taken by the British newspapers and reported in the press here, that the British would like to do something about Palestine but wish to have the United States share in the responsibility. In one form or another this issue is now arising. We must decide what should be our position vis-a-vis our own government, if the British say they are ready to go ahead but wish to have American backing.

After some discussion, it was agreed that this matter should be given careful consideration at a further meeting.

The meeting adjourned at 6:15 P.M.

A. L.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

October 11, 1945

A special meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Thursday, October 11th, at 2:00 P.M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Stephen S. Wise (presiding), Pinchas Cruso, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Rabbi I. M. Kowalsky, Louis Lipsky, Emanuel Neumann, Louis Segal, Mrs. Zip Szold, David Wertheim, Rabbi Seymour M. Zambrowsky.

Captain Abraham Tulin, Meyer W. Weisgal.

Jacob M. Alkow, Dr. I. B. Berkson, Arnold K. Israeli, Arthur Lourie, Harold P. Manson, Harry L. Shapiro, Abe Tuvim; Elisha Epstein.

AMERICAN CHRISTIAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE MEETING IN NEW YORK

Mr. Tuvim reported on the arrangements for the New York Conference of the A.C.P.C. to be held at the Hotel Commodore, October 14, 15 and 16.

Sermons will be delivered in 54 Churches in the metropolitan area; assemblies will be held at New York University, Hunter and Adelphi Colleges. Sunday night there will be a Christian Youth Conference at Christ Church. On Monday a Luncheon for Ministers is scheduled, which a minimum of 350 will attend; during the afternoon there will be an educators' session, at which 200-250 are expected to be present. The program for Tuesday includes a Luncheon for the press and radio, to which approximately 100 have been invited; and a Dinner, for which 750 acceptances have already been received, and probably several additional hundred will attend.

Mr. Tuvim indicated that after the Conference the acceptances and refusals will have to be studied carefully. Among those who have accepted an invitation to these sessions are important people who had shown no interest heretofore in our cause.

WORLD CHRISTIAN CONFERENCE

Mr. Tuvim reported that he was meeting with some difficulties in the preparations for the World Christian Conference which is scheduled to take place in Washington early in November. The Jewish Agency Executive had undertaken to arrange for delegations from European countries to come to Washington for the Conference. Several cables were sent to London asking what was being done in this connection, but an answer has not been received. To date, Switzerland is the only European country which has responded.

As for the delegation from England, Lorna Wingate was to be one of the delegates and she had been endeavoring to come to this country, but her request for transportation priority has been refused by the British Home Office.

New Zealand, South Africa and Australia will each send one or two people. The Prime Minister of New Zealand has promised air transportation facilities.

There will be delegations from 6 or 9, perhaps 10 South American countries. The various provinces of Canada will send delegations.

Mr. Tuvim raised the question of having funds made available to enable him to proceed with the preparations for the Conference. Although the Jewish Agency Executive had agreed to appropriate a sum of \$30,000 for this purpose, this money has not been made available.

After some discussion a motion was adopted to the effect that the Executive Committee instruct the representatives of the Jewish Agency in this country to request the Keren Hayesod to advance the amount appropriated by the Agency for the World Christian Conference.

ATTENDANCE AT MEETINGS OF CHAIRMAN OF PALESTINE COMMISSION OF AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE

A letter from the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the American Jewish Conference was read, in which it was requested that Rabbi Lockstein, Chairman of the Palestine Commission of the Conference, be invited to meetings of the Executive Committee and plenum of the Council. A motion to this effect was adopted.

DR. ISAIAH BOWMAN

Captain Tulin reported that Mr. William Fondiller had informed him of a long talk he had had with Dr. Isaiah Bowman of Johns Hopkins University. Mr. Fondiller called on him to ask him to address a meeting of the Haifa Technion group, and Dr. Bowman initiated a discussion on Palestine. He said he was an advisor to the State Department on the Palestine question, that he had acted in this capacity since 1919. He expressed great indignation at articles appearing in the New Palestine on the subject and said the statements made in these articles were wrong, inflammatory and were causing a great deal of annoyance to the State Department. Furthermore, he indicated that he had advised President Roosevelt on the Palestine question in 1943, that President Roosevelt told him that he would follow his advice, but afterwards political pressure was brought to bear on him and he issued the statement of October 15, 1944, to Senator Wagner.

One of the questions which Dr. Bowman asked Mr. Fondiller was whether the Zionists had ever made any overtures to the Arabs, and Mr. Fondiller undertook to send him material on this subject.

Captain Tulin further reported that Mr. Fendiller had asked him whether he would be willing to meet with Dr. Bowman. It was suggested that, although Dr. Bowman's anti-Zionist views were well known, it might be useful for Captain Tulin to see him.

POLITICAL REPORT

A report on Dr. Weizmann's conversation with Mr. Bevin was presented. (on file).

Dr. Wise reported that an appointment with Secretary Byrnes had been requested, but no reply had been received as yet.

Reference was made to rumors heard in Washington that the British were raising the question of American military participation, even if only of a token character; and also that the military are considering what this might involve.

In this connection, Mr. Epstein referred to a conversation he had had with a military man who had been stationed in the Middle East up to a short time ago, and who had been very friendly to our cause. His present views on the military needs with regard to Palestine had undergone a considerable change.

A discussion followed on the attitude to be urged upon our Government to a request from the British for American military participation.

It was the consensus of the meeting that the following should be our position vis-a-vis our Government: It is Britain's responsibility to abolish the White Paper. The Near East is one of the British security zones, and they have huge forces there. There is no need for American intervention. Further, we should try to present to our Government the idea of the United States offering economic support, and ask them to be prepared to take moral responsibility by joining with Great Britain in a joint declaration of policy.

BULLETIN

The suggestion was made that in order to be in a position to give information and elucidation on our matter, it would be advisable to issue two or three times a week a printed or mimeographed bulletin, edited by the Staff, which will give the facts, analyze what is happening in Palestine now, etc.

It was the consensus that it was desirable to publish such a Bulletin.

STREET DEMONSTRATION

The question of a street demonstration was again discussed. It was felt that there must be further public action and it was suggested that a mass demonstration be arranged, the slogan to be Solidarity with the Yishuv.

After discussion, a motion was adopted to the effect that the Council should sponsor a demonstration for the masses of Jews of New York to express solidarity with the Yishuv in all its demands; that we make no commitments as to limitations on speeches, slogans, etc.; and that it be left to a committee to organize the demonstration in the hope that the maximum number of Jews will participate. The theme of the demonstration is to be Solidarity with the Yishuv.

It was agreed that it be left to the Staff to set the exact date for the demonstration (to be one day in the week of October 22nd), also that efforts be made to arrange an organized parade in connection with the demonstration.

It was suggested that there be a Christian contingent in the parade.

A further suggestion with regard to additional action to be taken was that 100,000 people visit the British Embassy and deposit cards of protest there.

NATIONAL PETITION

Mr. Shapiro reported that at the Washington Conference, 58 local emergency committee chairmen attended a meeting where the question of the petition was discussed. There were not more than four or five who spoke in favor of a petition. They thought it would be anti-climactic now.

The meeting adjourned at 6:30 P.M.

A. L.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

October 29, 1945

A special meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Monday, October 29th, at 4:00 P.M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, (presiding), Gedaliah Bublick, Pinchas Cruso, Mrs. Judith G. Epstein, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mrs. Samuel Goldstein, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Louis Lipsky, Emanuel Neumann, Mrs. Herman Shulman, David Wertheim, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Rabbi Seymour M. Zambrowsky.

Rabbi Philip S. Bernstein, Dr. Nahum Goldmann, Professor Milton Handler, Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt, Captain Abraham Tulin, Meyer W. Weisgal.

Dr. Benjamin Akzin, Jacob M. Alkow, Dr. I. B. Berkson, Gerold Frank, Arnold K. Isreeli, Arthur Lourie, Harold P. Manson, Harry L. Shapiro.

ACCEPTANCE OF MINUTES

The Minutes of the meetings of the Executive Committee held September 19th, September 24th, October 2nd and October 11th, were approved as circulated.

REPORT

Mr. Shapiro presented a report on action taken since the last meeting of the Council held on October 20, 1945.

1. Ibn Saud - Roosevelt Correspondence: A memorandum was presented to Secretary of State Byrnes on Tuesday, October 23rd, in reply to his press statement of October 19th which accompanied the publication of the exchange of correspondence between the late Mr. Roosevelt and King Ibn Saud. We have received very favorable comment on the presentation which was reprinted in full in the NEW YORK TIMES on October 24th.

2. In the past week our staff members aided in the preparation of radio presentations by friends of our cause - Wendell Phillips speaking against Ahmed Shukeiri over Station WOR on Friday, October 26th; Dr. Carl Voss against Professor Hocking on the Chicago Round Table of the Air on Sunday, October 28th.

3. The open air demonstration at Madison Square Park which took place on Wednesday, October 24th, was a tremendous success. The estimated attendance was over 250,000, based on figures supplied to Mr. Lipsky - chairman of the meeting - by the Police Department (the press reported attendance of 150,000).

4. Preparations are afoot for the International Christian Conference for Palestine, to take place in Washington, Thursday and Friday, November 1st and 2nd which, although sponsored by the Jewish Agency because of its international nature, is being handled by our staff. Representatives from 25 nations are expected to

attend and a fine program has been formulated. The conference, if successful, should have far-reaching effects.

5. Concentrated activity continues throughout the country, Los Angeles planning a large outdoor demonstration on its City Hall steps on November 1st. In general, there are heartening reports as a result of our attempts to give expression throughout the country to the Zionist standpoint.

Dr. Silver expressed his deep appreciation for the fine work which the staff has done in connection with all the functions thus far.

LETTER TO THE FUNDS

Mr. Shapiro reported that although the fiscal year of the AZEC had expired more than a month ago, no budget for the ensuing year had been prepared because of lack of time. He had, on the authorization of Dr. Wise and Dr. Silver, written to Judge Rothenberg, chairman of the Jewish National Fund, and to Judge Rosenblatt, chairman of the Keren Hayesod, asking them for an advance of \$50,000.00 from each fund.

CONFIRMATION OF APPOINTMENTS

Dr. Aksin: With regard to the question of permanent status for Dr. Aksin, it was the recommendation of the meeting that Dr. Aksin's status as director of the Washington office of the AZEC be formally confirmed.

Mr. Ben-Horin: It was decided to postpone action on the status of Mr. Ben-Horin until the next regular meeting of the Executive Committee.

AMERICAN LEAGUE FOR A FREE PALESTINE - GUY M. GILLETTE

Dr. Silver reported the announcement in the NEW YORK TIMES of October 25th of the statements made by former Senator Guy M. Gillette at a press conference during which, among other things, he stated (a) that an "unofficial delegation" including at least three members of Congress will go to London soon to discuss with the heads of the British Government plans for opening the doors of Palestine to further Jewish immigration and the founding in Palestine of an "independent democratic State"; (b) the difference between the aims of the American League for a Free Palestine and the Zionist Organization was that while the Zionists wanted Palestine to be an independent Jewish State, his organization wanted it to be an independent democratic State in which there would be no racial or religious discrimination and in which the majority would rule.

Dr. Silver stated that we must take some definitive action to cause the discontinuance of the propaganda issued from the American League for a Free Palestine which is so harmful to our cause - be it in the form of a telegram or a press release.

In an ensuing discussion on Mrs. Halprin's suggestion that we seek an interview with Mr. Gillette in order to discuss the situation with him, Dr. Silver described his experience during his recent visit to Washington, when he tried to contact Mr. Gillette on Rabbi Zernach Green's urgent request that he meet with the former Senator. Although an appointment had been definitely scheduled, the meeting did not materialize presumably because of a last-minute call from Mr. Gillette indicating that he was unexpectedly preoccupied. From a subsequent call from Mr. Bergson, it seemed obvious that the latter had injected himself into the situation again, thus preventing the consummation of a talk with Mr. Gillette.

Mr. Lourie reported on his exchange of correspondence with Mr. Gillette based on the press report of a few weeks ago. Up to the present there has been no further definite word as to a date for the suggested meeting between them.

Judge Levinthal related his experience based on his contact with Senator Myers and Joseph Sharfman, two of the members of the proposed mission to London. Senator Myers had informed him that Mr. Gillette is a sincere friend of our cause and Mr. Sharfman, who conveyed his feeling that the mission would not materialize, had written to Mr. Gillette requesting an interview for Judge Levinthal. No objection was voiced on the matter of Judge Levinthal's meeting with Mr. Gillette.

Dr. Wise expressed his feeling that Mr. Gillette is completely "Bergsonized," that he voted against our resolution as a Senator, and that he is not as naive as appears on the surface.

Dr. Silver then proceeded to read two drafts of a proposed wire to Mr. Gillette and asked for suggestions or corrections.

It was the consensus of opinion that a wire be sent to Mr. Gillette, based on the second draft read. (Letter sent to Mr. Gillette under date October 30th, and press release dated October 31st, attached.)

TELEGRAM TO PRESIDENT TRUMAN

Dr. Silver stated that reports had appeared in the general press to the effect that a joint commission is to be established under an Anglo-American agreement on Palestine which will investigate the position of Jews in Europe as well as the situation in Palestine. Present plans, the report said, call for the commission to determine the number of displaced stateless or refugee Jews in Europe who wish to settle in Palestine. Political aspects will also come under the commission's scrutiny. The commission is to look into the possibilities of Jewish immigration into Palestine, the question of how many Jews could remain in the European countries where they are now living, the extent to which other countries could absorb Jewish immigrants, the position regarding previous promises made to both Jews and Arabs and the means by which the United Nations Organization could help solve the problem.

Dr. Silver further reported that the Committee of Eight had met the morning (October 29th) and had discussed at length the implications of the establishment of such joint commission. It was the consensus of that meeting that a telegram be sent to President Truman and Secretary of State Byrnes.

Two drafts of a proposed wire had been prepared and the chairman submitted them to the meeting for consideration, point by point.

During the discussion which followed, the point was made that it would be a breach of protocol to issue a statement to the press simultaneously with the dispatch of the wire to the President.

Following discussion, it was decided to send a wire to President Truman, with a copy to Secretary of State Byrnes, incorporating the material brought up in the discussion and, in addition, to issue to the press a statement on the same subject, but differently worded. (Wire to President Truman, attached).

It was suggested that copy of the telegram to President Truman be mailed to Dr. Weizmann and the London office so that London may be apprised of the action taken by us here.

A further suggestion was made that our friends in Washington be apprised of the contents of the wire to the President.

RESOLUTION IN CONGRESS

Dr. Silver recalled the action taken at the meeting of the Council on October 20, 1945, favoring the introduction of a joint resolution, on condition that our friends in Washington deemed the time propitious. Final approval was to depend on the Committee of Eight. The matter had, however, been taken entirely out of our hands by Senator Wagner following conversations he had had with the President and Mr. Byrnes. With the best intentions he and Senator Taft introduced the resolution in the Senate on Friday, October 26th. The resolution is a modification of the one introduced last year. Senators Taft and Wagner showed the resolution to both President Truman and Secretary Byrnes who informed them that they have no objection to its introduction.

After he read the resolutions, Dr. Silver reported that every attempt would be made to improve the wording of the Resolution, if and where possible.

A discussion ensued on suggested changes in the wording.

Dr. Silver stated further that the Committee of Eight had agreed that an effort be made to sound out Senator Connally who could give us confirmation as to the official attitude on the resolution. Senators Wagner and Taft would be asked to speak with him.

It was moved and carried that the officers of the American Zionist Emergency Council be authorized now, following the report of the Committee of Eight, to proceed in the matter of securing passage of the Resolution which was presented on Friday, October 26th, by Senators Taft and Wagner.

The meeting adjourned at 6:00 P.M.

A. L.

C
O
P
Y

October 30, 1945

The Hon. Guy M. Gillette
2737 Devonshire Place, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Gillette:

I am directed to address to you the following communication on behalf of the American Zionist Emergency Council which represents the organized Zionist movement in this country.

On two occasions, recently, the press reports you as declaring - directly or by implication - that the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine in accordance with Zionist aims would involve racial or religious discrimination, and that the Arabs would be excluded from citizenship in such a State. These statements are untrue and constitute a libel on the Zionist cause and the Zionist ideal.

The Zionist movement here and abroad has made it abundantly clear that its objective is the establishment of Palestine as a democratic Jewish Commonwealth, whose Arab inhabitants shall be entitled, not only to full rights of citizenship and to complete equality in every other respect with their Jewish fellow citizens, but, in addition, to group rights in respect of their own language, religion and culture. To this Zionism stands publicly and unequivocally committed, and all its literature, all its political statements and the resolutions of its governing bodies, dealing with the problem of Arab-Jewish relations, refute your suggestion. In alleging otherwise, you are being misled by a handful of self-appointed Jewish spokesmen whose pretensions to speak for the Jews of Palestine have been unanimously rejected by the authorized representatives of Palestine Jewry and by the entire Jewish press in Palestine, and who represent neither the Jews of this country nor of any other.

We have no reason to doubt that you are genuinely anxious to help suffering Jewry to find a haven in Palestine and to recreate their National Homeland. It is in that belief that we call upon you to correct the damaging statements above referred to.

Yours sincerely,

Arthur Lourie
Political Secretary

AL:NF

PRESS RELEASE from

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

Associated Organizations:

Zionist Organization of America • Hadassah • Mizrahi • Poale-Zion

342 Madison Avenue • New York 17, N. Y. • MU 2-1160

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ZIONISTS ATTACK ALLEGATION THAT ESTABLISHMENT OF JEWISH STATE
INVOLVES RACIAL OR RELIGIOUS DISCRIMINATION: POINT OUT THAT
ARABS WILL BE ENTITLED TO EQUAL RIGHTS OF CITIZENSHIP WITH
JEWS AND ALL OTHER INHABITANTS OF PALESTINE

DISCLOSE TEXT OF LETTER TO EX-SENATOR GILLETTE CALLING UPON HIM
TO CORRECT "DAMAGING STATEMENTS" REGARDING ZIONIST AIMS

New York -- A Jewish State in Palestine will mean free and democratic rights for all citizens, Arabs and Jews alike, the American Zionist Emergency Council, spokesman for the organized Zionist movement in this country, pointed out today.

In a letter addressed to former Senator Guy M. Gillette, the Council declared that Mr. Gillette was "misled" when he repeatedly asserted, either directly or by implication, that if a Jewish State were to be established in Palestine, Arabs would be excluded from citizenship or otherwise suffer loss of civil, religious or group rights.

Text of the letter, signed by Arthur Lourie, Political Secretary of the Council, reads:

"Dear Mr. Gillette:

"I am directed to address to you the following communication on behalf of the American Zionist Emergency Council which represents the organized Zionist movement in this country.

"On two occasions, recently, the press reports you as declaring -- directly or by implication -- that the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine in

(more)

accordance with Zionist aims would involve racial or religious discrimination, and that the Arabs would be excluded from citizenship in such a State. These statements are untrue and constitute a libel on the Zionist cause and the Zionist ideal.

"The Zionist movement here and abroad has made it abundantly clear that its objective is the establishment of Palestine as a democratic Jewish Commonwealth, whose Arab inhabitants shall be entitled, not only to full rights of citizenship and to complete equality in every other respect with their Jewish fellow citizens, but, in addition, to group rights in respect of their own language, religion and culture. To this Zionism stands publicly and unequivocally committed, and all its literature, all its political statements and the resolutions of its governing bodies, dealing with the problem of Arab-Jewish relations, refute your suggestion. In alleging otherwise, you are being misled by a handful of self-appointed Jewish spokesmen whose pretensions to speak for the Jews of Palestine have been unanimously rejected by the authorized representatives of Palestine Jewry and by the entire Jewish press in Palestine, and who represent neither the Jews of this country nor of any other.

"We have no reason to doubt that you are genuinely anxious to help suffering Jewry to find a haven in Palestine and to recreate their National Homeland. It is in that belief that we call upon you to correct the damaging statements above referred to.

"Yours sincerely,

Arthur Lourie
Political Secretary"

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

November 5, 1945

A special meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Monday, November 5th, at 4:00 P.M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Gedaliah Bublick, Mrs. Chava Cohen, Pinchas Cruso, Mrs. Judith G. Epstein, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mrs. Samuel Goldstein, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Benjamin Itzkowitz, Louis Lipsky, Emanuel Neumann, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Mrs. Herman Shulman, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Rabbi Semour M. Zambrowsky.

Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt, Captain Abraham Tulin, Meyer W. Weisgal.

Dr. Benjamin Aksin, Jacob M. Alkow, Dr. I. B. Berkson, Gerold Frank, Arnold K. Israeli, Arthur Lourie, Harold P. Manson, Harry L. Shapiro.

REPORT

Mr. Shapiro reported that the request in our letters to the Jewish National Fund and the Keren Hayesod for an advance of \$50,000 each had already been complied with by the Jewish National Fund and that the Keren Hayesod was expecting to take action on this at its next meeting.

INTERNATIONAL CHRISTIAN CONFERENCE FOR PALESTINE

Mr. Shapiro stated that the conference which took place in Washington on November 1st and 2nd under the sponsorship of the Jewish Agency was very successful. The details of preparation and execution were handled by the staff of the American Zionist Emergency Council. The account in the NEW YORK TIMES of November 3rd, which set forth the resolutions adopted, served to indicate the fine effect of the conference at this time. He then asked Mr. Tuvim, who was in charge of arrangements, to present a more detailed report.

Mr. Tuvim stated that thirty nations were represented by men and women of high calibre, outstanding in their respective communities and professions, who can be of invaluable assistance to us in our future work. The conference consisted of a number of sessions, most of them of a business character, a Ministers' luncheon, and a dinner. The Tea on October 31st, with Mrs. Taft presiding, was well attended and effective. There was good attendance also at the Panels. The closing event, the Balfour Day Dinner, on Friday, marked the high spot of the conference and was run on a very high plane.

A new name was adopted by the Conference, "World Committee for Palestine," and Sir Ellswood Flavelle, of Canada, was elected Chairman.

An interesting point, Mr. Tuvim felt, was the presentation by the Latin American group of a resolution which it insisted upon putting through, to the effect that since Great Britain had failed in its exercise of the Mandate, it

should be taken away from her and given to a trusteeship group to be set up under the United Nations Organization. The British, Australian and Canadian delegates, out of loyalty to their Empire, fought this. At the three luncheons arranged for the Latin-American, British and American groups respectively, the matter was re-discussed thoroughly and the Latin-American group yielded. They withdrew the resolution only after their spokesman indicated for the record that his group was doing this for the sake of amity in an international group working for Palestine and that the rescinded resolution remains the expression of their views.

While the general picture of accomplishment was gratifying, Mr. Tuvim felt that many deficiencies had been revealed which should be remedied in future planning. For instance, there was: (1) inadequate staff to handle sundry and specialized functions; (2) lack of educational work - no panels for discussion groups where speakers could impart the necessary, desired information.

Mr. Tuvim was of the opinion that in order to insure the success of this significant undertaking, the Jewish Agency should set up a special department under the proper direction and with adequate funds. The possibilities are great for it should be borne in mind, he pointed out, that even with the inadequate facilities we had we were able to secure representation from 12 additional nations where we had no functioning American Christian Palestine Committee.

Mr. Tuvim took occasion to express his appreciation to the members of the staff who helped make the conference the success it was.

Dr. Silver explained that the functions of the World Committee for Palestine definitely falls within the realm of the Jewish Agency. The new organization will be an autonomous body which will work in close cooperation with the American Christian Palestine Committee under the guidance of the Jewish Agency since it is an international group. He pointed out this work will require a competent staff to carry it through successfully and it is important, too, that we have someone who knows Latin America well since the growing interest and activity there may prove of immeasurable value to us in our work.

In general, Dr. Silver felt that our propaganda should now be directed to the non-Jewish public which hitherto has not been reached to the maximum degree. He emphasized how important it was for the heads of the Council's constituent organizations to convey to their respective lecture bureaus the message that whenever a speaker is sent to one of their groups in any part of the country, arrangements should be made to have the speaker address a Christian group in that city on the same day. It is far more important, he felt, to reach the non-Jewish groups these days, especially in view of the systematic approach which the Arab representatives in this country are making to the Christian world. It is urgent that we now direct our efforts toward reaching non-Jewish bodies.

Mrs. Halprin questioned the soundness of the request to have as few Jewish people as possible be present at the conference. In her opinion the stimulation gained from such a meeting would redound to the benefit of the cause and she felt, therefore, that national Hadassah, for example, should have been asked to send representatives as should have the other constituent organizations.

DEMONSTRATION IN LOS ANGELES

Dr. Silver announced that Los Angeles had a most successful open air demonstration on the steps of the City Hall, at which there was an estimated attendance of from 10,000 to 15,000. This gathering, addressed in the main by non-Jews, received fine press comments.

RESOLUTIONS

Dr. Silver reported that the Resolutions are now in the hands of the Foreign Relations Committee. We are in the process of sounding out the members of this Committee and in a few days we should be able to make a report.

PLAN OF ACTION IN CONNECTION WITH PRIME MINISTER ATTLEE'S VISIT TO AMERICA

The chairman threw the meeting open to a discussion of ways and means for utilizing to the greatest degree possible the visit of Prime Minister Attlee in America.

Following discussion, it was decided to try to arrange:

1. A visit to the Prime Minister by a committee of friendly Senators and Congressmen.
2. A visit, also, by a committee composed of labor leaders and Christian leaders of the World Committee for Palestine.
3. The American Zionist Emergency Council, through the proper channels should ask for a formal talk with the Prime Minister.
4. The Prime Minister should be flooded with letters from all parts of the country. People throughout the United States -- non-Jews as well as Jews -- should be asked to write to him while he is in this country.
5. A dignified "ad" in the form of a Second Open Letter to Prime Minister Attlee, should be placed in the newspapers -- especially in Washington -- over the signature of our non-Jewish friends.

Regarding the announcement of the Revisionist-sponsored demonstration planned in Washington during Mr. Attlee's visit, it was the sense of the meeting that we should do nothing to interfere with these plans.

STATEMENT ON RIOTS IN EGYPT

Two drafts of a statement to be released to the press on the subject of the riots in Egypt were presented to the meeting for consideration.

Following discussion, it was decided to formulate a statement based on draft #1, incorporating in it also some of the points presented in the second draft. (See press release of November 6th, attached).

POLL ON ZIONISM

The Committee was informed that on the initiative of two private individuals, the Elms Roper organization had conducted a poll on Jewish opinion in regard to the establishment of Palestine as a Jewish State. The results indicated that 60% of those approached approved the Zionist position, 10% were opposed, and 10% were unfamiliar or uninformed. A meeting was to take place on Wednesday for the purpose of presenting the findings formally to the Committee for Unity and it was agreed that representatives of the Council should attend this meeting.

CONGRESSMAN SOMERS

Mr. Alkow reported that he had had a lengthy discussion with Congressman Somers who had indicated his willingness to work with us, and that a further

meeting with him was being arranged. Mr. Ben Horin was also present at this meeting and supplied the necessary factual material.

DR. WEIZMANN

In connection with Dr. Weizmann's impending arrival (Dr. Weizmann had left the previous day on the Queen Mary), it was felt that in view of the rapidly changing political scene it might be advisable for Dr. Weizmann to postpone any press interviews until after he had met with his colleagues here and that efforts should be made to communicate with him accordingly.

STATUS OF MR. BEN HORIN

It was decided to postpone action on the permanent status of Mr. Ben Horin until the next regular meeting of the Executive Committee.

The meeting adjourned at 6:20 P.M.

A. L.



PRESS RELEASE from

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

Associated Organizations:

Zionist Organization of America • Hadassah • Mizrahi • Poale-Zion

342 Madison Avenue • New York 17, N. Y. • MU 2-1160

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

RIOTS IN EGYPT ENGINEERED BY ARAB LEAGUE, AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL CHARGES

- - - -

"BRITAIN'S IMPERIAL POLICY CANNOT ESCAPE ITS SHARE OF BLAME,"

SAYS OFFICIAL STATEMENT

- - - -

New York -- The Arab League was held directly responsible for the rioting which occurred in Cairo, Alexandria and other cities of Egypt in a statement issued today by the American Zionist Emergency Council, which speaks for the entire Zionist movement in the United States.

"It is now abundantly clear that the outbreaks were not a spontaneous rising of the masses, but a deliberate program engineered, in the words of the Prime Minister of Egypt, Nokrashy Pasha, by 'evil hands'. . . The 'evil hands' which unleashed this disgraceful outbreak were those of the Arab League, which has been threatening and inviting just such violence for some time now. But the ultimate responsibility goes further. The Arab League itself has come into being with the blessing and support of Britain's Colonial officials in the Middle East. Without that support, not only the League, but even the individual Arab states in that area could not hope to survive. Britain's imperial policy in the Middle East cannot escape its share of blame for what has occurred and for what will continue to occur if it pursues its present line," the statement said.

The full text of the statement follows:

"The rioting which occurred in Cairo, in Alexandria and in other cities of Egypt toward the close of last week was the natural and inevitable consequence

(more)

of the inflammatory campaign conducted against the Jewish National Home by the Arab League in the few months of the League's existence. It is now abundantly clear that the outbreaks were not a spontaneous rising of the masses but a deliberate pogrom engineered, in the words of the Prime Minister of Egypt, Nokrashy Pasha, by 'evil hands.' To stir the urban masses to lawless action was not difficult. Hungry, discontented and illiterate, the latter were readily inflamed; but as the results show, they were motivated more by the desire for loot than by any real hostility to Zionism, and eventually they attacked indiscriminately the property of Jews and non-Jews alike, including churches.

"The 'evil hands' which unleashed this disgraceful outbreak were those of the Arab League, which has been threatening and inviting just such violence for some time now. But the ultimate responsibility goes further. The Arab League itself has come into being with the blessing and support of Britain's Colonial officials in the Middle East. Without that support not only the League but even the individual Arab states in that area could not hope to survive. Britain's Imperial policy in the Middle East cannot escape its share of blame for what has occurred and for what will continue to occur if it pursues its present line. That policy seeks on the one hand for its own purposes to establish and maintain the hollow facade of a grandiose confederation of the reactionary regimes in the Middle East. On the other hand, Britain shows itself ready, as a sop to the delusions of grandeur thus aroused, to betray its pledged word to the Jewish people in regard to Palestine.

"There is an inescapable parallel between the appeasement of Munich in 1939 and the new appeasement to which in recent weeks the British Labor Government has committed itself by continuing the iniquitous policy of the Palestine White Paper. The former was followed two months later by the burning of the synagogues in Germany. The latter has already brought in its train the destruction of synagogues in Cairo, the burning of Jewish books and murderous attacks on peaceful citizens.

(more)

The British Government has given the Arabs an example in lawlessness; it has repudiated its oft-repeated pledge to honor the Balfour Declaration, violated with impunity obligations undertaken under the Mandate, and closed the doors of Palestine in the face of the desperate victims of the Nazis.

"The England responsible for this policy is not the England which is worthy of her own best traditions. We choose to believe that that nobler England will yet reassert itself. But for the Jewish people there is no other way than to go forward. If proof were needed that acceptance by the Jews of Palestine of the permanent minority status contemplated by the White Paper would be intolerable and impossible, that proof has now been given.

"Nor will the Jewish people be terrorized by the unwarranted intrusion of Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, or any of the other Arab states into an issue which was settled by the unanimous action of the nations of the world a quarter of a century ago. The Arab states are in this matter without legal standing of any kind and their attitude in recent years is certainly far from giving them a moral voice in this issue. Palestine was recognized twenty-eight years ago and remains today the one answer to the problem of Jewish national homelessness. Confident that the cause of justice and international good faith, upon which the security of all nations is founded, must in the end prevail, the Jewish people, supported by men and women of good will everywhere, stands steadfast and will not falter in the days ahead."

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

November 26, 1945

Mr. Manson

A special meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Monday, November 26th, at 9:15 P.M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Stephen S. Wise (presiding), Pinchas Cruso, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mrs. Rose W. Halprin, Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Dr. Emanuel Neumann, Louis Segal, David Wertheim, Rabbi Seymour M. Zambrowsky.

Mrs. David de Sola Pool, Captain Abraham Tulin, Reuven Zaslani.

Dr. I. B. Berkson, Arnold K. Israeli, Arthur Lourie, Harold P. Manson, Harry L. Shapiro, Abraham Tuvim.

CONGRESSIONAL RESOLUTION

Dr. Neumann reported on the status of the resolution now before the Foreign Relations Committee. Our committee - consisting of Mr. Gellman, Mrs. Halprin, Mr. Wertheim and himself - had been in Washington that day (November 26th) in order to be on hand in the event that any question might arise at the scheduled meeting of the Foreign Relations sub-committee on the wording of an alternative phrasing of the Resolution, and especially if it became necessary to indicate where to draw the line at which we would prefer that no resolution be adopted. The sub-committee had met briefly on November 24th and had decided to take no action until Monday (November 26th). Today the sub-committee again failed to report. Senator Guffey, whom our committee later saw, stated that he had moved to report out of Committee the resolution as submitted in the Wagner-Taft phrasing, whereupon Senator Connally said his motion was out of order on the ground that there was a sub-committee which had first to report and was not yet through. A discussion then ensued in Committee, during which it appeared, as our representatives learned from another source, that the sub-committee members claimed to have spoken with President Truman that same morning and that he had conveyed to them his feeling that since negotiations were still in process with the British Government on certain phases of the Joint Committee of Inquiry now being constituted, including the matter of a time limit, no action on the resolution should be taken at the moment.

After Senator Connally had insisted that the sub-committee be given a few more days in which to bring in their report, it was decided to postpone action until Monday, December 3rd, at which time the sub-committee is to report on what action is to be taken.

Our committee learned, too, that Secretary Byrnes had offered substantially the same opinion as President Truman when he appeared before the sub-committee.

When our representatives spoke subsequently with Senator Taft, he agreed that this postponement and the reason advanced therefor was simply a matter of stalling.

He could not understand what the matter of a time limit (a suggestion of 120 days by the American Government) had to do with the phrasing of the Resolution.

Dr. Neumann stated that our representatives felt that nothing is likely to happen next Monday, either. While it is now urged that the resolution be postponed until after the Anglo-American Committee has actually been appointed, once such committee has been constituted, the President and Secretary of State will undoubtedly advance the further argument that the Congressional Resolution should first await the results of the Committee of Inquiry.

The Administration's tactics were clear. Having accepted this Joint Committee of Inquiry, which is in itself a stalling device, the Administration, especially at the instigation of Britain, would not want Congress to adopt any resolution at all.

The situation with which our representatives had had to deal in Washington revolved about the amended draft, now before the sub-committee, which Senators Taft and Wagner had accepted. The sub-committee has been considering various amendments to water down and weaken that draft. As far as we are concerned, one or two of these amendments may be acceptable to us provided the essential point of the resolution is kept. To consider the revisions in detail:

1. Commendation of President for his action in requesting 100,000 certificates and his cooperation in the establishment of the Joint Committee of Inquiry. This was originally included in the WHEREAS clause but is now to be inserted in the RESOLVED clause.

In view of the fact that there is insistence on the inclusion of a commendation of the President's action (which, according to Senator Connally constitutes a test of confidence in President Truman) our representatives felt that it would be very difficult to omit reference to the Joint Committee. However, if the Resolution will go on to include the other points we want, the Resolution might still be acceptable as constituting the basic policy upon which the American members of the Committee must operate and as being in the nature of a political and moral directive.

2. "Peaceful offices" was substituted for the original "good offices." Dr. Neumann had suggested to Senator Taft as a substitute "that the United States shall use its good offices with the Mandatory Power." This change clearly indicates that what is meant is diplomatic pressure only.

3. "Absorptive capacity" -- "to the end that the doors of Palestine shall be opened for free entry of Jews into that country to the fullest extent of its absorptive capacity." The term "absorptive capacity" would make the amendment unacceptable.

Senators Taft and Wagner agreed that the phrase "absorptive capacity" is unacceptable.

4. ".....so that Palestine may be reconstituted..." to replace the original "and there shall be full opportunity for colonization so that they may reconstitute Palestine....."

With regard to point (1), Mrs. Halprin stated that it would be difficult to attack this point as it was hardly possible that the Senate Committee would leave out all reference to the Committee of Inquiry. What we might do, however, is to seek to change the phraseology. The commendation might be of President Truman's interest in general terms.

Dr. Wise felt that inclusion of commendation of President Truman's action with regard to the Committee of Inquiry was very harmful. Dr. Neumann shared this opinion but pointed out that it would be difficult to get such of the Democratic senators who are our friends to omit reference to the President's action.

There was discussion also of the inclusion of the reference to "absorptive capacity." The omission of the word "they" (the Jews) in connection with the establishment of the independent state was held vital.

The general question was then posed whether, assuming that the policy of the Administration is to postpone the whole issue, we should decide at this point to write off the Resolution; otherwise we must at once bring as much pressure to bear as we can to put it through. It was agreed that we must follow the latter policy and a discussion ensued on the form our action should take.

Among various proposals advanced were: (1) That communities throughout the country approach their senators directly and by telephone and telegram. (2) That we initiate a straw vote among the Republican senators who should be asked to indicate their approval of a Resolution, thereby making clear responsibility for its failure, should it finally fail. (3) We should contact the new National Commander of the Jewish War Veterans with a view to a march of veterans on Washington.

The discussion was summarized as follows:

1. It is clear that the Administration is stalling because it does not favor passage of the Resolution.
2. There is slight chance for its success in view of the opposition of the Administration and the obstructionist tactics being employed.
3. It is nevertheless essential to wage the strongest fight possible.
4. Apart from all the methods suggested for a vigorous campaign in relation to senators and political leaders, the press must be utilized widely in this campaign. Our only hope of budging the Administration is by making them realize that the "worm will turn" at some point. They must be made to realize the resentment of the Jewish masses and the facts must be revealed to our people through the press. The full story must be given -- that the Resolution was re-introduced with the approval of the President and the Secretary; that they had reversed themselves; that its stoppage marks the first fruit of the Joint Anglo-American Committee, etc. This can be done skilfully through friendly correspondents in Washington.

CURRENT SITUATION IN PALESTINE

Mr. Zaslani pointed out that we must get accustomed to the idea that in Palestine a physical fight has begun over two main issues: (1) Immigration; (2) Jewish right to self-defense. In view of this, the morale of the Yishub requires the solidarity of the Jews in America. It is essential for us to let the Jews in Palestine know that we in America meant what we said in the mass demonstrations which we staged.

He enumerated the following concrete ways whereby we could convey to the Yishub the knowledge that we stand behind them in this struggle:

1. The post offices in Palestine should be flooded with cables from

America -- cables addressed to Shefayim, Givat Chayim, Rishpon, Hogla and to the Vaad Leumi -- expressing our solidarity with the Yishub. These cables should come from the heads of the organizations here as well as from their constituencies.

2. Statements should be released to the press reporting that these cables have been sent. In this connection he suggested that the Yiddish press could be more effective than the English papers.

3. If possible, we should have war veterans, who have been eye witnesses to the incidents in Europe, send letters to the proper sources in Washington making inquiry as to what procedure they must follow in order to enlist and go to Palestine.

4. Other bodies would no doubt consider plans for picketing the British Consuls and Embassies.

BERGEN-BELSEN INCIDENT

Mr. Zaslani explained that the story on the action taken by the British military authorities at Bergen-Belsen which came out today, ten days after the incident occurred, is very serious. It represents a warning to the Jews in European camps to be careful of what they say with regard to the Palestine question. This shameful occurrence, he felt, should be explained and tied up with what the Jews are fighting for.

DR. WEIZMANN IN WASHINGTON

Dr. Wise reported that Dr. Weizmann was contemplating a week's visit in Washington, but had not yet made definite commitments as to whom he was going to see there. Following discussion, Dr. Wise suggested that a committee of the Council confer with Dr. Weizmann and convey to him our point of view as to whom it would be most advisable to see in the light of present developments.

It was the sense of the meeting that this recommendation be accepted and that such a committee be appointed. Dr. Wise appointed Mrs. Halprin, Dr. Neumann, Mr. Wertheim and Rabbi Zambrowsky to constitute a committee which is to meet with Dr. Weizmann at his convenience and present to him for consideration our views as to which contacts in Washington would best serve our cause in the present situation. Many suggestions were made during the discussion which ensued bearing on this and related matters. Some felt that Dr. Weizmann should see President Truman and that Dr. Wise should speak with Secretary Byrnes. Others, on the other hand, felt that Dr. Wise, accompanied by one or two members of the Council, should see Mr. Truman.

Rabbi Zambrowsky reported that in a conversation with Mr. Rosenheim, of Agudas Israel, Secretary Byrnes had told him, in confidence, that he had pity for those who build up illusions about the possibility of a Jewish State.

He advanced for consideration the thought that it might be advisable to invite Chief Rabbi Herzog, who is now on his way to Europe from Palestine, to come to America for political purposes.

Mr. Segal reported that at a meeting of the Poale Zion the following proposals were recommended, in addition to those discussed by us. (1) Ask the CIO and AFL leaders to arrange a ten-minute stoppage of work as an expression of the solidarity of American labor with the Jewish people and the Yishub; (2) Call upon the Jews in America to apply for visas to Palestine so that the State Department may know that there are thousands of people in America who are willing to go to Palestine, to live or be killed there.

Following a reference to, and brief discussion of, the possible membership of the Joint Committee of Inquiry, the meeting adjourned at midnight.

A.L.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

November 30, 1945

A special meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Friday, November 30, at 12:30 P. M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Stephen S. Wise (presiding), Gedaliah Bublick, Pinchas Cruso, Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, Leon Gellman, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mrs. Samuel Halprin, Dr. Emanuel Neumann, Louis Segal, Mrs. Herman Shulman, David Wertheim.

Rabbi Philip S. Bernstein, Joseph Linton, Mrs. David de Sola Pool, Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt, Captain Abraham Tulin, Meyer Weisgal.

Jacob M. Alkow, Dr. I. B. Berkson, Gerold Frank, Arthur Lourie, Harold P. Manson, Harry L. Shapiro, Abraham Tuvim.

INTERVIEW WITH MR. ICKES

Dr. Goldstein reported on an interview which Dr. Akzin and he had had with Mr. Ickes on Thursday, November 29th. (See file for full report).

As a result of this interview, Dr. Goldstein submitted the following recommendations for consideration:

1. That we launch a publicity campaign in order to make clear to the American public that American oil interests in the Middle East will not be jeopardized by American support of a pro-Palestine program.
2. That we communicate with those individuals in Washington who were suggested by Mr. Ickes in the course of his conversation.

It was suggested that this be referred to a committee consisting of Dr. Wise, Mr. Szold and Captain Tulin.

CONGRESSIONAL RESOLUTION

President Truman's Statement to the Press: The chairman referred to the statement of the President at his press conference, as reported in the papers that morning, wherein he said that he no longer favored a Senate resolution providing for the establishment of a Palestine Jewish Commonwealth and gave as the reason for withdrawing the support he had offered as Vice-President a change in conditions since the time of its introduction. He said further that if such a resolution were adopted now, there would be no need for the appointment of a fact-finding body on the Palestine question.

Dr. Wise presented for consideration the draft of a letter he had drawn up addressed to the President which, if satisfactory, could be sent over the signatures of the heads of the four constituent organizations of the Council.

In the ensuing detailed discussion various comments and revisions were noted for incorporation, the general feeling being that this should be as forceful an expression of our reaction as possible.

It was the sense of the meeting that a statement to the press be issued immediately, based on Dr. Wise's draft. (See statement to the press issued on the same day.)

During this discussion it was also suggested that we address a memorandum to the President or Secretary of State which would deal exclusively with the matter of the Joint Committee of Inquiry, and which should include reference to the various commissions of inquiry appointed in the past.

It was agreed that a committee should start on the preparation of a thoroughly considered document for release at the time of the announcement of the composition of the Joint Committee of Inquiry.

New Text of Resolution as Proposed by Sub-Committee of Foreign Relations Committee: Mr. Shapiro reported a telephone call from Mr. Leo Sack in Washington, giving the revised text of the Resolution as proposed by the Sub-Committee of the Foreign Relations Committee and asking, at Senator Wagner's request, for our immediate reaction to this new phraseology.

The new text read as follows:

WHEREAS the influx of Jewish immigration into Palestine is resulting in its agricultural, financial and general economic improvement and

WHEREAS the President and the British Prime Minister have agreed upon the appointment of a "Joint Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry" to examine conditions in Palestine as they bear upon the problem of Jewish immigration and the Jewish situation in Europe and have requested a report within 120 days;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED by the Senate (The House of Representatives concurring) that these actions of the President are hereby commended, and that the United States shall continue to use its peaceful offices to the end that the doors of Palestine shall be open for free entry of Jews into that country to the greatest feasible extent and that there shall be full opportunity for colonization, so that they may reconstitute Palestine a Jewish Homeland and so that Palestine may be established as a Democratic Commonwealth in which all men, regardless of race or creed, shall enjoy equal rights.

A lengthy discussion followed during which the various points of objection to the new text were taken up in detail and the following suggestions emerged as a result.

1. Commendation of the President: The wording of the commendation as contained in the text under discussion with detailed allusion to the Committee of Inquiry was unacceptable. We should only agree to commendation of the President if covered by a vague reference to his interest.

2. ".....and that the United States shall continue to use its peaceful offices...." The introduction of the word "peaceful" was unsatisfactory since it

bore the inference that a possible military intervention had been sought. In its place was suggested: ".....and that the United States shall continue to use its good offices with the Mandatory Power...." which indicates clearly that only the diplomatic efforts of the United States are sought.

3. ".....for free entry of Jews into that country to the greatest feasible extent....." This was regarded as wholly unacceptable. The word "feasible" was susceptible to any variety of interpretation and might have a most dangerous effect in limiting Jewish immigration.

As a substitute formula it was suggested: ".....for free entry of Jews into that country to the maximum extent of its economic potentialities.....".

It was pointed out that the only change acceptable in the original Taft-Wagner phrasing, in consonance with the spirit of the Mandate, would be an allusion to the "economic absorptive capacity" aspect.

4. It was also suggested that there be inserted after "full opportunity for colonization," the phrase "and development."

5. "...so that they may reconstitute Palestine a Jewish Homeland and so that Palestine may be established as a Democratic Commonwealth....."

It was the general feeling that this wording would defeat the whole purpose of a Resolution and constitute a reversal even of the position the United States Congress had supported heretofore (Congressional Resolution of 1922). If the original Taft-Wagner phrasing, which is that to be preferred, cannot be retained, the following alternative is proposed: ".....so that they may reconstitute Palestine, the National Home of the Jewish people, as a democratic Commonwealth....."

A revised draft of the Resolution embodying the changes suggested in the course of the preceding discussion was then prepared and given further consideration.

In the discussion which followed varying opinions were expressed. Mrs. Halprin felt that our discussions had served to prove that we must adhere to the original Taft-Wagner phraseology except, possibly, for the inclusion of a commendation of the President, and revision of the term "peaceful." A contrary point of view was expressed by a number of others present to the effect that while we have had to deviate from the wording of the original Taft-Wagner Resolution, it was questionable whether the revisions were so far-reaching as to make it advisable for us to break on them and reject the Resolution entirely.

In order to put the matter to a vote, the following motion was made and carried, with Mrs. Halprin dissenting:

MOVED THAT IF THE TAFT-WAGNER RESOLUTION CANNOT BE ADOPTED
BY THE SUBCOMMITTEE "AS IS," WE OFFER THE FOLLOWING REVISED
DRAFT AS OUR IRREDUCIBLE MINIMUM:

Therefore be it RESOLVED that the Senate (The House of Representatives concurring) approves of the interest shown by the President in the solution of these problems and recommends that the United States shall continue to use its good offices with the Mandatory Power to the end that the doors

of Palestine shall be open for the free entry of Jews into that country to the maximum extent of its economic potentialities and that there shall be full opportunity for colonization and development so that they may reconstitute Palestine, the National Home of the Jewish people, as a democratic Commonwealth in which all men, regardless of race or creed, shall enjoy equal rights.

The chairman authorized this revised draft to be sent to Senator Wagner while informing him that we would still prefer the original Taft-Wagner Resolution.

Attention was called to the necessity for having representatives of the Council in attendance in Washington to be available when the meeting of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee takes place on Monday, December 3rd.

JOINT COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY

Mr. Wertheim reported that at a meeting of the Central Committee of Poale Zion the matter of boycotting the Committee of Inquiry was discussed. It was the consensus of opinion of this meeting that a cable be sent to the Central Committee of the Poale Zion in Palestine advising them that in the view of the American body it would be inadvisable for the Jewish Agency to refuse to appear before the Committee of Inquiry.

Mrs. Epstein stated on behalf of Hadassah that she had sent a wire to Dr. Silver and Dr. Wise on Friday, November 23rd, to the effect that Hadassah would like its position made known to the Executive, that given the minimum possible for cooperation, it was for the best interest that we present our case before the Committee of Inquiry. In order to ensure receipt of the wire by Dr. Silver before his departure for Palestine, she had read it to him over the telephone. Dr. Silver had indicated that he could not see ^{now} why Hadassah should make its position known separately to the World Zionist Executive. The Executive would be taking action on this matter and he would like to have the American Zionist Emergency Council, as a body, express itself. If Hadassah is in the minority, that minority position could be made known to the Executive. Mrs. Epstein added that this meeting of the Executive Committee was the last opportunity for expression of opinion on the matter, but Dr. Neumann expressed the view that the Executive in Jerusalem would not take action on this matter until the names of the members of the Committee of Inquiry have been announced. It was agreed to refer the matter to a special meeting of the Executive Committee.

DR. WEIZMANN

Dr. Wise reported on the meeting which our representatives had had with Dr. Weizmann in connection with his forthcoming visit to Washington and also on the appointment which had been arranged for him with President Truman.

Meeting adjourned at 3:15 P.M.

A. L.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

December 7, 1945

A special meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Friday, December 7, at 9:00 A.M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Stephen S. Wise (presiding), Gedalia Bublick, Pinchas Cruso, Mrs. Judith G. Epstein, Leon Gellman, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Dr. Emanuel Neumann, Louis Segal, Mrs. Herman Shulman, David Wertheim.

Rabbi Philip S. Bernstein, Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt, Captain Abraham Tulin.

Dr. I. B. Berkson, Gerold Frank, Arnold K. Israeli, Arthur Lourie, Harold P. Manson, Harry L. Shapiro.

LETTER OF MR. VAN PAASSEN TO "NEW YORK POST"

It was agreed that the present status of the action pending between Mr. Van Paassen and the Emergency Committee to Rescue the Jews of Europe be ascertained; also that a personal letter be written to Mr. Van Paassen repudiating the statements contained in his letter to the "New York Post."

JOINT ANGLO-AMERICAN COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY

Mrs. Epstein reported that Hadassah had given a good deal of consideration to the question of Zionist participation in the work of the Committee of Inquiry since Mr. Bevin's statement had been issued. It was the opinion of the great majority of the Hadassah Board that it was not in our best interests to boycott the Committee. It would make a very bad impression on the American public since they were not aware of all the factors involved and it would seem to them as if we were afraid to present the full facts to the Committee. Mrs. Epstein referred to Dr. Silver's public statement at the Atlantic City convention that he would oppose participation in the work of the Committee of Inquiry. In the light of that statement and of Hadassah's own opinion on the subject, her Board had felt it necessary to convey to Dr. Silver and to the other members of the Executive who were going from America to the meeting in Jerusalem, Hadassah's point of view. A minority opinion on the Board was represented in the Executive Committee of the Council by Mrs. Shulman.

Mr. Wertheim stated that the Poale Zion had also come to the conclusion that a boycott would be a very dangerous procedure and they had decided to inform the Central Committee of the Poale Zion in Jerusalem of their views.

Dr. Berkson said that while it was clear that the cards were stacked against us and we should state publicly our objections to the Committee and our feeling that it was intended as a means of discrediting the Zionist cause,

the fact, nevertheless, remained that we would, in his view, not be able to avoid giving testimony. We must therefore use the occasion to present the strongest case possible as a means of appealing to public opinion.

Mrs. Shulman felt that the Committee should be boycotted and that we should carry our case straight to the public.

Mr. Cruso expressed his support of the view of Mr. Wertheim and Mrs. Epstein.

Mr. Dublick said that nothing was to be gained by testifying. He felt that the statements issued by Mr. Bevin and Mr. Truman precluded any chance of our obtaining anything from the Committee. He urged that a recommendation to this effect be sent to Palestine.

Mrs. Halprin remarked that among the Arabs, too, there was a division of opinion with regard to participation. In supporting the majority point of view of Hadassah, she urged that there should not be an attack on the membership of the Committee, but on the principles upon which the Inquiry was based.

Mr. Segal said that we hate the Committee and do not want it. But the fact was that it was there and its findings might have an affect upon our fate. Our testimony would represent a public statement of our case so that people the world over would know what that case was.

Mr. Gellman said that no official position had been taken by the American Mizrahi Organization with regard to participation, but coming as he had recently from Palestine he could say that they were sick and tired there of compromises.

Dr. Goldstein said that he saw no point in the discussion if Poale Zion and Hadassah had already come to the meeting bound by the decisions of their organizations.

Mrs. Epstein indicated that the Hadassah members of the Council were not bound and that one of them differed in her opinion from her colleagues.

Rabbi Kirschblum felt that it might be unwise for us to adopt any recommendation, for if it turned out that our view was in conflict with what the Executive in Jerusalem were to decide, the decision of the Executive would to that extent be weakened.

After further discussion, it was agreed that an opportunity be given to the Z.O.A. members on the Executive Committee to consider the question so far as their group is concerned, and to take it up again at a meeting the following Monday, December 10th.

CONGRESSIONAL RESOLUTION

Captain Tulin reported that Mrs. Epstein and he had gone down to Washington on two occasions since the last meeting to keep in touch with developments on the Resolution. On the second occasion Dr. Neumann had also taken part. They had had before them the draft which was to be presented by Senator Green on behalf of the Sub-Committee.

Captain Tulin had first spoken to Senator Taft and had indicated to him our objections to the various points. At the beginning, Senator Taft had remarked that

he felt that we were being too technical. But he saw the points immediately when they were explained to him:

- (a) As regards the inclusion of the commendation of the President, he said that what had happened was that the President had suggested to Mr. Attlee that the 100,000 be admitted on the basis of certain facts. The British said that the facts were otherwise. Under those circumstances, it appeared reasonable to appoint a Committee of Inquiry. He felt that it would be impossible to eliminate this reference.
- (b) The use of the term "peaceful" offices was regarded as imperative by Senator Vandenberg.
- (c) Senator Taft agreed with our criticism of the phrase "to the greatest feasible extent" in connection with Jewish immigration. He would urge a change along the lines suggested by us.
- (d) He also agreed with the criticism of the concluding phrase with regard to the establishment of a Jewish Home and accepted our own wording.

Senators Tunnell and Wagner have also been seen. Dr. Akzin and Mr. Sack had discussed the matter at length with Senator Wagner and had also taken the occasion to communicate with Senators Mead and Barkley. Senator Wagner subsequently informed us that the Sub-Committee would take the matter up again and that Senators Wagner and Taft would be given the opportunity of appearing at that meeting.

Dr. Wise had also been in Washington and had seen Senators Connally, Green, Austin and Wagner.

Dr. Neumann also reported on his visit to Washington. He remarked that when he was there on Wednesday, he had found the atmosphere poisoned by the statements of David Stern and Lessing Rosenwald in connection with their meetings with the President. By way of counter action, a statement was drafted for Senators Taft and Wagner dealing with the question of the Jewish State, which had been delivered to the White House on Thursday and which would be issued by the Senators to the press for publication on Saturday. The statement was read and received the warm approval of the Executive Committee.

The Senate Sub-Committee had not met owing to the desire of most of the members to be present at the testimony before the Foreign Relations Committee of General Hurley. The Sub-Committee would meet on the following Monday or Tuesday, when our representatives would again have to be in attendance.

A prolonged discussion followed on the wording of the revised draft Resolution as approved at the previous meeting of the Executive Committee. An alternative formula, should the need arise for a substitute for the concluding sentences, was accepted as follows:

"So that they may freely proceed with the rebuilding of Palestine as the Jewish National Home and establish it as a democratic Commonwealth in which all men may have equal rights."

SUGGESTED "BILL OF INDICTMENT"

Mr. Segal referred to a conversation he had had with Mr. George Blakeley. Mr. Segal suggested that we should establish a committee of distinguished lawyers who should prepare, on a dramatic scale, a Bill of Indictment against England for its Palestine policy. It was agreed that Captain Tulin, Judge Rothenberg and Judge Rosenblatt should look into this suggestion.

PHELPS ADAMS ARTICLE IN THE "NEW YORK SUN"

Mrs. Epstein referred to an article which had appeared in the "New York Sun" by Mr. Phelps Adams, which discussed "The Jewish Vote," and reported alleged statements of Zionist representatives. She felt that the line there adopted was most unwise since the general public did not understand all the nuances and would misinterpret that kind of approach which was, in fact, a gift to the Council for Judaism.

Judge Rosenblatt expressed himself in full agreement with Mrs. Epstein as did Mrs. Halprin.

A contrary point of view was offered by Mr. Wertheim and Dr. Neumann.

It was finally decided to discuss the matter further at a subsequent meeting.

ARTICLES IN "LIFE" MAGAZINE AND IN "THE NATION"

It was agreed that an appropriate reply be prepared to the article which appeared in the current issue of "Life" magazine and also that the Local Emergency Councils be invited to send protests against misleading statements of fact and misinterpretations contained in the article.

Dr. Berkson also referred to the article by I. F. Stone in "The Nation," supporting a bi-nationalist solution, which called for an analysis and a reply.

MEETING OF DR. WEIZMANN WITH PRESIDENT TRUMAN

A very brief report was given by Dr. Wise on this meeting, and it was agreed that Dr. Weizmann should be invited to attend the next meeting of the Committee.

The meeting adjourned at 12:15 P.M.

A.L.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

December 10, 1945

A special meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held Monday, December 10, at 12M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Stephen S. Wise (presiding), Sedalia Rublick, Pinchas Cruso, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Dr. Emanuel Neumann, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Mrs. Herman Shulmah, David Wertheim.

Rabbi Philip S. Bernstein, Elisha Epstein, I.L. Kenen, Joseph Linton, Rabbi Joseph H. Lookstein, Miss Dvora Rothbard, Captain Abraham Tulin, Meyer Weisgal.

Dr. I.B. Berkson, Gerold Frank, Arnold K. Isreeli, Arthur Lourie, Harold P. Manson, Harry L. Shapiro

CONGRESSIONAL RESOLUTION

Dr. Neumann reported that the Sub-Committee of the Foreign Relations Committee, which is meeting tomorrow, December 11, 1945, has agreed upon the text of the Resolution which we have submitted. Senators Wagner and Taft are meeting with the Sub-Committee tomorrow, and the Sub-Committee had also invited the sponsors of the Resolution of the American League, Senators Tobey and Myers. Representatives of the Council would have to be in Washington tomorrow to be in touch with the situation.

Dr. Neumann further reported that Judge Levinthal had had a talk with Senator Myers and had succeeded in obtaining his support for our Resolution on the ground that it was better than that introduced by himself. Judge Levinthal is prepared to be in Washington tomorrow, and it is highly important that he see Senator Myers before he attends the meeting. It was important too that Senator Tobey also be won over to our side. Judge Levinthal had also met with Mr. David Stern, who seems befuddled on the entire question. He is primarily interested in the admission of 100,000 Jews into Palestine. Judge Levinthal felt that if we could afford Mr. Stern some opportunity for being active under our auspices, he would be ready to work with us.

Mr. Linton stated that Dr. Weizmann had had a long talk with Mr. Stern. While Mr. Stern is very anxious to make a contribution to Jewish efforts, he is not well acquainted with the problem. Dr. Weizmann had invited him to come to New York to visit with him.

JOINT ANGLO-AMERICAN COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY

A discussion ensued regarding the following men appointed to the Committee:

AMERICAN

Judge Joseph Hutcheson, Houston, Texas, Chairman
Frank Buxton - Boston Herald
James G. MacDonald - Foreign Policy Association
Oliver Max Gardner - Former Governor of North Carolina
William Phillips - Former Ambassador to India and Italy
Frank Aydelotte - Former President of Swarthmore and at
present head of the School of Advanced Studies

BRITISH

Sir John Singleton, High Court Judge, Chairman
Wilfred P. Crick - Economic Advisor to Midland Bank
Richard H.S. Crossman, M.P.
Lord Morrison
Sir Frederic Leggett, Under Secretary in Labor Ministry
Major Reginald E. Manningham-Buller, M.P.

Mr. Bublick advised that Mizrahi had definitely decided against co-operation, including testifying before the Committee.

Dr. Neumann stated that at a meeting of Z.O.A. representatives on the Council, the consensus of the majority was against recognizing the Committee or cooperating with it. Five members of the Z.O.A. opposed appearing before the Committee - Judge Rothenberg, Mr. Frisch, Dr. Neumann, Rabbi Miller and Rabbi Feuer (the two last named recording their votes in absentia). Dr. Goldstein had not taken a definite position. Judge Levinthal thought we should testify, but did not think it wise to send any advice on the matter to the World Executive. Mr. Tulin had also been present and spoke in favor of presenting our case to the Committee.

Mrs. Shulman stated that Hadassah felt very strongly that we should co-operate with the Committee unless such names were mentioned as would make it impossible to cooperate. Mrs. Shulman also stated that Hadassah was in favor of the Emergency Council advising the World Executive to cooperate with the Committee.

Judge Rothenberg stated that previous experience with Commissions of Inquiry showed that while they may have been favorable at the beginning, in the result they always turned out adversely. As concerns the American members of the present Committee, he assumed that they would approach the subject impartially; however, he doubted whether the British members would do so since they have been selected and influenced by Mr. Bevin who has already prejudged the result of the findings of the Committee, and who is hostile towards us and desirous of liquidating Zionism. Regardless of what position the World Executive takes on the question of appearing before the Committee, Judge Rothenberg feels that American Zionism should adopt a highly critical attitude towards the Committee, and that we should immediately give notice to the world that we will be ready to challenge any adverse decision which may be made. This would not foreclose the possibility of our presenting our facts.

Dr. Wise stated that since Mr. Eliezer Kaplan is expected here within the next few days, it would be wise to wait until we have his report before taking any vote on the matter of cooperation with the Committee.

Dr. Goldstein moved that we make no recommendation to the Executive. After discussion, in the course of which Dr. Philip Bernstein moved as an amendment that action be deferred until the next meeting, by which time we might have more information, Dr. Wise stated that it was the consensus of opinion that no action be taken at this time to make any recommendation to the Executive.

A statement was read, which had been prepared in the form of a telegram to be sent to the President, in connection with the announcement of the membership of the Joint Committee.

It was suggested that the form be changed to a considerably shorter statement with an annex listing the various Commissions and Inquiries throughout the years. We should also suggest that Palestine, for its size, is the most investigated territory in the world. It has had thirteen different inquiries since the Balfour Declaration. We should reiterate our objections to the whole procedure and our conviction that its underlying purpose was to liquidate the Jewish National Home. "It was not an inquiry but an execution."

It was agreed that a revised statement be prepared and issued.

CONGRESSIONAL RESOLUTION (DISCUSSION RESUMED)

It was urged that the strongest possible effort to obtain passage of the Resolution through Congress must now be made. In this connection reference was made to an approach by one of our friends to Governor Dewey who was apparently anxious to be helpful.

A number of other suggestions for action were offered, including a renewed campaign of telegrams and letters from all over the country to members of the Foreign Relations Committee.

Doubt was expressed, however, on the basis of information received from Mr. Edward Kaufman, if such telegrams were very effective at the moment.

Mrs. Shulman, on the basis of Hadassah's experience, and Mr. Shapiro added that this technique had for the time being reached saturation and that there was resistance from the communities to a renewed telegram campaign.

It was suggested, however, that communications from persons of importance might be very effective.

FUNDS

The matter of funds is to be taken up at the next meeting.

ARTICLE IN "LIFE" MAGAZINE

Mrs. Shulman stated that Hadassah was very much concerned about the publicity being given to the question of encouraging immigration to Palestine from America. She referred to the manner in which this had been distorted in the editorial in "Life." It was creating an issue which was providing ammunition for our enemies. The matter should be discussed with Dr. Weizmann in view of his forthcoming address to Hechalutz.

Dr. Wise stated that the matter would be discussed at the next meeting.

The meeting adjourned at 2:50 P.M.

A.L.