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107

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37

Folder  
406

American Zionist Emergency Council, minutes, 1948.

# AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

## MINUTES OF MEETING OF PLENUM

January 21, 1948

A meeting of the Plenum of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held on Wednesday, January 21, 1948, at 8:15 P.M., at the Barbizon-Plaza Hotel, 58th Street and 6th Avenue, New York City.

### PRESENT (Incomplete List)

Dr. Israel Goldstein (presiding), David Breslau, Gedalia Bublick, Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, Natan Friedel, Daniel Frisch, Leon Gellman, Paul L. Goldman, Mrs. David B. Greenberg, Mrs. Samuel W. Halprin, Rabbi Irving Miller, Mrs. David de Sola Pool, Mrs. Herman Shulman, Numa Torczyner, David Wertheim, Leo Wolfson.

Daniel Auster, B. Burstein (Greater NY Council, Poale Zion), Rabbi B. Cohen, Dr. Mordecai Eliash, George Feinstein (Secretary of Bronx ZOA), Dr. Simon Federbusch, Miss Zelda Funk, Mrs. Samuel Gattegno (Bronx ZOA), Jacob Greenberg, Mrs. Joseph Hamerman (Hadassah National), S. Kaplan (Poale Zion, Bronx), Al Katz (ZOA, Indianapolis, Ind.), Arthur Lourie, Dr. Mordecai Nurock, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Mr. A. P. Schoolman, Moshe Shertok, M. J. Silverberg (Poale Zion), M. S. Taylor (7th ZOA District), Abraham Tulin, Rabbi Jerome Unger.

Benjamin Akzin, Eliahu Ben-Horin, Gerold Frank, Arnold K. Isreeli, Harry Steinberg, Abe Tuvim.

### REPORT BY DR. GOLDSTEIN ON THE POLITICAL SITUATION

Dr. Goldstein said it was about two weeks since he began to serve as Acting Chairman in Dr. Silver's absence. He hoped Dr. Silver's absence would be brief because he was needed here. After welcoming Messrs. Shertok, Eliash and Auster, he reviewed the unfavorable developments since the UN decision, particularly on the American scene. From all indications, the State Department was British-oriented and desired a revision of the UN decision. Influential military quarters took the same view. It was understood that the Cabinet would discuss the Palestine problem shortly. It appeared that the strongest opposition would be encountered in Washington to any international force calling for American or Soviet contingents. The suggestion was made that the precedent of 1939 and 1940, when private American citizens joined the British and the French in their struggle against the Axis, might be repeated in Palestine. As for the embargo, the feeling in friendly circles in Washington was that in the course of time and with strong pressure, the shipment of arms for the Jews in Palestine might be permitted, especially if the UN would express itself in this sense.

It had taken some time following November 29th for the Jewish Agency to formulate its policies, but this had now been done, and the Emergency Council was girded for what was going to be one of the most active periods of its history. The capable and alert staff of the Emergency Council, headed in the absence of Harry L. Shapiro, by Abe Tuvim, had shown a great deal of initiative.



All those present had seen the advertisement placed by the American Christian Palestine Committee and the four points which it emphasized. These are also the points upon which the American Zionist Emergency Council is basing its attack. It was the duty of the Emergency Council to expose the attitude of the Arab States vis-a-vis the UN, the duplicity of the British, and the role of the State Department.

Dr. Goldstein analyzed the political situation and reported on certain current activities of the Emergency Council: a press conference in Washington for Mayor Rokach; consultations with Congressional leaders; a meeting with a large number of members of Congress, with Dr. Goldstein and Dr. Neumann participating; conversations with Mayor O'Dwyer; the letter by Mayor Rokach to several hundred Mayors throughout the country. It was now planned to increase our Washington staff for the next critical weeks. The American Christian Palestine Committee had been active. Its ad had appeared in a number of important newspapers in and outside of New York; copies of the ad had been sent to 3500 key individuals throughout the country. The newly-organized Committee for Arms to Palestine was headed by Dean Alfange and was working in close coordination with the American Zionist Emergency Council. A great deal of material was being furnished to editors, columnists and radio commentators by our people, and editorial comment was generally favorable. On the other hand, hostile comments were on the increase, mainly inspired by Washington sources, and there was the special problem of the NEW YORK TIMES.

Mass meetings were taking place all over the country, and telegrams and letters were reportedly being sent to Washington in unprecedented numbers. Our main effort should be directed at obtaining the wholehearted leadership of our Government in implementing the UN decision.

REPORT BY MR. SHERTOK (on file).

LETTER FROM DR. NEUMANN (on file).

#### DISCUSSION

Mr. Tulin thought that our requests in Washington should be directed to the need for speedy implementation. The precise form of the measures to be taken should be left to private negotiations. He emphasized the danger of a position where the American Government could maintain that Palestine was no longer the concern of the United States, but the concern of the UN. At the same time, much capital could be made by our enemies of the fact that the UN resolution was just a recommendation, without binding force. Therefore, in approaching our Government, we should base our requests on American traditional policy, rather than on the UN recommendation. The Government took one little step in the Assembly toward asserting that policy; now it should go further. We should ask the Government to support the Jewish State in Palestine with all the means at its command, and first of all, to let us ship arms to our beleaguered brethren. It was reported in the press that Mr. McGrath had said he was mending all the fences he could. Well, here was a fence that he had to mend, and it should be impressed upon him that the fence was badly broken.

Mr. Bublick said that of the two methods of political action, through discreet approaches to leading personalities and through appeals to public opinion and mass demonstrations, he preferred the latter. Letters were received by him daily demanding that this approach be followed. He urged a mass demonstration of half-a-million Jews marching in the streets of New York. He also felt the



need of a mass-demonstration of Jews from all over the country in Washington, and expressed his concern over the failure of the Emergency Council to secure an interview with the President.

Rabbi Miller agreed that the fight for the UN plan should not be allowed to become a purely Jewish fight, but should rally around itself all Americans of good-will. He expressed gratification over the American Christian Palestine Committee advertisement. Taking issue with Mr. Tulin, he thought it unwise to underestimate the deep concern for the UN in America. The fact that the UN had adopted the plan was therefore of great value.

He suggested holding a National Emergency Conference of the American Zionist Emergency Council in Washington, and rallying the support of elements and personalities in Jewish life who hitherto had not cooperated with us but were now ready to help.

#### REPORT BY MR. ABE TUVIM ON EMERGENCY COUNCIL PROGRAM

Mr. Tuvim said that the present political and public relations program of the Emergency Council was predicated on the four points mentioned by the Chairman and appearing in the ad of the American Christian Palestine Committee. The AZEC had been working along these lines for the past three weeks in agreement with the Agency. Prior to that, there had been a period of delay in coordinating the efforts of the Agency and the Council. Our communities were straining at the leash. It had been a very unwelcome task to hold them back, but this had to be done until the policy to be pursued was clearly formulated. The first gratifying result of our efforts to enlighten the country was reflected in favorable editorial and radio comment. Mr. Tuvim explained the preparations made for mass-meetings and contact with leading political figures in different localities and on a national scale. (Details on file).

#### DISCUSSION (Cont'd.)

Mrs. Epstein expressed her satisfaction with Dr. Goldstein's and Mr. Tuvim's reports and suggested the need to answer adequately the oil argument used against us.

Mr. Ben-Horin said the campaign which we were undertaking at this critical juncture could be greatly helped by Dr. Silver's return to this country.

Dr. Goldstein thought the suggestion had merit.

Mrs. Halprin said Palestine needed the one American leader who was there now. Recalling him would be taken as an acknowledgment of weakness on the part of American Zionism. The movement was eager to do all that was asked of it, and it was unfair to assume it needed one man to rally it. We should do what we can do here, and let Dr. Silver do what he can there and bring encouragement to the Yishuv.

Judge Rothenberg expressed appreciation of Mr. Shertok's analysis of the present situation. He advised against implying that American policy on Palestine had still to be formulated. Instead, we should emphasize that the American Government has adopted a policy; that its position in the United Nations was a consequence of that policy, and that all that is needed is to implement it. He agreed that the Palestine issue should not remain merely a Jewish issue. It certainly should not remain merely a Zionist issue. Today, the Jews of America were behind the



Jewish State policy. Witness Judge Proskauer's letter to the Editor of the Times. Judge Rothenberg suggested an all-embracing Jewish Conference on Palestine, with the participation of prominent non-Zionist Jewish leaders.

Mr. Wertheim supported the idea of mass demonstrations in order to show the general American public that the Jews are in earnest. If possible, these demonstrations should take place earlier than the National Conference in Washington.

Mr. Tuvim explained that the plan was for Brooklyn to have a mass-meeting under the auspices of the Brooklyn Zionist Emergency Council, in Manhattan under the auspices of the Manhattan Zionist Emergency Council, and so on, for each borough.

Mr. Frisch joined in expressing appreciation of Mr. Shertok's report. He felt sorry that Mrs. Halprin, in emphasizing the strength of the movement, belittled the role of the individual leader. In every phase of history, it was an individual leader who crystallized the ideas of the movement, and Dr. Silver happened to be one of these leaders. There was a great deal to what Mrs. Halprin said when referring to the fact that the Yishuv needed Dr. Silver's presence. But since the suggestion as to Dr. Silver's return had been made, it would be better to send him the minutes of this meeting so that he could decide where he was needed most.

Dr. Goldstein, summarizing, said that had Dr. Silver anticipated the rapid developments of the last weeks, he might have hesitated to go. Since Dr. Silver was perhaps not entirely aware of the things we knew as a result of our contacts with Washington, he should be made aware of the situation, so as to be in a position to make a decision as to where he was needed most. Dr. Goldstein felt the meeting had been fruitful. In addition to the informative report of Mr. Shertok, we had had an opportunity to discuss our program of action, and as he saw it, the program as outlined by Mr. Tuvim, with the addition of one or two further suggestions made here, had the approval of all those present. The additional suggestions were those of Mr. Bublick for large-scale mass demonstrations; of Judge Rothenberg for an all-Jewish impressive Conference, in order to demonstrate American-Jewish unity on the subject of Palestine; and the suggestion of Rabbi Miller for a National Emergency Conference of all our Emergency Councils.

Meeting adjourned 12 midnight.

B.A.



AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

January 29, 1948

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held on Thursday, January 29, 1948, at 3:00 P.M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Israel Goldstein (presiding), Gedalia Bublick, Beinesh Epstein, Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, Natan Friedel, Daniel Frisch, Leon Gellman, Dr. Raphael Gold, Mrs. Benjamin Gottesman, Mrs. David B. Greenberg, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Rabbi Irving Miller, Dr. Emanuel Neumann, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Charles Sherman, David Wertheim, Baruch Zuckerman.

Daniel Auster, Ernest E. Barbarash, Dr. Mordecai Eliash, Arthur Lourie, Mrs. Golda Meyerson, Dr. Mordecai Nurock, Dr. Ignacy Schwarzbart, Abe Tulin, Rabbi Jerome Unger.

Dr. Benjamin Akzin, Eliahu Ben-Horin, Gerold Frank, Arnold K. Isreeli, Dr. Benjamin Shwadran, Joseph P. Sternstein, Abe Tuvim.

REPORT BY DR. GOLDSTEIN

Dr. Goldstein said that it was found impossible to advance our cause in Washington without the support of public opinion. The American Zionist Emergency Council accordingly informed the constituent groups and local committees that the mass action for which the rank-and-file had been clamoring for a long time, was now in order. The response to this was highly gratifying. Jews throughout the country were now active along the lines suggested by us. Results could already be discerned in editorials, comments of columnists, and particularly in communications that had been addressed to Washington by local communities and personalities. As an instance, Mr. Gael Sullivan had told Dr. Goldstein that he himself must have had received five thousand telegrams from local political leaders. Large meetings were also part of the program. In New York, a mass meeting had been arranged at Manhattan Center for February 5th. Mayor O'Dwyer was scheduled to speak and so was Senator Tobey. The other boroughs were arranging meetings in the course of the next two weeks. The Young Zionist Actions Committee had held a very large meeting two nights ago, commemorating the American Jewish boys who had died in Palestine. The Board of Rabbis had issued a statement, the Synagogue Council of America had been quite active. All this might be expected to gain further momentum. Other suggestions were being studied. Public attention was now focused on the situation in Palestine and on the dilatory attitude of the Administration. This had improved the political climate and had made it easier to persuade the Administration to adopt a more responsive attitude.

Dr. Goldstein reported in detail on the contacts made with leading personalities in Washington and elsewhere, on the information available regarding the attitude of President Truman, Secretary Marshall, Secretary Forrestal and others, and on the dinner meeting held in Washington with some fifty members of both



Houses of Congress. There seemed to be some substance to the story published by James Reston that the Administration was trying to enlist Republican support for a new Palestine policy. The oil argument and the tense international situation were being used to obtain Republican and general Congressional support for an abandonment of the United Nations Plan. Some progress was being made in counteracting these manoeuvres, but much remained to be done.

We have just begun, Dr. Goldstein continued, to stem the tide that has been manacing us during the last month. It was necessary to formulate the best possible answer to the insidious oil argument, and to work out a program for enforcement, perhaps in terms of a volunteer force rather than of national contingents. Our contacts in Washington should be intensified, and our personnel there increased. And it would be most helpful if our friends throughout the country would make known their thoughts on the subject of Palestine to the White House and to the members of Congress in ever-increasing numbers.

Dr. Goldstein informed the meeting of the forthcoming return of Dr. Silver and thanked the membership and staff of the Council for the cooperation which they had given him.

#### NATIONAL EMERGENCY CONFERENCE

Dr. Goldstein asked the Executive to authorize the holding of a national conference of Zionist Emergency Committees, in line with a suggestion made in the plenum. (ADOPTED)

#### DISCUSSION

Further clarification of the political situation and of the measures to be taken was achieved during a discussion, with the participation of Rabbi Miller, Dr. Akzin, Mr. Tulin, Mr. Ben-Horin, Mrs. Epstein, Mr. Zuckerman, Mr. Frisch, Mr. Tuvim, Mr. Wertheim, Mr. Isreeli, Mr. Friedel, Dr. Goldstein and Dr. Neumann.

#### REPORT BY MRS. GOLDA MEYERSON

Mrs. Meyerson said that, while bending all our efforts to obtain the support of the American and other governments, it was essential for us to strengthen our own forces, since it was possible that the Yishuv would have to bear the burden of carrying out the United Nations Plan. Because of this, it was essential that the hands of the Yishuv be strengthened immediately, chiefly through the provision of a maximum amount of cash to enable the Haganah to purchase military equipment.

Regarding the attitude of the British, Mrs. Meyerson said that, while their aversion to partition was known, it was not foreseen that they would practically align themselves with the Arab forces against the Yishuv. Once this became clear, it was nevertheless decided to concentrate the limited forces of the Yishuv on one front and not to open a second front. Despite provocation on the part of the Government, open conflict with the British was avoided, contacts with the High Commissioner and Chief Secretary were kept up, and the liaison with the police and the military was intensified. All this was done in an effort to prevent further deterioration. There was some measure of success, but essentially the attitude of the Government remained unchanged. Demoralization in the lower ranks of the police was complete. On a higher level, the Chief Secretary -- being a stronger personality and more hostile than the High Commissioner -- was in control. Not a single promise made to Mrs. Meyerson or to Mr. Ben-Gurion on the question of security had been kept.

The meeting adjourned at 6:15 P.M.

B.A.



## AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

## MINUTES OF MEETING OF PLENUM

February 8, 1948

A meeting of the Plenum of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held on Sunday, February 8, 1948, at 8:15 P.M., at the Commodore Hotel, Forty-Second Street and Lexington Avenue, New York City

## PRESENT (list incomplete)

Dr. Israel Goldstein (presiding), Gedalia Bublick, B. Epstein, Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, Leon Gellman, Dr. R. Gold, Paul L. Goldman, Mrs. David B. Greenberg, A. Gurvich, Rabbi Kirshblum, Rabbi Kowalsky, Judge Levinthal, Rabbi Irving Miller, Dr. Emanuel Neumann, Mrs. David de Sola Pool, Judge Rothenberg, Dr. Joseph Schechtman, Louis Segal, Charles Sherman, Mrs. Rebecca Shulman, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, Numa Torczyner, Leo Wolfson.

Jacob Alkow, Daniel Auster, Ernest E. Barbarash, Dr. Berkson, Dr. S. Bernstein, Mendel Fisher, Rabbi Greenberg, Ludwig Lewisohn, Isaac Naiditch, Dr. Perlzweig, Dr. I. Schwartzbart, Jacques Torczyner, Abraham Tulin, Rabbi Jerome Unger.

Dr. Benjamin Akzin, Eliahu Ben-Horin, Gerold Frank, Dr. Benjamin Shwadran, Abe Tuvim.

Dr. Goldstein welcomed Dr. Silver upon his return to this country, to lead the American Zionist Emergency Council in the great effort that was called for by the difficult circumstances.

REPORT BY DR. SILVER

Dr. Silver said that he was sorry to have had to cut short his stay in Palestine where he had been anxious to remain longer. It was a soul-stirring experience to have been in Palestine in these days, but even though they were trying days, one felt there an exhilaration of spirit and a lift as if borne on the arms of a great historic occasion and a great national impulse. But, we were all soldiers in the ranks and when we were summoned and sent here or there, we had to go.

He expressed his gratitude to Dr. Goldstein for the splendid manner in which he had carried on the work of the Emergency Council during these recent weeks. He had kept in close touch with the work that was done here, and he knew that what had to be done was done efficiently and speedily under Dr. Goldstein's guidance.

He wanted to speak that evening of the situation in Palestine, of how the Yishuv was facing up to its problems, of its needs, of its expectations, and of its prospects. It was important to have a comprehensive picture of the situation rather than one pieced together out of the dramatic incidents which took place from day to day. Palestine was a seriously disturbed country, as much as Greece or India or China or some other parts of the world. It was one of the areas of tension. But it was far from being in any condition even



approximately chaotic. Nothing was broken down in the life of the country, and if you took the compact mass of the Yishuv, it had been practically undisturbed. The serious disturbances were taking place largely in the periphery of the Yishuv: in that part of the Negev, where there had been considerable fighting and which was not meant to be included in the Jewish State; in the extreme north, where a relatively sparsely settled Jewish area was surrounded on three sides by Syria, Lebanon and Trans-Jordan; on the road from Tel-Aviv to Jerusalem which was not adequately patrolled and seventy-five per cent of which did not pass through Jewish territory; in the city of Jerusalem itself, which was not to be either Jewish or Arab and which was in a sense the most disturbed city in Palestine; and on the border between Jaffa and Tel-Aviv where some sniping was going on. Otherwise, in what one might call the Jewish country, life was quite normal. Factories were working, people were employed. The harbors of Tel-Aviv and Haifa were crowded with shipping. The citrus industry was reaching the peak of what promised to be a successful season. There was a great deal of building going on in the country. Short of the fact that there was a certain contraction of credit due to the insufficiency of the means at the disposal of the Jewish Agency, which was perhaps the most important economic factor in the country today, the economic life of the country was moving along in spite of the increased difficulties of transportation and communication. The cultural and social life of the people was going on apace. Symphonic orchestras were playing. Theaters were open. Moving picture theaters and lectures, concerts and meetings continued to attract people.

This was not said, Dr. Silver continued, in order to paint a glowing picture of what was going on in Palestine today, but in order to correct an impression which one might gather by reading the newspaper headlines. On the other hand, the country faced a potential danger far greater than he had thought before he went there. The Yishuv was facing the prospect of war. It was not a case of having to confront some unorganized bands of Arab brigands. This the Jewish community would be able to meet quite easily given some additional equipment. But there had infiltrated into the country in recent weeks, well-organized military units which came well-equipped, well-officered, bringing their own supplies, exceptionally well-disciplined, and directed by whoever was directing the military activities of the Arab League. This might be a vanguard of a larger army in the future. The British had acknowledged that some two thousand had come into the country. Many more were being trained across the border in Syria, in Lebanon. What the well-equipped fighting force of Transjordan would do in the last moment, no one knew. Now the Jews of Palestine felt that if this organized army in the process of growth got into action, the Arab States would have so much of their prestige at stake in that attack that they would not lightly permit it to be a fiasco, but would throw into that struggle a great deal. The Arab States were buying arms in an open market. They were free to import them into their countries and then have them shipped over across the border into Palestine. We know of a substantial purchase of arms which was made quite recently by the Arabs. It arrived in the Middle East and would, undoubtedly, be distributed among these people. This was giving the Yishuv considerable concern. The importation of arms into the country on the part of the Jews was forbidden.

The Haganah in Palestine had succeeded in mobilizing the manpower of Palestine, which was remarkably fine and dependable -- a group of people who would give an excellent account of themselves if they received adequate training and adequate arms. The spirit of the country was marvellous. Dr. Silver had visited some of the training camps and some of the posts defending Tel-Aviv. The plans which had been worked out were perfect. They had received the applause of military strategists. There was a great deal of skill and intelligence which had gone into the planning of the whole thing, but there was need for more arms.



Arms could be had despite the embargo here. They could be purchased in other parts of the world. But without dollars, one could not get weapons in the markets of the world. Large funds in cash must, therefore, be made immediately available. If the fighting forces in Palestine were provided with these funds and these weapons, the Yishuv would take care of itself and would be able to defend itself.

Many in Palestine were coming to the conclusion that in the last analysis the issue would not be decided entirely by political means. They were facing an organized and very powerful opposition which was determined not to permit an orderly political settlement but was organized to influence political decisions by force of arms. The Yishuv must be prepared for this eventuality and be ready to meet force with force. It must anticipate the worst and hope for the best, and that was the only practical and sane way to face the situation in Palestine. All the other forms were wishful thinking. The stronger the Yishuv was, the greater likelihood there would be of a good political decision, and the less need there would be for the exercise of physical force.

In addition to the needs of the Yishuv for military expenditures, funds were needed for other important purposes. The British were resolved to empty Cyprus. They might want to empty Cyprus in three or four months in order to make the camps available for their own troops as they evacuate Palestine. The month of February might see ten thousand Jews enter the country. They would include 1,000 children, 2,000 parents, 500 brothers and sisters, 4,500 single orphans, 750 on schedule and 1,250 from Europe. This would be a most desirable and welcome increase to the population, but it would impose an additional burden on the budget of the Jewish Agency.

There was no need to elaborate on the attitude of the Mandatory Government. The whole apparatus of government was in the process of liquidation and disorganization. The good administrators tried to maintain law and order but felt that the job was beyond them now. The bad ones were enemies, exploiting every situation to our disadvantage, so as to weaken us vis-a-vis the Arabs, and to leave the country on May 15th in a state of chaos. The High Commissioner seemed to be a fair-minded man with good intentions. He assured Dr. Silver that the British, having invested many years in Palestine, certainly did not want to leave it in a broken-down condition. They were preparing very carefully, he said, for a proper transference of authority. Every record had been microphotod; data on every engineering project which was still going on would be handed over to the incoming administration. But none of this sounded convincing from what one saw in the country day by day. The feeling in the country was that the British wanted to bring about a condition where around May 15th, as they withdraw from the south and pull in from the north, the Arabs would be in a position to take over the Negev and the whole of Galilee and to constrict the Jewish area to what corresponded to the Morrison-Grady Plan. The best way to characterize their attitude was by calling it "malevolent neutrality".

In Dr. Silver's judgment, given the money it required and given the weapons it needed, the Yishuv would hold its positions against any possible concentration of Arab forces in the country. Without these, it would be gravely handicapped. In that case Palestine might be converted into another Spain, where the defenders had their hands tied by embargos and their inability to acquire weapons, and the attackers were supported by other countries and had free access to reinforcements. We must think of the situation in Palestine in terms of war, though it required a radical change in our thinking. It was a war of which we had only seen certain preliminary skirmishes. We must prepare for that war and not make the mistake of doing too little and too late.



The Yishuv was greatly concerned about what was happening in America. The press was full of it. Two or three days after he arrived, there already began to appear in the newspapers letters inviting Dr. Silver to return to America to cope with events here. First the embargo and then the statement of the American Consul that American boys who wanted to help the Jewish State would have their passports taken away from them, gave the Yishuv a terrible jolt. The Yishuv knew well that in the first and second World Wars thousands upon thousands of American boys had joined the armies of the allied nations before we entered the war, without such proclamation having been issued. This, as well as the embargo, was regarded as an indication of hostility. Dr. Silver did not try to apologize for the American Government because he too was deeply concerned about what was happening. He thought that we were once more in the position in which we had been in the week or two before November 29th, when there had been a concentration of all the opposition forces in the government against us. We had overcome these influences, but they had not been liquidated, and immediately after November 29th, when we had relaxed our efforts, they had resumed their activities. The Arab representatives in Washington had intensified their activities enormously. So had the oil interests and all other anti-Zionist forces. They had won new and very powerful converts, and they were determined, in collaboration with the British, to bring about a revision of the decision of the United Nations by pretending that the plan was unworkable and that it was not to the interests of the American Government. No decision had yet been taken against us. The formal position of our Government today was exactly what it had been on November 29th, but there was going on a most ruthless activity to change American foreign policy on this subject. We should have to appeal to mass public opinion to see that America stands by its commitments; that we are not betrayed at the last minute, and that this decision of the United Nations be given a chance. It was Dr. Silver's feeling that with the proper marshalling of our energies we would succeed.

#### DISCUSSION

Judge Rothenberg, Mr. Segal, Mr. Tulin, Mrs. Epstein and Dr. Gold participated in a brief discussion.

Replying to Dr. Gold, Dr. Silver said that there were various ways of raising money. They were all being considered, but at the moment there was one campaign in this country which, if successful, would adequately meet the situation, assuming that cash were made available immediately. That was the United Jewish Appeal. This was why the Agency in Palestine had sent Goldie Myerson to bring this message to the American Jews. Dr. Silver hoped that progress was being made in this respect, and he appealed to all to throw themselves heart and soul into this effort, not merely to raise the quota but to obtain cash immediately. Money received nine months from today would mean infinitely less in Palestine than money made available next week. By May 15th the Yishuv must be as strong as it possibly can. When the Mandatory steps out of the country, the Jewish people in Palestine must be prepared to step in, to take over and defend themselves. Ships should be waiting to bring in maximum supplies to the country by May 15th, and as much of it as possible before that time. It takes time to make arrangements and purchase supplies, and without cash none of it can be done.

(Details of the discussion and of Dr. Silver's reply on file.)

#### REPORT BY MR. TUVIM

Mr. Tuvim said that the program approved at the last meeting of the Council was in full swing. Reports from the communities showed that very intense



activities were being carried on everywhere along these lines. As a result, there was some evidence of a desire on the part of the Administration to reassure the Jews that their interests would be safeguarded. This was quite encouraging and we were asking our friends to step up their efforts.

A number of active leaders in the New York region had been invited to the last two meetings. This had been done to give them a full picture of the situation. It was expected that this would lead to redoubled efforts in this vital region. Political circles in New York had already reacted strongly in our effort. It was hoped that this would continue. Another important step was the Washington Conference next week. It would give an opportunity to delegations coming from different congressional districts to consult with their congressmen.

Dr. Neumann suggested that a brief memorandum be prepared for the use of the delegates to the Conference.

Mr. Tuvim said such a memorandum was already in the course of preparation.

Mrs. Greenberg thought that a memorandum should also be prepared which could be left with individual members of Congress.

Mr. Tuvim said that this was taken into consideration.

Dr. Goldstein referred to the memorandum on oil and American interests in connection with Palestine, prepared by Mr. Ben-Horin. Mr. Tuvim said that the points made in that memorandum would be included in the brief memorandum now being prepared.

Mr. Segal suggested the advisability of having the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate consider the Palestine question, with an opportunity for the Jewish case to be heard.

Dr. Goldstein informed the meeting of the meeting which he and Dr. Neumann had held with forty congressmen and ten senators in Washington.

Mr. Wolfson inquired whether the funds being raised for Haganah were not interfering with the United Jewish Appeal drive.

Dr. Goldstein said that efforts were being made to settle this matter.

Mr. Segal asked whether friendly governors and mayors of large cities could not be asked to re-state their views on Palestine, perhaps over the radio.

Dr. Goldstein said that the matter was under consideration.

The meeting adjourned at 10:10 P.M.

B.A.



*Manson*

*HPM*

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

March 8, 1948

23.  
A meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held on Monday, March 8, 1948, at 3:00 P.M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Gedalia Bublick, Pinchas Cruso, Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, Natan Friedel, Daniel Frisch, Berl Frymer, Dr. Raphael H. Gold, Paul L. Goldman, Mrs. Bert Goldstein, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mrs. Sam Goldstein, Mrs. David B. Greenberg, Mrs. Samuel W. Halprin, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Rabbi Irving Miller, Dr. Emanuel Neumann, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Yehuda Tubin, David Wertheim.

Ernest E. Barbarash, Isaiah L. Kenen, Isaac Naiditch, Dr. Mordecai Nurock, Dr. Ignacy Schwarzbart, Abraham Tulin, Rabbi Jerome Unger.

Dr. Benjamin Akzin, Elishu Ben-Horin, Gerold Frank, Arnold K. Isreeli, Harold P. Manson, Dr. Benjamin Shwadran, Joseph P. Sternstein, Abe Tuvim.

REPORT BY DR. SILVER ON THE POLITICAL SITUATION

Dr. Silver reported on developments in the Security Council. The action taken by the Council, though not entirely satisfactory, put the Security Council and its future deliberations behind the resolutions adopted November 29th, and directed negotiations to be carried out with a view to the implementation of those decisions. No ground was lost to date. The matter was now in the hands of the Big Four, and it was anybody's guess what would emerge from their deliberations. Efforts might still be made on the part of one or another government to suggest new negotiations with Jews and Arabs. On the subject of an international force there was great hesitation on all sides. There are somewhat better prospects for a favorable decision on the Jewish militia, and this might lead to the revision of the embargo. By now the Administration ought to be aware that the Austin statement was badly received all over the country.

Palestinian Jewry has agreed on the composition of a Provisional Government to be appointed by the UN Commission. Dr. Silver didn't think that the Commission would interpose any serious difficulties. They would, of course, see to it that places on the government were reserved for the non-Jewish residents of the Jewish State. The report in the press about the coordination of Haganah and Irgun seemed encouraging. The negotiations have been concluded satisfactorily; the agreement must now be ratified by the Executive of the Agency. If this were done, it would be a great gain for Palestine Jewry.



REPORT ON EMERGENCY COUNCIL ACTIVITIES BY MR. TUVIM

Mr. Tuvim reported that the activities launched some time ago were being sustained over a long period. Wires and letters continued to reach Washington in large numbers, meetings were being held, political leaders were being reached by Jews and Christians in numerous communities, and there was no let-down in any of these activities. In the larger centers, Chicago, Boston, Philadelphia, there was even an increase in activities. The Zionist parties were cooperating wholeheartedly in these efforts. The ZOA, the Hadassah, and occasionally the Labor groups, were re-issuing our directives to their memberships.

SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT BY RABBI MILLER

Rabbi Miller said that from the vantage point of Washington it was possible to observe the terrific negative reaction of American public opinion to Austin's speech. The spontaneous reaction of the press, of the columnists and of people in public life, who were almost unanimous in calling it a sell-out, has made a profound impression. After reporting in detail about the various activities conducted recently in Washington, Rabbi Miller drew attention to the fact that the anti-Zionist forces have lately enlisted writers, educators and churchmen to create an unfavorable current of opinion.

DISCUSSION

Dr. Silver, Mrs. Greenberg, Mr. Manson, and Mrs. Halprin discussed the stepped-up activities of the Gildersleeve-Kermit Roosevelt group and the use by that group of material originating with Merwin K. Hart and Benjamin Freedman.

Mr. Cruso informed the meeting of the support given to the partition plan by Jewish Trade Union groups and of the stoppage of work officially ordered by the trade union movement in protest against the policy of the Administration.

Mrs. Greenberg informed the AZEC of the Conference arranged by the American Association for the United Nations which she had attended. The conference was attended by representatives of 62 organizations, united in "The Emergency Committee To Save the United Nations and the Palestine Decision". The policy of this body was to stress the importance of the Palestine issue in the general context of strengthening the United Nations. The organization planned newspaper ads, radio broadcasts, etc.

Mr. Tuvim said that the AZEC was cooperating with this organization, not only nationally, but also in the local communities.

Mr. Goldman said the only mass demonstration arranged by the Zionist movement lately was the meeting in Manhattan Center some time ago. He felt a desire on the part of the Jews in New York to demonstrate on a larger scale, by closing shops and stores, etc. Our failure to call for action of this kind gave an opportunity to groups with no deep interest in our cause to utilize it for their own purposes.

Dr. Gold asked that more attention be paid to enlightening the church groups in the Christian communities regarding the Palestine issue.

Mr. Ben-Horin drew attention to the confusion created by the similarity of the names used by the organization formed by the United Nations Association with the "Committee to Save the United Nations and the Jewish State", formed



by the extreme left groups.

#### AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE

Dr. Goldstein, Mrs. Epstein, Judge Rothenberg, Mr. Wertheim, Mrs. Halprin, Dr. Neumann, Rabbi Kirshblum, Mrs. Israel Goldstein and Dr. Silver participated in a discussion with regard to the American Jewish Conference. It was felt that the continued activity of the Conference was of great value.

#### BUDGET

Mr. Tuvim requested authority to spend an additional \$100,000 to intensify our work until October 1948, of which \$50,000 was to be used for the work of the Council proper.

#### CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN JUSTICE DEPARTMENT AND ZOA

Dr. Akzin reported on an exchange of correspondence between Mr. Foley of the Justice Department and the ZOA.

#### COMMUNICATION FROM THE LOS ANGELES EMERGENCY COUNCIL

A communication was read from the Los Angeles Emergency Council suggesting the integration of the work of all friendly organizations.

Dr. Silver said that the AZEC requested additional information from Los Angeles on this question.

#### REPORT OF MR. MANSON ON HIS VISIT TO PALESTINE

Mr. Manson said that he found the Yishuv firm in its resolve to carry on. He had heard these words many times, but had never really felt their significance until he himself witnessed the behavior under the most difficult circumstances of the very wonderful youth which he was sure had no equal anywhere in the world. The security problem there was very serious. One could not overstate the urgency of the arms needs. He illustrated the situation by relating his experiences in the training centers and at the fighting fronts.

Replying to Mrs. Epstein, Mr. Manson said that the Agency Press Department includes some first-rate people who are trying to do a very difficult job under the worst of conditions. He analyzed the public relations problems that exist in Palestine today and stressed that, in dealings with American correspondents, the problem was mainly one of organization. The average American reporter believes that both the Jews and the Arabs are constantly bombarding him with propaganda, while he is seeking primarily the "dry facts" concerning daily events. The British have very cleverly set themselves up as a "neutral" source of information, and the communiques issued by the Public Information Office in Jerusalem are seemingly objective accounts of military engagements. They are, in fact, distortions, but are presented in so "dispassionate" a way as to convince the newspaperman that the PIO should be his chief source of information. He very seldom covers events himself because he doesn't want to be killed.

Mr. Manson had made specific proposals to the Agency in order to improve the public relations set-up and he believed that they were being put into effect.

Meeting adjourned 5:20 P.M.

B.A.



HPM

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

March 23, 1948

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

PRESENT

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, Nathan Friedel, Daniel Frisch, Berl Frymer, Leon Gellman, Paul Goldman, Mrs. David B. Greenberg, Dr. Emanuel Neumann, Rabbi Irving Miller, Mrs. David de Sola Pool, Louis Segal, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Dr. Joseph Schechtman, Huma Torczyner, David Wertheim, Baruch Zuckerman.

Dr. I. B. Berkson, Rev. Karl Baehr, Dr. Federbusch, Rabbi W. Gold, Marvin Lowenthal, Dr. Mordecai Hurock, T. Resnikoff, Dr. Ignacy Schwarzbart, Yehuda Tubin, Abraham Tulin, Rabbi Jerome Unger.

Dr. Benjamin Akzin, Gerold Frank, Arnold K. Israeli, William Kaufman, Harold P. Manson, Harry L. Shapiro, Dr. Benjamin Shwadran, Joseph P. Sternstein, Abe Tuvim.

THE DEATH OF GEDALIA BUBLICK

The Chairman expressed the sorrow of the Council at the sudden death of Gedalia Bublick and eulogized him as a member of this body, a leader of Mizrachi, a well-known writer and a faithful servant of the Jewish cause.

REPORT BY DR. SILVER ON THE POLITICAL SITUATION

Dr. Silver informed the meeting of the announcement by the Jewish Agency and the Vaad Leumi regarding the establishment of a Provisional Government of the Jewish State by May 16th. This move has been made necessary by the current efforts to bring about a revision of the Assembly Resolution. The action of our government was shocking. For the moment, no specific resolutions were introduced by the U.S. A Special Assembly could be convoked either by a decision of the Security Council or by obtaining the consent of the majority of the members of the U.N. The fate of any trusteeship proposals at the Assembly is uncertain, in view of the difficulty to rally 2/3 of the Assembly to any new scheme. This may mean that the partition resolution would stand, unless it too is repealed by a 2/3 majority.

The Chairman informed the meeting that a meeting of the Actions Committee was to be held in Palestine on April 4th.

DISCUSSION

Mr. Wertheim said that reports in the press indicated that the United Zionist Revisionists have decided to undertake separate political action.



He asked for clarification of their position in relation to the Emergency Council.

Dr. Schechtman stated that the news reports cited by Mr. Wertheim merely indicated that the Revisionist Organization in America expressed themselves in favor of independent political activities. The matter would have to be settled by the World Party Council. For the time being there was no decision.

Mr. Tuvim reported on the forthcoming parade of veterans to take place in New York on Sunday, April 4th, and on a call by the Rabbinical authorities to 9,000 synagogues all over the country to hold mass prayers on Thursday, April 8th. It was expected that very large numbers of congregants will communicate with Washington on that day.

Mr. Segal expressed dissatisfaction with the functioning of the Emergency Council. He thought that a meeting of the Executive Committee should have been called immediately following the American statement on March 19th. Instead of giving his first reaction at a joint meeting of all Zionist groups, Dr. Silver expressed his views at a meeting of the Z.O.A. on March 21st. Questions such as the restriction of demonstrations to veterans and synagogues should not have been decided by the staff but should have been submitted to the Executive Committee. To enable the AZEC to be more responsive to organized Zionist opinion, he suggested the selection of an Actions Committee to meet daily, and weekly meetings of the Executive Committee. As a basis for an immediate program of action, he proposed street demonstrations in New York City and in other large cities involving all Jewish groups, various non-Jewish groups, trade unions, and religious organizations, to dramatize the feelings of the American people toward the betrayal of the United Nations by the United States. He further proposed a march on Washington with the participation of delegations from all major cities. Mayors of all major communities should be asked to inform the U.S. Government of their dismay at the betrayal of the Jewish people and of the dignity of America. Steps should be taken to obtain a hearing before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. State Legislatures and City Councils might be encouraged to adopt resolutions expressing their indignation. Political leaders of both major parties, including all prospective candidates for the Presidency, should be canvassed. Contacts with editors and radio commentators should be intensified.

In this connection, Mr. Segal reported that trade unions were prepared to cooperate with us in arranging a demonstration similar to the one held in 1933 when one million Jews in New York City demonstrated in the streets.

Mr. Tuvim explained that while the marching parade was limited to servicemen, all friends of our cause will be asked to assemble at Madison Square Park where the meeting will be held.

Mr. Gellman expressed extreme resentment at the attitude of the Administration in repudiating the U.N. decision. He believed that this just resentment should be made unmistakably clear.

Mr. Goldman expressed regret at the failure of the Executive Committee to meet immediately after the Austin Statement on March 19th. He thought this body should itself take decisions on specific actions, and endorsed the proposal for the formation of an Actions Committee to meet daily. Mr. Goldman also favored a mass demonstration inclusive of all groups, and a march on Washington.



Dr. Silver said that an answer was given by him at Lake Success within 30 minutes after the Austin Statement, and that this answer represented the voice of the entire Zionist Movement. He spoke on March 21st at a Z.O.A. Conference because that organization had invited him two months ago; had other parties extended to him equal courtesies, he would have been glad to speak from their platforms as well. He certainly did not play favorites with parties. He pointed out that the AZEC has taken all steps suggested by Mr. Segal except for the march to Washington which, in his opinion, would not be timely.

He regarded the veterans march as particularly important because it would emphasize our American patriotism. The climax of the march would be a Madison Square Park meeting where all ought to attend.

Dr. Silver thought a daily Actions Committee would not be helpful. The business of the Executive Committee is to define policies and outline ideas for action. The execution of this program should be left to the staff. If more meetings were essential, the Executive could meet weekly, even if not all members could attend. Between March 19th and March 23rd, four meetings took place at the Jewish Agency, thereby making it impossible for him to attend a meeting of the Executive Committee. Dr. Silver then proceeded to report on some of the work done lately in New York and Washington.

Mr. Tulin suggested that the fate of the D.P.'s and of Jews in oriental countries be again emphasized in our work. It is necessary to remind the Government and the people that a trusteeship regime favorable to the Arabs and the British would leave the D.P. problem unsolved. If, on the contrary, the needs of D.P.'s are taken into account in the trusteeship proposal, the Arabs would oppose it.

Dr. Schechtman felt that there was no practical purpose in continuing to fight for partition. He cited Dr. Neumann's statement a few days ago that if partition be not implemented, the Jews would demand the whole of Palestine. In the light of this, he saw no purpose in planning mass demonstrations in favor of partition or in the announcement of a Provisional Government for a partitioned State. If a dramatic effect were necessary, this could be best achieved by the resignation of the Jewish Agency and the substitution of new people and a new deal in the Zionist Movement.

Dr. Akzin said that certain methods of political pressure including mass demonstrations, have reached the point of diminishing returns. The Administration knew that it had lost a great deal of sympathy among the Jews. Nothing would be gained and something may be lost if we overplayed our hand. He thought that whatever action was taken in America was secondary to the steps taken in Palestine and that the longer the actual proclamation of the Provisional Government of the Jewish State was delayed the worse the situation would become.

Dr. Silver said that the Security Council would be informed the next day of the decision taken by the Agency and the Vaad Leumi. The AZEC could not determine fundamental Zionist policy, but merely action policy.

Mr. Zuckerman felt that not enough opportunity was provided for the representatives of the Zionist groups to determine action and that too great a responsibility was assumed by the staff. He supported the formation of an Actions Committee.



Mr. Frisch discussed the status of the Haganah, the state of mind of the Yishuv, and the implications of the American trusteeship proposal.

Dr. Silver explained the attitude of the Jewish Agency as utterly rejecting trusteeship and insisting on the implementation of the partition decision.

Mrs. Epstein supported the formation of a smaller committee to pool experiences and ideas.

Judge Rothenberg commended the work of the Emergency Council. He thought that as the Administration would sense public reaction, it would realize its mistake and try to change back to the original solution. He suggested joint meetings between this body and the American Section of the Jewish Agency, and a committee to meet regularly with friendly non-Zionist groups and personalities.

Dr. Silver said he will try to carry out Mr. Rothenberg's suggestion for joint meetings with the Agency, and that meetings with non-Zionist Jewish groups were already taking place.

It was understood that for the time being the Executive Committee would meet weekly. The suggestion of an Actions Committee was not further pressed.

Dr. Neumann brought information regarding an effort to summon a meeting of representatives of all important Jewish organizations in America for the purpose of taking a united stand. All Zionist organizations would be invited.

Mrs. Greenberg gave information regarding the continuing friendly stand taken by the American Association for the United Nations.

Mr. Friedel took issue with certain views expressed by Mr. Frisch earlier in the meeting.

The meeting adjourned at 6:50 P.M.

B.A.



HPM

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

March 30, 1948

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held on Tuesday, March 30, 1948, at 8:15 P.M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Pinchas Cruso, Beinesh Epstein, Natan Friedel, Daniel Frisch, Dr. Berl Frymer, Dr. Raphael Gold, Paul L. Goldman, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mrs. Benjamin Gottesman, Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Rabbi Joseph H. Lookstein, Rabbi Irving Miller, Mrs. Nathan D. Perlman, Mrs. David de Sola Pool, David Wertheim.

Rabbi Wolf Gold, Itzhak Karpman, Isaiah L. Kenen, Miss Jeannette Leibel, Arthur Lourie, Elinu D. Stone, Yehuda Tubin, Abraham Tulin, Rabbi Jerome Unger, Samuel J. Zacks.

Dr. Benjamin Akzin, Gerold Frank, Arnold K. Isreeli, Harold P. Manson, Leo R. Sack, Harry L. Shapiro, Dr. Benjamin Shwadren, Abe Tuvim.

REPORTS OF AZEC ACTIVITIES

Mr. Shapiro reported on the activities of the Emergency Council in the past week, particularly in the fields of press, speakers' bureau and community activities. He drew attention to the concerted efforts made lately to place Zionism in an unfavorable light, as evidenced by the editorial in "Life", the Kermit Roosevelt article in "Harper's", the Dodge article in Reader's Digest and others. All this required a special effort to enlighten the American public as to the true state of affairs, which was being done.

Mr. Tuvim reported on the progress of two planned mass activities, the Veterans march on April 4th and the Day of Mobilization and Prayer on April 8th. Both demonstrations were shaping up well. About 40,000 veterans were expected to march, and it was hoped that tens of thousands of people would attend the demonstration. On the Day of Prayer, all religious groups were cooperating most diligently. The ZOA and Hadassah were very helpful, and he suggested that the other constituent groups be asked about their work in this connection.

DISCUSSION

Rabbi Miller informed the meeting that there was a desire on the part of some business people in New York to participate in the Mobilization Day observance on April 8th by closing their businesses.

Dr. Frymer reported that the L.Z.O.A.-Poale Zion, the Pioneer Women and their affiliated groups, had been in touch with all their branches and had contacted their membership on the telephone to assure the success of the Veterans' march. Mobilization Day activity had not yet started.



Dr. Silver requested Dr. Frymer to explain a reference to him in a recent Poale-Zion circular. After an explanation by Dr. Frymer, Dr. Silver took sharp issue with its propriety and veracity.

#### "AMERICAN VOTERS FOR A JEWISH STATE"

Dr. Akzin and Mr. Tuvim reported that an organization had been formed in New Jersey under the name of "American Voters for a Jewish State". Some questions had arisen as to our attitude regarding that body.

Miss Leibel, Dr. Silver, Dr. R. Gold, Mr. Wertheim, Rabbi Lookstein and Mr. Stone took part in the discussion. The suggestion was made that the Council disavow that organization. It was felt, however, that this might constitute an inappropriate interference with the exercise of their rights by individual American citizens and that, since the organization was entirely unconnected with the AZEC and with any Zionist group, no action on the part of AZEC was called for.

#### PRESS REPORTS ON VOLUNTEERS FOR PALESTINE

Dr. Silver expressed regret over the press reports of Bergson-group propaganda for recruiting volunteers for Palestine. He invited the constituent bodies to acquaint their membership with the harm which this propaganda was causing the Zionist movement.

The question was further discussed by Rabbi Miller, Mr. Stone, Mr. Goldman, Rabbi Gold, Dr. Silver, Mr. Manson, Mr. Tulin and Mr. Wertheim, who asked whether the United Zionists-Revisionists and the Irgun were connected with this propaganda. Dr. Silver replied that as far as he was aware, this was not the case.

#### REPORT AND DISCUSSION ON THE POLITICAL SITUATION

Dr. Silver reported on the latest developments in Lake Success and Washington. The attitude of the American Government, as evidenced by Mr. Austin's resolutions introduced that afternoon in the Security Council, was most shocking. There was reason to believe that this policy did not originate with the heads of the Government but that they were used by subordinates and by special interests intent on bringing about an unfavorable solution.

Questions and comments were offered by Dr. Akzin, Mr. Tulin, Mr. Epstein, Dr. Goldstein, Dr. Gold, Mrs. Pool, Mr. Friedel, Mr. Lourie and Rabbi Miller.

#### JOINT CONFERENCES WITH NON-ZIONIST GROUPS

In reply to an inquiry by Rabbi Miller, Mr. Tuvim reported on the consultations with non-Zionist groups. Thought was being given to a conference of about 150 leaders in New York.

Rabbi Miller believed that such a conference would not sufficiently dramatize the feelings of the American Jewish Community. He visualized an extraordinary assembly of 20,000 delegates in Madison Square Garden, representing every organization, synagogue, lodge, district, and chapter, which would issue a historic declaration on behalf of the Jews of America.



Mr. Manson and Mr. Tuvim voiced their approval of the suggestion and proposed that this meeting be held on May 16th.

VETERANS' MARCH

A brief discussion took place regarding the technical aspect of the Veterans' March and the Madison Square Park meeting scheduled for April 4th.

Meeting adjourned at 10:30 P.M.

B.A.





H7PM

CONFIDENTIAL NO. 123

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

April 6, 1948

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council was held on Tuesday, April 6, 1948, at 4:00 P.M., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PRESENT

Rabbi Irving Miller (presiding), Pinchas Cruso, Beinesh Epstein, Natan Friedel, Mrs. Bert Goldstein, Mrs. Benjamin Gottesman, Miss Hadassah Levine, Rabbi Joseph H. Lookstein, Mrs. David de Sola Pool, Numa Torczyner.

Ernest E. Barbarash, Dr. I. B. Berkson, Rabbi Philip S. Bernstein, Arthur Lourie, Yehuda Tubin, Rabbi Jerome Unger, Dr. Ignacy Schwarzbart.

Dr. Benjamin Akzin, Gerold Frank, Arnold K. Isreeli, Harold P. Hanson, Harry L. Shapiro, Dr. Benjamin Shwadran, Joseph P. Sternstein, Abe Tuvim.

REPORT BY MR. SHAPIRO ON EMERGENCY COUNCIL ACTIVITIES

Mr. Shapiro reported on some of the activities of the Emergency Council in the press, through community contacts and in the magazine field. A concerted propaganda campaign was now being conducted against the UN decision by the State Department, Defense Department, the major oil companies, the Arabs and the British. Despite this array of forces, some progress was being made in enlightening the country. Good work was being done in Washington.

A splendid job had been accomplished by the communities throughout the country. Many large mass activities were being conducted this very week, most of them on Thursday night following the Day of Mobilization and Prayer. The New York Veterans' Parade had generated a demand for similar demonstrations in many of the larger cities. In Chicago and St. Louis similar affairs were already scheduled to take place. In Los Angeles, Milwaukee, Boston and Baltimore large-scale activities were being carried on at the moment.

In the labor field, the Poale Zion had taken the initiative for a mass rally of the labor movement at the Yankee Stadium on April 14th. The AZEC expected to give its full cooperation in this effort.

REPORT BY MR. TUVIM ON THE VETERANS' PARADE

Mr. Tuvim said that the Jewish War Veterans had estimated that 50,000 people participated in the parade. Estimates on the audience varied; most papers gave 250,000 for the march and 150,000 for the meeting in Madison Square Park. A conservative estimate of those participating in the march and the meeting, in addition to veterans, would be 350,000. In addition to the New York press, it was understood that Chicago papers had covered the demonstration, as did the newsreels.



Mr. Tuvim proposed that a letter of thanks be sent to the Jewish War Veterans for their magnificent part in the demonstration on April 4th. APPROVED.

Mr. Tuvim further expressed his appreciation of the full cooperation which the AZEC received on that occasion from the constituent groups.

Rabbi Lookstein expressed appreciation for the work of the AZEC staff.

Dr. Schwarzbart said reports from the DP camps indicated the feeling that they were being let down by American Jewry. He suggested the sending of material on the parade and of a message that would help to lift their morale.

#### REPORT BY MR. ISREELI ON DAY OF MOBILIZATION AND PRAYER

Mr. Isreeli said the project had originated with the Union of Orthodox Rabbis who called together representatives of various organizations, Mr. Isreeli representing the Council, for a day of prayer and intercession for Palestine. The Mizrahi was especially active in this matter, and Dr. Silver was also consulted. The Synagogue Council of America, which represents orthodox as well as conservative and reform congregations, joined in this project. As a result, over 8,000 synagogues and 1,200 rabbis in various communities were cooperating on this project. In many neighborhoods work was being stopped and businesses closed on that day at 4:00 o'clock. Scores of manufacturers and manufacturers' associations cooperated in this regard. Postal cards were being distributed to the synagogues for the sending of protests to Washington, and many communities and synagogues were printing their own cards.

Many places outside New York were even more active than New York. A particularly gratifying feature was the unprecedented solidarity of the different rabbinical groups which were cooperating on this proposal. The Agudah was also very helpful.

In conclusion, Mr. Isreeli reported on the rabbinical convocation and service held in the Anshe Chesed Synagogue in New York with the participation of Dr. Silver.

Mr. Cruso suggested that in addition to individual protests, collective resolutions of protest might be adopted by congregations.

Mrs. Bert Goldstein asked whether it was contemplated to extend the religious demonstration to the churches as well. Mr. Shapiro replied that in some places Christian ministers were going to participate in the Jewish services. Rabbi Miller said that churches might set aside a Sunday to hold special services.

Mr. Shapirc said that the Prayer Day services would receive good news coverage and possible editorial comment.

#### REPORT ON THE POLITICAL SITUATION BY MR. LOURIE

Mr. Lourie reported on the political situation, including a review of the recent Security Council meetings, American proposals for a trusteeship and a truce, activities of the UN Palestine Commission, and the activities of the American Section of the Jewish Agency.

Rabbi Lookstein, Mrs. de Sola Pool, Numa Torczyner, Dr. Akzin, Dr. Schwarzbart, Rabbi Miller, Beinesh Epstein, Pinchas Cruso, Natan Friedel and Mrs. Bert Goldstein participated in the discussion of this report.



Mrs. Pool asked whether the group of organizations led by the American Association for the United Nations was still active in its support of the UN decision. Mr. Shapiro confirmed this fact.

Rabbi Lookstein said the situation in Jerusalem should be given serious attention. Christian sentiment should be aroused over the safety of Jerusalem.

Mr. Shapiro informed the meeting regarding the steps taken in this matter.

#### THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON

Mrs. Bert Goldstein thought that something should be done to indicate that the march on Washington being organized by certain groups for April 15th was not in any way connected with the Zionist movement. Perhaps this result could be achieved by organizing some similar activity on our own.

Rabbi Miller and Mr. Shapiro concurred in thinking that while no such demonstration could be organized prior to April 15th, it was clear to the public that the Zionist movement was unconnected with the "March" planned for that day.

#### TELEGRAM FROM JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL OF HAIFA

Rabbi Miller read a telegram which had just been received from the Jewish Community Council of Haifa. It contained a plea from the parents of those imprisoned in Kenya. Mr. Lourie said that the matter had already been taken up by the Agency; the British were quite obdurate in refusing to release the detainees before their troops were removed from Palestine on August 1st.

Meeting adjourned at 6:00 P.M.

B.A.



## AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

## MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

(Jointly with American Section of Jewish Agency for Palestine)

April 27, 1948

A joint meeting of the Executive of the American Zionist Emergency Council with the American Section of the Executive of the Jewish Agency was held on Tuesday, April 27th, at 8:15 P.M. at the office of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, 16 East 66 Street, New York City.

## PRESENT

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (presiding), Dr. Nahum Goldmann, Mrs. Samuel W. Halprin, Dr. Emanuel Neumann, Moshe Shertok.

Beinesh Epstein, Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, Natan Friedel, Daniel Frisch, Dr. Berl Frymer, Dr. Raphael H. Gold, Mrs. Bert Goldstein, Mrs. Sam Goldstein, Mrs. David B. Greenberg, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Rabbi Irving Miller, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Charles Sherman, Mrs. David de Sola Pool, Elihu D. Stone, Baruch Zuckerman.

Herschel Auerbach, Ernest Barbarash, Mr. and Mrs. Harry Batshaw, Rabbi Philip S. Bernstein, Pinchas Cruso, Moses P. Epstein, Mendel Fisher, Paul Goldman, A. Goodman, Mrs. Benjamin Gottesman, Jacob Greenberg, Zvi Heman, Mrs. Arthur Lourie, Dr. J. Lieberman, Benjamin Mintz, Dr. S. Moses, Isaac Naiditch, Mrs. D. Rabinowitz, Jacob Riftin, Mrs. S. Rosensohn, Dr. Ignacy Schwarzbart, Mrs. Moshe Shertok, Miss Marie Syrkin, Jacques Torczyner, Yehuda Tubin, Abe Tulin, Rabbi Jerome Unger, Dr. Oscar Wolfsberg.

Dr. Benjamin Akzin, Eliahu Ben-Horin, Gerold Frank, Arnold K. Isreeli, William Kaufman, Harold P. Manson, Harry L. Shapiro, Dr. Benjamin Shwadran, Joseph Sternstein, Abe Tuvim.

Dorothy Adelson, Michael Comay, Aubrey S. Eban, Eliahu Epstein, Lionel Gelber, Gottlieb Hammer, Simon Herman, Dr. M. Kahany, Isaiah L. Kenen, Arthur Lourie, Gideon Ruffer, Moises Toff, Moshe Yuval.

## UNITED NATIONS DEVELOPMENTS

Mr. Shertok surveyed the day's developments at the United Nations in both the Political Committee and the Trusteeship Council. Reports on the situation in Palestine were given by Messrs. E. Ben-Horin, J. Riftin and M. Comay. The implications of the proposals for a truce in the Old City of Jerusalem, as well as of a truce of a wider character, were considered. It was pointed out that final decision on these matters rested with the Executive in Palestine; and it was agreed that insofar as recommendations should come from here, the matter should be considered at a further meeting of the American Section of the Executive.

## RECOGNITION OF JEWISH STATE BY UNITED STATES

A telegram was read from the Washington office of the American Zionist Emergency Council regarding the problem of the recognition of the Jewish State



by the United States. In a discussion which followed, it was felt that the introduction of a resolution to that effect was premature. At the same time it was agreed that certain preparatory work should in the meanwhile be undertaken.

#### ARAB LEGION

It was agreed that the attention of the American public should be focused on the responsibility of the United Kingdom Government in the event of any possible invasion of Palestine by the Arab Legion. It was suggested, in this connection, that a systematic campaign should be initiated under the auspices of an appropriate body.

It was further suggested that the American public should be enlightened on the detrimental effects of British policy in Palestine and the Middle East on American national interests.

#### FREEDOM TRAIN

It was proposed that a series of Freedom Trains carrying gifts of supplies for Palestine be organized. Attention was drawn to the fact that such proposal had previously been considered by the United Jewish Appeal, and it was agreed that a committee of the Emergency Council, headed by Rabbi Miller, should explore with the United Jewish Appeal the possibility of positive action in the matter.

#### CELEBRATION OF DECLARATION OF JEWISH STATE

It was proposed that on May 15 or 16 a large rally be held in New York in celebration of the projected declaration of the Jewish State on that date. It was suggested that representatives from all communities throughout the country be invited to this gathering. After discussion, it was agreed that no definite arrangement should be made until it was clearly seen what the situation would be on May 15. In the meantime, the option on Madison Square Garden should be maintained and a committee should be appointed to prepare a tentative plan for the celebrations, which need not necessarily be limited to one day. It was agreed that a committee to be appointed by the chairman would cooperate in this matter with the staff.

The meeting adjourned at 11:40 P.M.

B.A.



AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MINUTES OF MEETING OF THE PLENUM

October 20, 1948

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

PRESENT

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

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

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

MEMORIAL TO NUMA TORCZYNER

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

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

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



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

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

#### REPORT BY MR. SHAPIRO ON RECENT COUNCIL ACTIVITIES

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

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

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

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



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

#### DR. SILVER'S REPORT ON THE POLITICAL SITUATION

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

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

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



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

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

#### DISCUSSION

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

Meeting adjourned 10:30 P.M.

B.A.



AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL  
MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

November 23, 1948

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

PRESENT

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

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

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

RESIGNATION OF MR. SHAPIRO

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

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

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

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



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

#### ELECTION OF EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### BUDGET

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

#### REPORT BY MR. TUVIM ON AZEC ACTIVITIES

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

#### FUTURE OF AZEC

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

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

Motion seconded and carried.

#### WELCOME TO MESSRS. LOCKER AND BRODETSKY

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

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



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

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

Meeting adjourned 5:45 P.M.



B.A.