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Jewish Agency, Committee for Progressive Zionism, 1948-1949.

S. P. Benamy
334 West Peachtree Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

C
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May 6, 1948

Dear Friend:

Enclosed you will find a copy of a letter which I have sent to Morris Margulies, the Secretary of the Committee for Progressive Zionism. I felt that you would be very much interested in what I had to say on the subject of the letter.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

(Signed)

S. P. Benamy

M/
(Enc.)

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COMMITTEE FOR PROGRESSIVE ZIONISM

WITHIN THE

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

HOTEL DIXIE

• 250 WEST 43RD STREET •

NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

June 7, 1948

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New York, N. Y.

Dear Rabbi Silver:

In connection with the Fifty-First Annual Convention scheduled for the July 4 week-end at Pittsburgh, I earnestly hope that you will be represented by a full delegation. I am sure you realize that this will be a most important Convention, and every district therefore should be represented to its fullest numerical strength.

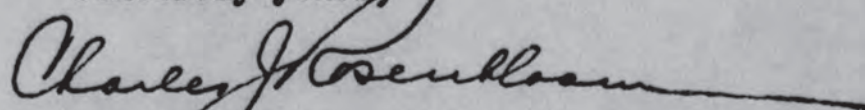
In the event, however, that you are not in a position to send all of the delegates that your membership entitles you to, I beg leave to respectfully suggest the Zionist personalities comprising our officers and Executive Committee who are prepared to go to Pittsburgh and serve as delegates from your district.

Should you choose one or more of the Zionists named on this letterhead as your representative, he, or they, will, following the Convention, either personally or in writing submit a report to you on the Convention proceedings.

I hope that you will give favorable consideration to my suggestion and notify the Z.O.A. Election Board of any name or names that you have chosen from this list as delegates representing your district. I would also deeply appreciate if you will drop me a note stating what action you have taken on my recommendation.

With Zionist greetings,

Sincerely yours,



Charles J. Rosenbloom
Chairman

P.S. This communication is addressed to all Z.O.A. district chairmen and secretaries. Will appreciate it if you will call this communication to the attention of your District Chairman. Thank you.

C.J.R.

ZIONIST ISSUES

Vol. I, No. 5

NEW YORK, N. Y.

October 8, 1948

EDITORIAL

SOME VIEWS ON ISRAEL'S TRAGEDY

Count Bernadotte, Palestine Mediator for the Security Council of the United Nations, was murdered on September 17th in Jerusalem, the day after he had forwarded what was to be his final report on his mission. The perpetrators of this senseless crime were later acknowledged to be a segment of the Stern group. The Israeli Government immediately took steps to apprehend the criminals and to take action against their principals. A curfew period was imposed and laws were approved authorizing the Government to deal vigorously and radically with all terrorist groups. The Stern group was outlawed. Several hundred of its members were taken into custody. The crime was denounced officially by all Jewish bodies in Israel and abroad, headed by the Government and including the Irgun group. This record of condemnation and action taken by Israeli authorities was registered with the Secretary General of the United Nations. An oral statement was made to the General Assembly of the United Nations. The attempt made by Dr. Ralph Bunche, taking the place of Count Bernadotte as Mediator, to place responsibility for the crime on the Israeli Government was sharply condemned in Israel and in the United States by Dr. Silver, head of the American section of the Jewish Agency.

An Injury to Zion

It was obvious that this crime was hurtful to the Jewish cause. The Anglo-American alliance, the hidden authors of the Bernadotte Report, were prepared to make the most of the murder to force the acceptance by Jews of further concessions to the Arabs, notably the giving up of the Negev, which would reduce the Jewish area from five thousand square miles to two. On September 22nd an Arab group ambushed a United Nations sponsored Jewish convoy going from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem and killed an American technician and three Jews. No notice was taken of this breach of the truce and this political murder on the part of either the American or the French representatives in Paris.

Count Bernadotte's Proposals

The murder of Count Bernadotte hurt the Jewish position in Paris greatly. The representatives of the Israeli Government, headed by Mr. Shertok and Major Eban, are actively engaged in counteracting the use made of this murder against Israel's interests. We have herewith Count Bernadotte's proposals. They indicate the provocative character of Count Bernadotte's activities during the past few months, their amazing similarities to the Morrison-Brady report, which in no way affects the universal condemnation of the crime of his murder.

The slain Mediator made the following proposals:

- A) Peace must be restored by every "feasible" measure;
- B) There is no sound reason for assuming that "a Jewish state called Israel" will not continue;
- C) The boundaries of Israel must be fixed by the United Nations if the parties in dispute fail to agree;
- D) The Resolution of November 29 (i.e. the resolution which was the last definitive laying down of policy by the General Assembly) shall not control the boundaries, but rather the boundaries must be revised by adherence to the principles (!) of geographical homogeneity;
- E) The right of innocent people uprooted by war to return to their homes and to obtain compensation must be acknowledged.
- F) Jerusalem must be accorded special treatment as an international area;
- G) Human rights and boundaries should be internationally guaranteed.

It will be observed that the only point specifically a concession to Israel was the acknowledgement of its existence. Every other point was either a general moralization or was designed to operate against Israeli interests.

Negev Excluded

In addition, he proposed the exclusion of the Negev from Israel and the inclusion of Galilee, the exclusion of Ramleh and Lydda, the allocation of the Negev to Transjordan, the internationalization of the Haifa Port and the Lydda Airport, and sundry minor points.

By now the main implications of the Bernadotte Plan are well understood. It has at least a sweeping thoroughness. All the problems which have perplexed previous students are brushed aside in a rush to satisfy the original, primary interested party—Great Britain! Israel is affronted and the Arabs frustrated by the shift of the Negev to Transjordan—to whom the area is utterly without use. The move is easily understood when the design to place the area under the military control of Great Britain's puppet, Abdullah, is posited.

U. S. Support for Plan

The day following the report, Secretary of State Marshall announced that the United States would press the General Assembly of

the United Nations for acceptance of the Bernadotte Report. Within two days, Zionists leaders joined in vigorous denunciation of Secretary Marshall's stand. Thereupon Foreign Secretary Bevin likewise accepted the Bernadotte Report with satisfaction as indeed he had a right to do.

Some Press Views

Writing in *The Nation*, Miss Freda Kirchwey from Haifa called attention to the utter dismay felt in Israel by the brutal and irresponsible act which permitted members of the U.N. mission, Dr. Ralph Bunche and General Aage Lundstroem, to use language immediately to throw suspicion on the Israeli Government itself. Bartley Crum summarized otherwise little known facts about the assassination, namely, the strange conduct of Bernadotte in flouting a private tip-off of the assassin's intentions, the threat of U.N. mission personnel to "make the Jews pay," the disregard of Countess Bernadotte's request for a quiet funeral in favor of a circus at Paris, and the determination of Israel's enemies to turn Bernadotte's death to their advantage.

Finally, after first recriminations, in which Rabbi Silver stated publicly that Dr. Bunche had probably lost his usefulness as a mediator in the Palestine situation, Moshe Shertok and Dr. Bunche conferred. Dr. Bunche then wrote to Foreign Minister Shertok that their talk was "very satisfying" and that he had never intended even remotely to associate the Israeli Government with "the wickedly calculated assassination of Count Bernadotte."

Little—and Late

Under counter-pressure from the Arab States and from the Russian bloc, the Anglo-American rush act slowed to a walk, and consideration of the Bernadotte report was put over to the middle of October. *The New Palestine* charged as a fact what the internal evidence of the report showed—that the hand was Bernadotte's but the voice was Marshall-Bevin's. In the same periodical, a writer who in private had frequently condoned, and even applauded the terrorism of the Irgun, viewed with dismay the terrorism of the Sternists.

The Arab Legion took advantage of the new political climate to attack again at Latrun, the Jewish Army defended, lives were lost on both sides, and hilltops were exchanged. But Dr. Bunche's first words remain for our better consideration—that those in our midst who fed the Genie of Terror cannot excuse their guilt because the Genie escaped its prison without their sanction in advance. Their dismayed disavowals come late.

AFTERMATH of the ACTIONS COMMITTEE

An Israeli Viewpoint

By Ben Zion Zangen

(Special to ZIONIST NEWS)

TEL AVIV—Normally it would be too late to write about the last session of the Actions Committee in Tel Aviv, especially in Palestine where life moves fast and one event displaces another. But the repercussions of the session are still evident. Talk has not ceased. If for no other reason, we may consider the sessions for future benefits.

The Actions Committee sessions left a flat taste. Even today comment is heard on the outstanding moments and aspects. The first impression was the unhealthy battle for chairmanships. This quarrel went on for several days and nights without let-up—for chairs! Nor was any attempt made to prettify or mask the picture. The Mizrahi for example fought for half a chairmanship in a battle which continued a whole day and night. When the others presented Mizrahi with an ultimatum, it withdrew from . . . the half chair.

The battle bore the petty aspects of a small town *kehilla* fight in Poland or Lithuania. Mizrahi was not alone; the other parties were no better. One felt that the delegates had not reckoned with their being in the State of Israel at war with neighboring Arab lands. The reports of the sessions provoked wide expressions of distaste. The proceedings themselves were worse than the reports.

U. S. Tactics Resented

The ultimatum-like demand of the American delegation to "separate" the State of Israel from the Zionist Organization made a second outstanding impression. Right or wrong, the manner in which the demand was made was objectionable and provocative even to supporters of the basic idea. With the ultimatum, more bargaining and manoeuvring was launched. The cabinet ministers refused under any condition to withdraw from their positions in the Zionist Executive—which made another depressing and bitter moment. Only when the Americans threatened to withdraw did they yield.

As to the Americans' basic condition: it is the general feeling here that though the American delegation might have been right in theory, the issue of "dual loyalties" was greatly exaggerated. The opposition here hold that the entire issue of dual loyalties is artificial and a fantasy in the minds of the American delegates, that the American government is disinterested about it. They point to various races in America which carry on national work for their peoples with no reproach against them.

But again, right or wrong, the matter took on a different aspect when the American delegation presented their stand dictatorially. One American in fact left the session for America in the middle. He had told us what we should do, as it were, and—he left the land! Such actions are not liked in Israel.

A Sour View

Quarreling, vituperation, petty party politics and personal ambitions marred the sessions and almost concealed the real problem presented by the American delegation. The real problem may be termed not whether the Jewish government heads shall act in the administration of the Zionist Organization, but the wider question of Israel's relationship to the Diaspora. The argument must continue in a more quiet thoughtful atmosphere.

The Actions Committee in sum did not measure up to the great historic moment of the proclamation of the State of Israel—as the general critical comment in the press proved. Yet there is a feeling here that many party leaders did learn a lesson. If so, it will be a hidden blessing.

As to tangible results, reports from Jerusalem are not good. There has finally been constituted an administration, but the atmosphere suggests the faults of the session. Mapam (Hashomer Hatzair and Hapoel Hatzair) is clamoring against injustice in the distribution of posts and in certain of which it observes that Mapai has kept five to their one. Mapam vows it will not acquiesce.

That is how the World Zionist Administration appears to us now in Israel.

responsible to its own citizens; it has its own parties and party conflicts; its budget is provided for by taxes voted and budgeted by its parliament. It has its own treasury, its own loans, its own representatives in various lands to promote its own interests. It serves no good purpose to have the World Zionist Organization subject in any way to the Government of Israel, nor is it desirable or sensible that any person should function in a dual capacity, acting for the Government and for the Zionist Organization at the same time. Diaspora Zionists may be preparing to settle in Israel or they may remain in Galuth. The Zionist Organization is composed of Jews organized for promoting the welfare of Israel and its citizens. They have an interest in the Israeli community as such that are not identical with their interests in the affairs of the Government. They are citizens of other states. They form their organizations to aid the people and the Government in their own way. All their contributions are voluntary. The Zionist budget is fixed at the Zionist Congress. The identification of these two corporate bodies functioning from different angles of interest through a single personality—one or two or three—would lead to moral confusion and misunderstanding and serve the interests of neither the Government nor the World Zionist Organization.

This separation of functions does not break basic Jewish unity. There might have been some trouble had the proposal calling for the exclusion of all Israeli citizens from the Zionist Organization met with favor in Zionist councils. It did not meet with favor. On the contrary, the idea was hastily dropped by its author and played no part in discussions of the Actions Committee.

Why this simple question should have been elevated in the debate to an issue that threatened party relations we are at a loss to understand. Mr. Ben Gurion and Dr. Neumann should have had a glass of tea together before they started the controversy.

New York or Jerusalem

Where should the center of the World Zionist movement be located? The immediate answer should be, we think, Jerusalem. The American Zionist delegation in Tel Aviv said, however, at first, New York, but then agreed to leave it and other cognate questions to the next Congress. This issue seems to have been tangled with the proposal for the severance of functions, etc. It floated to the surface of discussion largely as a result of partisan conflicts.

Once, about thirty years ago, the world Zionist center was London. All the departments of the Executive, the Jewish Colonial Trust and the Keren Hayesod were at 77 Great Russell Street. All our corporations were registered under British law in London. It was regarded as a great event in Zionist life when the movement succeeded in transferring to Jerusalem first the Jewish National Fund, then the Keren Hayesod, then the headquarters of the Zionist Executive (the Jewish Agency) and finally when the Anglo-Palestine Company became the central Zionist bank located in Tel Aviv, with the Jewish Colonial Trust in the position of subordinate to the

(Continued on Page Seven)

Editorial

THE ACTIONS COMMITTEE AT TEL AVIV

The controversial issue of Double Loyalty has nothing to do with the proposal made at Tel Aviv to the Actions Committee that the Government of Israel and the Executive of the World Zionist Organization should be regarded as two separate corporate bodies. That the question should be raised by Lessing Rosenwald's press staff is easy to understand; they can think of no better argument to frighten timid American Jews. But why should American Zionists have emphasized this ancient anti-Zionist bogey in the Actions Committee meeting? Why should they have given recognition to an argument Zionists have always repudiated and which today they reject

even more vigorously than ever before?

The proposal for separation of functions does not invoke ideology. It is based upon simple practical reasons. It has in mind order and coordination. It has in mind not only that the Government of Israel shall be free in its own affairs, but that it should not be involved in special Diaspora interests.

The fact is that all reason points to the desirability of maintaining the Government of Israel as an independent sovereign corporation closely related to a Zionist organization whose functions are coordinated with the life of the Jewish community of Israel. The Government has its parliament elected by and

Economic Picture

Perhaps the most succinct, expert and revealing description of the economic difficulties of Israel appeared in a recent issue of the *New York Star* in a dispatch by Bartley Crum, its publisher, and member of the former United Nations Special Committee on Palestine.

Mr. Crum interviewed Eliezer Kaplan, former Treasurer of the Jewish Agency, and now Israel's Finance Minister, and David Horowitz, economic adviser to the new government. In the face of building the new state, fighting the war, and bringing in 120,000 immigrants the first year, Mr. Crum concludes that after four months, Israel's budget is balanced and its affairs in order. It is only in fighting the war and in immigration, that a deficit exists.

Horowitz, recognized in this country as a brilliant economist, and the outstanding authority on the problems of Israel, pointed to the deliberate attempts of the outgoing British administration to wreck the new state which had to be overcome.

Paralyzed Exchange

He said:

"They paralyzed monetary exchange, for example, by taking away all small change and currency. They left us with no telephone or telegraph system, no communications, no inland railway, no local administration.

"They burned the postal stamps, they cancelled our international postal union agreement. They left us cut off from communications from abroad.

"We have had to re-establish all this in the middle of a war—to restore postal services, internal and foreign communications, and monetary circulation.

"The British believed that 10 days after their evacuation of Haifa we would be militarily defeated—and if not defeated militarily, then defeated economically, forced into bankruptcy within a month.

"They left the country without any foreign currency, and without foreign currency you can't buy goods from abroad. Our shipments from overseas were confiscated by Egypt, Lebanon and others. Lloyd's wouldn't insure us and we had to introduce our own insurance.

"We were faced simultaneously with a sharp drop in imports and a tremendous upsurge in the demand for services and food because of incoming immigrants and a large soldier population which consumes three times as much food as the civilians.

"All this came simultaneously."

He paused.

"But we met it. That's why we have confidence in the future."

Economic discrimination between Arab and Jew is unknown. Horowitz called attention to the granting of a loan to Nazareth, an all-Arab city, for a new water system after thirty years of refusal by the British Administration.

Development of Industry

Kaplan emphasized the need for concentration on Israel as an industrial and trading center where intensity of activity may compensate for smallness in area. He pointed to

Founding the State

A Description of Some Early Problems

In the accompanying article, the critical views of Mr. Grossman are presented as a contribution to an enlightened understanding of the difficulties faced by the founders of the Jewish State, and do not necessarily represent the views of the Editor of ZIONIST ISSUES.

In the light of the turmoil created by the vigorous claim of the ZOA that its members on the Actions Committee achieved a clear separation of the functions of the Jewish State and of the Jewish Agency, a recent article in the *Congress Weekly* by Meir Grossman, now a member of the World Zionist Executive, on the birth pangs of the Israeli government is of special interest.

In his view, Israeli was born in confusion; was surrounded by enemies and in a state of war, without official recognition of the resources of an independent state. Only part of the land was under its government, while the British occupied the rest. The laws were British made and, despite all extenuating circumstances, grave dissatisfaction was aroused.

According to Mr. Grossman, the afflictions of the government lie in: (a) the rule of the British Mandate during thirty years, (b) the Diaspora psychology of the Jews, and (c) the shortsighted and open partisanship prevailing among the various political groups of Zionists. All these factors account for an alleged failure of the government to win over the trust and affections of the populace.

Difficulties Explained

As to the first, Mr. Grossman argues that the bureaucratic Mandatory regime created an officialdom impervious to public opinion and dependent on the military and the police. As to the second, the traditional mistrust of

the need for the expansion of the citrus industry, of the resources of the Dead Sea, and the development of industries calling for skill and intelligence rather than raw materials, for example, the manufacture of precision and scientific instruments, textiles and leather goods, the conversion of furs imported from Iran, and the export of polished gem diamonds. The DPs have proved great assets in this connection because of basic skills developed during the war.

The experts divide use of public and private funds on the following lines:

First, the development of Israel's harbors, any of which could become the "New York of the Middle East." Second, public works, including road-building, schools, hospitals, community centers and vast public housing. The latter would mean enormous orders to the U. S. A. for building materials such as steel, iron bars, pipe and timber. Third, the development of communications, including railroads and airplanes.

Jews for any and all government taints their present attitude with suspicion.

But the third serious fault, Mr. Grossman was informed was:

"... the fact that Israel has inherited from the World Zionist Organization the tradition of narrow partisanship. Through the years leading up to the establishment of the state, the parties in Zionism have developed an intolerance of each other which has been carried over into the governmental setup. As a result there was a deepening of the abyss separating the majority party from the minority parties."

Mr. Grossman further charges that all parties alike seek to staff governmental offices on the basis of party affiliation, rather than competence and ability. Each of the thirteen cabinet ministers seeks for the civil service of their own party members who are if possible from the same land. Thus Itzhak Gruenbaum, Felix Rosenbluth and Moshe Shertok are specifically charged with favoring their own party and place of origin. Furthermore, Mr. Grossman complains that those parties outside the government, like the Revisionists suffer from discrimination. Whether or not the Revisionists, given the chance, would practice party favoritism, Mr. Grossman a Revisionist, does not say.

Outlook Seen as Hopeful

Mr. Grossman does not observe that while in every country, not excluding these United States, party strife is a concomitant of government, especially in the absence of rigorous civil service laws, partisanship does not exclude patriotism. However, he concludes:

"The situation is not hopeless. Israel is only three months old. Through democratic elections and public pressure, in America as well as in Israel, it will be possible to erase the evil effect of 'strong-arm' tactics inherited from the British. The new generation, now on the battlefields, is healthy and sound human material. It will, in the near future, probably rid itself of the negative aspects of its heritage. But it will be more difficult to get rid of the third affliction—the violent partisanship of political groups and the party composition of the Government apparatus. We know how difficult it is to remove those who have tasted 'power,' particularly if political life continues to follow purely partisan lines. The consequences of this error may be even worse. If the forthcoming elections bring a change in the relative party strength, then the new cabinet ministers will be faced with unfriendly civil officials who will resent the elected 'strangers.' This may lead to serious consequences. Ministers come and go; but officials remain."

UNFAIR TO CANADA

The Executive Board of the Canadian Zionist Federation protested the failure of the Actions Committee to include their Canadian Zionists on the American branch of the World Zionist Executive. At a meeting held on September 22nd they charged that the American branch was not representative because its membership included only American citizens.

WHAT DID THE OTHER MAN SAY?

An Adventure in Zionist Journalism

What happened at the meeting of the World Confederation of General Zionists is a problem difficult to determine from an examination of *The New Palestine*, the official organ of the ZOA.

In the issue of August 31, 1948, almost two pages are devoted to that problem. It appears that an opposition to the ZOA delegation arose, for a headline on page 5 says: "Opposition led by Gruenbaum fights abandonment of state participation in Zionist Executive." But what was said by the Opposition is nowhere disclosed in their language. We learn instead that Dr. Silver and Dr. Neumann as usual swept all—exactly what is not known—before them.

The lead story (page 5) says that Dr. Israel Goldstein called for unity. Then Dr. Silver proposed that "all" members of the Israeli Government resign from the World Zionist Executive and that functions between the Government and the Zionist Organization be distributed. He called for the decentralization of the world organization.

It is then stated that "there was evidence of a sharp opposition of certain elements . . . headed by Isaac Gruenbaum, leader of Group A . . . to the 'American' program."

The Small Stilled Voice

Mr. Gruenbaum was not reported. Instead, Dr. Neumann's alleged summary of Mr. Gruenbaum's position is stated. According to Dr. Neumann, Mr. Gruenbaum called for a) Concentration of the Zionist movement in Jerusalem under the eyes of the Israeli Government; b) Continuance of the membership of the Israeli Government within the World Zionist Executive; c) the limitation of the World Zionist Executive's functions; and d) all fund raising to be under the control of the state. Then Dr. Neumann threatened to resign if this program was adopted.

On the same page, a parallel article based on JTA dispatches refers to the hearty enthusiasm accorded to Dr. Neumann, Dr. Goldstein and Dr. Silver and to the former's praises for the latter.

The article admits that the Group A delegates were elected to the administration of the Confederation and that a committee was appointed to seek a union of Aliyah Chadasha, Oved Hazoni and WIZO and that Dr. Silver was seeking unity between Groups A and B. But still no explanation why Group A was out.

On page 7, "Neumann Answers Opponents of ZOA." He spoke in Hebrew for an hour, "gave a powerful answer to those who attempted to distort and misinterpret the ZOA policy," was "applauded not only by his own party but by members of the Right and Left alike," "marshalled classical Hebrew arguments" and ended when "a burst of applause greeted his address." In conclusion, the anonymous writers chastised the Mapai "who have misinterpreted the ZOA program (and

who it is hoped) will make concessions." Still no views of the "opponents."

The Zionist Review's Version

What happened may never become known. But it is interesting to know that a note of dissent has been uttered by our fellow General Zionists in Great Britain. In the *Zionist Review* of September 3rd, the leading editorial summed up the ZOA "sweeping victories" in the following terms:

"The question arose to what degree a separation of the personnel in authority in both bodies was necessary—and desirable. While it could rightly be contended that a far-reaching identity of the personnel in authority could create the impression that the Zionist Organization was 'the agent of a foreign Power,' there was the danger that by a complete separation some of the most forceful personalities would be lost to the Zionist Organization. To choose the middle way between these two extremes was a matter for careful and objective consideration, but unfortunately other factors tended to obscure this issue.

"The Typical High-Pressure Way"

"Dr. Silver and his friends submitted their motion asking for the resignation of all Gov-

ernment members from the Executive of the Zionist Organization in the typical American, high-pressure way, which came to them quite naturally. It was, however, bound to create resentment in the ranks of the majority party in Israel—Mapai—the exclusion of whose Ministers would affect them considerably. There were threats of resignation from the American side and of withdrawal from the Zionist Organization by Mapai. The other parties joined in the battle and took sides for motives which were not altogether divorced from party considerations.

"Whatever is decided, there is one thing that must be kept in mind: The Government of Israel and the Zionist Organization both have to work for one single aim, a strong and prosperous Israel as a cultural centre and haven of refuge for world Jewry. Whatever the formal terms of the future relations between the Government and the Zionist Organization may be, the spirit, rather than the letter, will decide the future of the new State.

"It is not impossible that the political set-up of the Z.O. will differ considerably from that existing within Israel, and it will not always be easy to adjust the differences of opinion thus arising.

"Whilst Israel must be conscious of certain susceptibilities of Galuth Jewry, and especially its most potent constituent, American Jewry, the Galuth, for its part will have to bear in mind that *Israel cannot allow its internal policy to be governed by outside bodies, however friendly their intentions are.* Only thus can harmonious co-operation between Zion and Zionism be ensured, and full co-operation of activities achieved."

THE ZIONIST REVIEW

A Study in Modesty and Taste

We have at hand a copy of *The Zionist Review*, the official publication of the Zionist Federation of Great Britain and Ireland, an organization far smaller than the Zionist Organization of America and which labors under the handicaps which afflict all affairs in the British Isles today.

This magazine is instructive for the possibilities which lie in journalism dedicated to good taste and informative intelligence. Although small in size and running only to sixteen pages, nine by twelve inches, it manages to present the issues in the Zionist World on a high level and in a thoroughly satisfying style.

The issue of September 3, 1948 deals with the events turning on the meeting of the Actions Committee. The actions there taken are presented briefly but sufficiently. A speech by Prime Minister David Ben Gurion is set forth in full, followed by an interview with Military Governor Bernard Joseph on the future status of Jerusalem. A brilliant article by Professor Harold J. Laski points that the "keys of peace lie in Downing Street" and that the responsibility for the continuance of the state of war lies directly with Ernest Bevin. An amusing and literate article by R. da Costa touches on the problems of fusing the Jewish religion into a secular state. Major E. Laserson, analyzes "Israel's Army's Peace Mission" and points out that the military service of new immigrants to Israel can be an invaluable contribution to their peacetime skills.

Other articles of similar good caliber abound in this little magazine. The editorials are sober and impersonal in their approach and directed to the thoughtful reader. The letters are models of English style.

In only one sentence, and then in an inconspicuous and deprecatory way, there appears the name of the president of the Zionist Federation, Professor Selig Brodetsky.

LEVINTHAL GIVES—RECEIVES JNF HONOR

Judge Louis E. Levinthal, former president of the Jewish National Fund in America, was both recipient and donor of certificates of merit in Tel Aviv last week.

Judge Levinthal was presented with a certificate by Dr. Abraham Granovsky, director of the JNF, notifying him that a portion of newly acquired land in Galilee purchased by funds raised by the Jewish community of Philadelphia had been named in his honor. Judge Levinthal, as president of Gratz College in Philadelphia, presented a certificate of merit for Gershon Agronsky, publisher of *The Palestine Post*, for the Israeli Government.

Judge Levinthal is a member of the Committee for Progressive Zionism.

Congress to Meet

The Actions Committee meeting in Tel Aviv in September voted to hold the next Zionist Congress in June, 1949.

How Not to Conduct Polemics

Some evidence of the lowered level of political debate within the Zionist Movement in America has come to hand.

Dr. Samuel Margoshes, ZOA Administration spokesman, took a critical view of the CPZ in his distinguished, presumably objective, column in *The Day* on Sunday, August 1st, under the title of "How Not to Lead an Opposition." Surprisingly colloquial, or merely in the current style, in the sarcastic guise of offering friendly advice, he made the following irrelevant points:

First: the CPZ made itself a laughing stock in advocating social progress in Israel because it numbers two men of wealth among its leaders.

(A discredited stale ZOA Administration canard directed against "a certain public servant" was reiterated by Dr. Margoshes for no discernible or legitimate reason).

Second: the CPZ "erred" in demanding the reaffirmation of the Pittsburgh Platform—because a certain CPZ leader had "fought" Justice Brandeis (its author) for years.

(Dr. Margoshes knows but omitted to state that Dr. Neumann also "fought" together with the said CPZ leader against Brandeis in 1921 on an unrelated issue, and that while thereafter Dr. Neumann wandered down the righthand path to Group B and the Irgun, away from Brandeis principles—the same CPZ leader strove successfully for the fusion of the Brandeis influence within the ZOA.)

Irgun and Reaction

Third: the charge that the ZOA ever practiced reaction was "fatuous"; the audience "roared approval" when Neumann challenged the Opposition to adduce evidence; the charges were "transparent lies . . . false, trumped up charges and phony issues . . . I could almost hear the Opposition groan as Neumann wiped the floor with them . . . when he got through with the Opposition it was as flat as a pancake" for "the best it could do . . . was to hark back to the World Zionist Congress . . . pointing to the horrible fact that the ZOA delegates voted against Weizmann (tell it not in Union Square) with the Revisionists!"

(Dr. Margoshes omitted what every other delegate heard, namely, Ezra Shapiro's specific charge that Daniel Frisch, ZOA leader and candidate to succeed Dr. Neumann, had—unrepudiated and unrebuked—denounced the Labor Party of Israel (which has supplied the heads of the Israeli Government) as subservient to the "Red Flag of Moscow." Mr. Frisch, then present, did not deny Mr. Shapiro's charge nor the inference to be drawn from his speech.)

Fourth: the attempt to lay the Irgun at the door of the ZOA was another fake issue.

(This issue has been extensively dealt with elsewhere. The CPZ rests on the public and private utterances of Silver and Neumann in support of Irgun and on their contumacious refusal prior to Pittsburgh to allow the ZOA to take a clear stand on the matter. It is well known that this Spring, at least one member of the ZOA Executive embarrassed Mrs. Golda Myerson at an important fund raising affair by refusing to contribute to the United Jewish Appeal on the ground of heavy contributions made to *Irgun Zvai Leumi*. His record was divulged to key ZOA Administration members before the Nominations Committee at Pittsburgh brought in the slate—which included the Irgunist's name. Since the person referred to is well known to Dr. Margoshes, one may assume that the episode is known to him. If not, a call to the ZOA Inner Committee can clear up the mystery. The Irgunist poison has so seeped into the ZOA that in private discussions it is now a common phenomenon on the "highest" levels to find apologists for the Irgun rather than embittered opponents. Since the Bernadotte assassination and the dissolution of Irgun, this may have changed—perhaps.)

No comment is needed on Dr. Margoshes's delicate choice of words in his polemical article.

How to Deal with a Sneer

The article of Dr. Margoshes referred to in the adjoining article was reproduced and widely circulated by the ZOA Administration—apparently as a nasty potion they were prepared to taste, stomach, and endorse for wide consumption. In reply, Morris Margulies circulated the following dignified answer on behalf of the Committee for Progressive Zionism.

In his piece "How Not to Lead an Opposition," published last Sunday, Dr. Samuel Margoshes essays a role that ill becomes him. In his effort to deride and make fun of the opposition, he—inadvertently, I presume—left the cat out of the bag by revealing that a number of important decisions of the Convention were the result of the activities of the Committee for Progressive Zionism. As treated in his article, these decisions are made light of, but actually they were the most important ones to be adopted by the Convention.

The following are the facts, as the record will show. The Committee went to Pittsburgh with two major objectives: 1. to introduce resolutions intended to swing the ZOA back to the progressive line it had followed for the last quarter of a century; and 2. to democratize the Convention proceedings.

The Irgun Matter

With respect to the first objective, the Committee won a major victory, even according to Dr. Margoshes' own account. The resolution on the Irgun, which aroused a spirited discussion, was adopted practically as the Committee submitted it. In the political committee, where this resolution was first considered, the administration proposed that the reference to the Altalena incident on the Tel Aviv beach be introduced with the phrase "we deplore." The Committee's resolution read, "we condemn." Had the administration at the 50th Convention yielded to the opposition's attitude on the question of the Irgun, the tragedy witnessed on the beach of Tel Aviv might have been averted.

It is fallacious to state, as does Dr. Margoshes, that the matter of the Irgun was of small significance. In the minds of the delegates that matter occupied a preeminent place. The resolution's text, therefore, vindicated the Opposition's stand on the Irgun, adopted by it a year ago.

Pittsburgh Platform

Poking fun at so basic a social document as the Pittsburgh Platform does not vitiate its significance. When Dr. Margoshes moved that a resolution calling for the reaffirmation of the Pittsburgh Program be tabled, it was none other than Dr. Silver who ruled the motion out of order. For notwithstanding Dr. Margoshes' game of playing possum on the motivations behind it, both Dr. Silver and Dr. Neumann knew full well that its sponsor aimed at placing the ZOA in group 'A' of the General Zionists instead of 'B,' towards which the administration has been tending during the last three or four years. Dr. Silver and Dr. Neumann, however, were not prepared, at least not at this Convention, to make a fight for an alignment with group 'B,' and therefore went along with the opposition's reaffirmation of the Pittsburgh Platform.

The Committee lost the fight for its second objective, to democratize the Convention proceedings, which centered around the use of the closed ballot. If Dr. Margoshes will consult the record, he will discover that at the Monday afternoon session, Dr. Silver proposed that a committee be appointed to study the by-laws of the ZOA covering elections, with a view to bringing in a recommendation concerning the use of the ballot when a contest for office takes place. Hence though the Committee's request for a ballot was turned down, it cannot be considered entirely a wasted effort.

Mr. Margulies concluded with a discussion of the "telegram" incident and the protest demonstration of the CPZ leaders. This matter was fully dealt with in our last issue.

ARMY OF VOLUNTEERS

A Report from the Front

By Morris Margulies
(Special to ZIONIST NEWS)

TEL AVIV—I recently arrived in the State of Israel and, after the first adjustment, I sought to spend my first days in Israel with the Jewish Army. This was only natural for from that day in August, 1920, when on the shores of Lake Tiberias I first met a Yemenite *shomer*, Yitzchak, my interest in the security forces of Israel has remained primary.

My military friends were most cooperative in giving me an opportunity to come into contact with all grades in service, from privates to the head of the uniformed forces. The branch which most interested me were the volunteers. For obvious reasons, their numbers cannot be disclosed, but without doubt, when the history of this great moment, pregnant with historical meaning, is written, they will provide a glorious chapter.

Volunteers have come from every country where there is a Jewish Community regardless of its size. They come from everywhere where there has penetrated the idea of a rejuvenated Jewish People living in its own historic land.

Militarism Absent

To an American, particularly to a Jew who abhors the existence of the military caste, the Jewish Army makes a special appeal. Here one finds no clicking of heel, no high polish, and even saluting is almost unknown. Professional militarists no doubt would refuse to classify them as soldiers. And they would be right. They are no more "soldiers" than were the men who fought with Washington. Their uniforms are not much to look at—if a khaki shirt and a pair of khaki shorts can be called a "uniform". Officers and men dress alike. An officer is one because of his personality and not because of the brass or braid he wears. Those therefore who refuse to acknowledge more recognition than as a soldier are perhaps correct.

The Jewish soldiers are brave and resourceful and tenacious. Every man and woman knows exactly what he is fighting for. They get no "pep" talks for they require none. Instruction is given to them in military tactics, but not much time is spent in drill. Even during battle, the exigencies permitting, they receive

NEUMANN APPOINTS AKZIN

Dr. Benjamin Akzin, political secretary of the American Zionist Emergency Council, will serve as advisor to a fifteen-man commission named by Dr. Emanuel Neumann to study the question of the future program and constitution of the World Zionist Organization, according to an announcement in *The New Palestine* of September 30, 1948.

Dr. Akzin is widely known as a brilliant and resourceful spokesman for the Revisionist point of view in Zionist affairs.

instruction an hour a day in Hebrew. Here indeed as one rarely will anywhere else can be seen an army dedicated to practising "democracy in action."

Soldierly Standards

These boys' average age cannot be above twenty. When you meet them, you come to understand why when the Negev was a point of dangers, droves of volunteers for that sector stepped forward—as they did when Jerusalem was threatened. I visited a camp recently which serves as a reception center. In cleanliness and proper management, it need not take second place to any American military camp. In its humane approach to its task, it definitely would rank first. In some encampments, it is interesting to note, signs could be seen—"Murderers of Bernadotte have stabbed the Army of Israel in the back." That night, I had the privilege to take dinner with the Chief of Staff and with the Minister of Defense. We talked of immediate problems and of those likely to arise in the near future. In their conversation, neither referred to the great deeds of the Army accomplished under their leadership. They wanted to know more about American Jewry. Notwithstanding that they have met their grave responsibility with such remarkable efficiency, I found them to be the same painstaking, thoughtful, hardworking Zionist leaders their comrades have always known them to be.

CPZ Conference in November

A National Conference of the Committee for Progressive Zionism will take place on Sunday, November 14, 1948 at the Pennsylvania Hotel in New York City. Among those who will address the conference will be Dr. Nahum Goldmann who presently is attending the sessions of the General Assembly of the United Nations at Paris, Charles J. Rosenbloom, who is also in Paris for the same purpose, and Morris Margulies, who left for Israel by Air France on Friday, September

17th, and who will then have returned to report on his observations of the then current situation.

Among others things, the purpose of the conference is formally to adopt the program of the Committee for Progressive Zionism for the coming year. The invitation to the conference was sent out by Ezra Shapiro, vice-chairman of the Committee, in the absence of Mr. Rosenbloom.

Heller Quits ZOA

Rabbi James G. Heller of Cincinnati, an outstanding leader of the Zionist Organization of America, resigned early this month from that body to join the Labor Zionist Organization of America because he is "deeply out of sympathy with the present policy of the ZOA." Dr. Heller's father, Max Heller, was among the first reform rabbis in America to welcome an advocate of militant Zionism.

Rabbi Heller is a former chairman of the Administrative Council of the ZOA and chairman of the U.P.A., In his announcement, he stated:

"I did not make this decision suddenly but after a great deal of prayerful and painful thought.

"I find that I am so deeply out of sympathy with the present policy of the ZOA, with the alliances it has made, with the stand it has taken in regard to Eretz Israel, that I can no longer identify myself with it.

"On the other hand, all that I know, and all that I have seen with my own eyes, convinces me that the Histadrut represents the future of our people in the land.

"I like the spirit of justice and idealism that characterizes the Histadrut. While I am fully aware of its inadequacies and its defects, which stem in large measure from its transitional stage in the history of our people in Eretz Israel, it seems to me to have made a magnificent beginning in the right direction."

Although Rabbi Heller is not a member of the Committee for Progressive Zionism which is committed to work *within* the ZOA, the sympathies expressed by him for the aims and methods of the Histadrut are in consonance with the traditional position taken by the General Zionist Movement. His resignation from the ZOA has been expected for some time.

PEACE! PEACE! PEACE!

The curiously motivated attack by the ZOA on Materials for Palestine in July—marked by violent denunciations in the general press and intemperate letters addressed to officers of local emergency committees, regions and districts—all calling for a boycott of that invaluable organization—has ended in peace! From now on, the ZOA will send food packages to Israel and Materials for Palestine will be privileged, with jangled nerves, to resume its invaluable unpublicized work for Israel. Aside from the disturbance to public opinion, the hampering of vital work for Israel throughout the summer, and a general setback to the Israeli supply situation, all is now roughly as it was.

FROM PANDORA'S BOX

No credence need be given to the rumor circulated out of nowhere that the Labor Zionist Organization of America would merge with the Zionist Organization of America in return for the latter's support for the Mapai in Israel. Nor that Hayim Greenberg's resignation from the Executive of the Jewish Agency was caused by a disagreement within his party, the Poale Zion, as to the future of Americans for Haganah.

The Letter Box

A MEASURE OF PROOF

SIR:

Thank you for the copy of Mr. Margulies' letter to Mr. Benamy.

With that part of it which deals with free and open discussion within our movement, I am heartily in accord. It is hard to believe that such progressive leadership as the Z.O.A. has enjoyed during the past three years would resort to censorship or freeze-out tactics. Unfortunately, this appears to be the case.

Permit me to relate a recent personal experience. I received an invitation from the U.J.A. to address one of their campaign dinners in Yorkville. About two days before the dinner while I was out of town, two telephone calls were made to my office; one from the U.J.A. advising that the dinner had been called off and another from one of the regional directors of the Z.O.A. Upon my return to the office the following day, I telephoned the latter, and the following conversation ensued:

Regional Director: "Abe, you are scheduled to speak at the Yorkville U.J.A. dinner; I heard that you are opposed to the policy of Dr. Neumann and Dr. Silver. The dinner is under the auspices of the Yorkville Z. D. and only those who support the administration should speak at Zionist gatherings."

I told him that he had been misinformed, that I was a staunch supporter of Neumann and Silver policies, but even if I were not, that it was no business of his where I spoke.

I then called the U.J.A. office

and inquired whether this individual had anything to do with the cancelling of my speaking engagement at the Yorkville Dinner. I was informed that the dinner had been called off and that he had nothing to do with it. I was too busy to investigate further, but the coincidence of these two calls on the same day made me suspicious.

You may recall that I, too, was a member of the Zionist Policy Committee of which Mr. Charles Rosenbloom was Chairman, and I was instrumental in bringing quite a number of guests to the Silver Dinner in New York, which contributed immeasurably to bringing out his popularity and had much to do with catapulting him to the leadership of the Z.O.A. Then too, this same regional director was a supporter of the existing administration and he was against the policies of Silver. He regarded Silver's supporters as traitors. These regional directors, to the extent that they are in a position to influence Zionist's thought, are an important group. It is indeed fortunate that the great majority of them are highly principled men who do not permit considerations of self-survival to influence their Zionist philosophy as does this bandwagon pro-administration regional director. Some of these fellows are losing their sense of proportion because they are undeservedly reaping the credit for the windfall of heavy Zionist membership enrollments primarily due to the march of events resulting from the Hitler aftermath.

That my censor and critic was wrong in his deduction that I was not a supporter of the Silver-Neumann policy, does not matter. The point is, that he had the brazen audacity to tell me that if I were not a Silver-Neumann follower, I ought not address any gathering under Zionist auspices.

I never dreamt that this isolated incident involving myself was symptomatic of an administration policy until I read your letter to Mr. Benamy, but if what you say is true, then your committee has a mighty important job ahead and you may count on my wholehearted support in doing it. . . .

ABRAHAM MANDEL
New York, N. Y.

CONVINCED BY EVENTS

SIR:

As president of the Wilkes-Barre District of the Z.O.A. and as one of the delegates to the recent 51st Convention in Pittsburgh, permit me to tell you and to the Committee for Progressive Zionism that I am sincerely interested in the aims and progress of your Committee. Frankly, I did not feel that way prior to the Pittsburgh Convention, but seeing the un-democratic elections conducted and reading the material published by your Committee and knowing the exemplary reputation of many of the members of your Committee, I feel confident that the Z.O.A. needs a strong militant group within its own ranks if the future of our own movement, here in America, is to grow.

Like many of the 800 members that I represent, I came to the Convention not to learn of the achievements made this past historic year, but to know of the future plans of our Z.O.A. here in America. That is the question

our members are asking of us. When I left the Convention I knew even less of the future than before. I am even more confused than ever, and I feel most of the delegates are.

LEROY LANDAU
Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

SUPPORT FOR CPZ

SIR:

I have here a copy of the letter sent by Mr. Margulies to Mr. Benamy of Atlanta, Georgia.

May I say that I am overwhelmingly in accord with the sentiments expressed in that letter to him. I have felt for some time that a careful investigation into the present administration of the ZOA would be helpful and beneficial. The names of those on your executive committee comprise an impressive roster of loyal and devoted Jews who have given much to this cause. The fact that they are eager to help revamp policy and reshape future trends is to me a healthy sign. I would place myself squarely in accordance with the views of your committee and will be happy to do what I can to serve on it.

RABBI HERBERT A. FRIEDMAN
Denver, Colorado

DR. DUNNER'S VIEWS

SIR:

I am very much in favor of the sentiments of Mr. Margulies' statements in his letter to Mr. Benamy. I have long ago—and often publicly—stated my opposition to the methods with which Dr. Weizmann and my dear personal friend Dr. Stephen S. Wise were attacked by a new leadership within our movement. I shall be glad to join your Executive Committee.

JOSEPH DUNNER
Grinnell College, Iowa

New York or Jerusalem

(Continued from Page Two)

creature it had created. The finest government building in all Palestine is the Jewish Agency building in Jerusalem in which are housed the Jewish Agency and its bureaus, the Jewish National Fund and its bureaus, and the Keren Hayesod and its various activities. This is not at a government building, but a Zionist organization building.

The transfer was symbolic of the progress of Zionism. It was the material proof of the fact that Zionism was digging into the homeland and dominated the hills of Jerusalem, never to be dislodged. The fact of Zionist occupation of Palestine, was good for the movement. It helped to clarify the Zionist objective. It colored the work of the Zionist Organization in the Diaspora. All Zionist agencies in

Jerusalem radiated their influence to every part of the Galuth, bringing to mind the daily life and customs and activities of the growing national home.

Why should that center now be transferred to the Galuth? The Jewish State is located for the time being in Tel Aviv. It is inevitable that it will finally come to Jerusalem. There is no incongruity or confusion in having in the same Jewish city—with different boards of directors or administrations, with no commingling of funds, no crossing of functions, with effective liaison between them—the State and the Zionist Organization living side by side in friendship and harmony, working together for the common objective.

THE ARABIAN KNIGHTS

"The Jews living in the Arab countries enjoy equality of rights and civil freedom to an extent that is the envy of Jews in all other countries."

Statement by Azzam Pasha, Secretary General of the Arab league.

"Dr. Stanley Morrison, Secretary of the Church Missionary Society of Egypt, said (at the World Council of Christian Churches in Amsterdam) that absence of religious liberty in all Islamic countries had created a conception of citizenship in which neither Christian nor Jew appear to have a legitimate place. He named Egypt, Syria, Iraq and Transjordan as particularly guilty of discrimination against non-Moslems."

"Manchester Guardian."

"How Doth the Little Busy B"

Connoisseurs of the alphabet will be titivated by the classic question: where is Group B when it isn't there?

On numerous occasions, the ZOA Administration has been charged with adherence to the anti-labor, rightist oriented path laid down by Group B before its ostensible merger with Group A within the General Zionist party of Palestine. On each such occasion, the ZOA Administration has vehemently repudiated the charge and ridiculed its opponents for dealing with non-existent entities. Dr. Neumann is particularly sensitive to the charge that he is covertly an adherent of Group B. This group, he has frequently retorted, had gone out of existence, and the charge was merely the invention of a desperate Opposition.

But:

In Number I of Volume II of its "Calling Z.O.A." dated September 1, 1948, an official mimeographed publication, the following appeared under the authority of the ZOA Publications Director:

"The overwhelming majority of American Zionists are affiliated with Group B as the center party of the Zionist movement."

The authority for this assertion is nowhere evident and indeed it seems to be an indiscretion promoted by the current practice of equating the private quirks of two Administration leaders with the considered decisions of five hundred thousand organized Zionists whose views in the matter are neither invited nor desired.

When did this happen? At what Zionist Convention? Was a vote taken? Was the issue so much as discussed?

In this connection, a recent analysis of Kenneth Bilby of the fracas within the Confederation of General Zionists which appeared in *The New York Herald Tribune* may be of interest, as follows:

"During the last week general Zionists have split into Right and Left Wings, and this might augur a coalition of Rightists with the Revisionist party and newly formed Freedom party of Irgun Zvai Leumi dissidents."

Mr. Bilby did not use the terms "A" and "B," but his meaning is clear. Apparently, in his eyes, the "leaders of Group B" did not succeed in making their "repudiation" stick.

THE VOICE OF EXPERIENCE

Two Minds With But a Single Thought

An interpretation of the ideological shift of the Zionist Organization of America from Zionism as heretofore understood into a new twilight zone midway between assimilationism and anti-Semitism can be found in two recent articles in *The National Jewish Post*, published in Indianapolis, a weekly of national circulation which is independent of internal Zionist controversies.

In the August 13th issue, a staff writer, Ben Gallob, in terming the issue of "dual loyalties" as "phoney" made the following observation:

"Both Rabbi Philip Bernstein at the CCAR meet and President Emanuel Neumann at the ZOA conclave agreed that the danger of dual loyalties—now that there is a Jewish State—is real.

"This surprising reversal moved Henry Moyer of Youngstown, O., a regional vice-president of the American Council for Judaism, to ask 'Is it possible that the American Council for Judaism was right all along?'"

Mr. Lessing Rosenwald, in a full page of reply-piffle in the September 10th issue, hailed the aid and comfort given to his views by the

ZOA President at the last meeting of the Actions Committee in Israel. ZIONIST ISSUES does not regard Mr. Rosenwald as an authority on anything higher than the art of paying ghost writers to defame Zionism, but in this specialized department his sense of smell may be keener than most.

An Expert View

He, or his ghost writer, wrote:

"I welcome Mr. Gallob's invitation to present our views on the 'Dual Loyalty' question that he raised in his article in the August issue of the *National Jewish Post*.

"Until recently Zionists have dismissed such a possibility as of no consequence; or have vilified the Council as appearing to impugn their loyalty to the United States. Now, belatedly, in the persons of Rabbi Phillip Bernstein and Dr. Emanuel Neumann—and in the reflections of many others—the Zionists have admitted, in the first instance that the threat of 'dual loyalty' is real and, in the second, that Zionism's position before the proclamation of Israel was anomalous.

Zionist Issues

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Progressive General Zionists

At the Actions Committee meeting in Tel Aviv a group of General Zionists led by Isaac Gruenbaum, gave notice of their withdrawal from the Confederation on the ground that the Confederation was veering too much to the right and stated their intention to form a group of "progressives" to include Group A General Zionists, Haoved Hazioni, and Aliyah Chadashah. Efforts were made to avoid a breach which were unsuccessful. At a subsequent meeting of the Confederation, under the chairmanship of Dr. Israel Goldstein, official notice was taken by a vote of 11 to 3, Dr. Neumann opposing, of the formation of the progressive group of the General Zionists in Israel, with the understanding that this group would not establish branches internationally.

Should this group succeed in organizing itself it will be the largest General Zionist group in Israel. The Aliyah Chadashah has since agreed to join the progressive group together with Haoved Hazioni and the General Zionists. A conference of the progressive group is to be held in Tel Aviv some time in October. The intention is to put a progressive ticket in the Israeli elections that are to take place in November.

"As recently as the meeting of world Zionists in Tel Aviv, Dr. Neumann, according to a J.T.A. report, 'stressed the 'great danger' involved in the creation of 'two nations'—Israeli and Jewish.'"

It is discouraging that after all these years Mr. Rosenwald should be found correct even in a small, but important point, namely, that Dr. Neumann's views are shared "in the reflections of many others" in that, for the first time in fifty years, a substantial body of ZOA members, rabbis included, has been taught to repeat throughout the land that the Zionist Movement must now be sensitive to the charge of "dual allegiance."

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Committee for Progressive Zionism

WITHIN THE

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

HOTEL DIXIE

• 250 WEST 43RD STREET •

NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

November 19, 1948

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, Chairman
American Section, Jewish Agency for Palestine
16 East 66th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Silver:

I take this means of informing you that
at a meeting of the Executive of the Committee
for Progressive Zionism the attached statement
was unanimously adopted.

With Zionist greetings,

Sincerely yours,

Charles J. Rosenbloom
Charles J. Rosenbloom per R.H.

CJR:rh
encl.

At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Committee for Progressive Zionism, held last night at the Sherry Netherland Hotel under the Chairmanship of Charles J. Rosenbloom, of Pittsburgh, the following declaration was unanimously adopted:

The Committee for Progressive Zionism has refrained from entering into the current controversy in the United Palestine Appeal, in the conviction that it would be soon resolved to the best interests of the Zionist Movement and of Israel.

In view, however, of continued public discussion, and of the demands for an expression of its views, the Committee states the following:

Every Zionist who has witnessed the revolutionary changes which have taken place in world Jewry — the creation of the State of Israel — the State at war in Israel — the imperative need and demand for increased resources, both human and material, in order to meet the heavy responsibilities of the day, is forced to the realization that every segment of American Jewry, irrespective of past identifications, must be integrated into the work for the support of Israel. Only by making the responsibilities coextensive with the resources and good will of the American Jewish community will it be possible to provide that support for Israel which it now requires to meet the historic dictates of the hour.

This progression is not unique in the Zionist Movement. It has been a cardinal principle in the extension of the Zionist Movement from its earliest days. It was one of the basic ideals of Theodor Herzl. After the issuance of the Balfour Declaration, and again upon the issuance of the Mandate, the Zionist Movement invited for participation in its work, all segments of Jewry throughout the world which had heretofore not participated in its program. The Palestine Foundation Fund, itself one of the parties in the controversy, was organized in

1921 on this principle of enlarged cooperation, as was the Jewish Agency for Palestine in 1929.

With the emergence of the State of Israel there is today, more than ever, an impelling need for the recovery of that fraternal relationship between Jews affiliated and those not hitherto affiliated with the Zionist Movement.

The Committee for Progressive Zionism approves the program of the Committee of Workers and Contributors for (1) the reconstitution of the governing boards of the U.P.A., so as to grant equal representation to the Jewish communities throughout America, charged with the responsibility for raising the funds of the UPA, with that of the existing Zionist organizations, and (2) the transmission of all funds, thus raised in the United States directly to the beneficiary agencies in Israel, by whom these funds shall be used and disbursed.

As members of the Zionist Organization of America, we call upon the Z.O.A. administration to abandon any further controversy in the matter and to arrive at an early understanding and amicable agreement with the Committee of Workers and Contributors so as not to imperil the success of the 1949 United Jewish Appeal Campaign.

Among those present and participating in its decision were Isadore Breslau (Washington), Judge Louis E. Levinthal (Philadelphia), Louis Lipsky, Morris Margulies, Charles J. Rosenbloom (Pittsburgh), Hon. Ezra Z. Shapiro (Cleveland), Hon. Carl Sherman, Rudolf G. Sonneborn, Robert Ssold (Pelham) and Dr. Stephen S. Wise.

COMMITTEE FOR PROGRESSIVE ZIONISM

250 West 43rd Street
Room 315

New York, N.Y.

November 24, 1948.

Dear Friend:

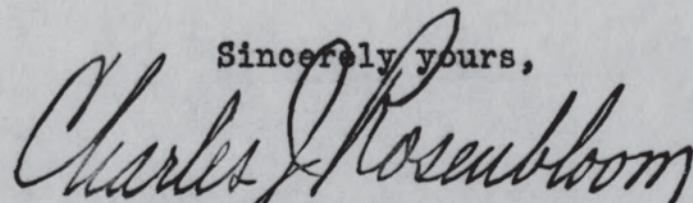
In view of the heated discussions which are now taking place with regard to the principles formulated and promoted by the Committee of Contributors, and in view of the flagrantly partial reporting which the New Palestine has been giving to these discussions, our Committee called a special meeting to consider this matter.

We discussed the problem at great length, and after a thorough examination of all the factors involved, came to the conclusion that the principles formulated by the Committee of Contributors are a logical consequence of Zionist history, and that their realization is highly to be desired in this historic moment. We are convinced that these people are motivated by a sincere desire to make our fund-raising machinery for Israel as effective as it can possibly be.

I am enclosing a copy of a statement issued by our Committee which, I hope, will serve to clarify the issues and will help to unite all elements of the American Jewish community in behalf of the support for Israel.

I shall appreciate your comments.

Sincerely yours,



Charles J. Rosenbloom
Chairman

CJR/a.

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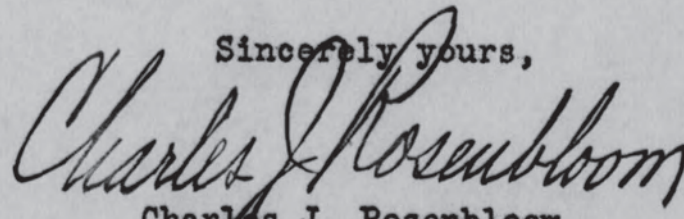
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Chairman

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STATEMENT ADOPTED BY EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF
COMMITTEE FOR PROGRESSIVE ZIONISM

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As members of the Zionist Organization of America, we call upon the ZOA administration to abandon any further controversy in the matter and to arrive at an early understanding and amicable agreement with the Committee of Contributors so as not to imperil the success of the 1949 United Jewish Appeal Campaign.



Unanimously adopted at meeting of the Executive Committee held on Thursday, November 18, 1948, at the Sherry-Netherlands Hotel, New York City. Among those present were: Charles J. Rosenbloom, Pittsburgh, presiding; Isidore Breslau, Washington; Judge Louis L. Levinthal, Philadelphia; Louis Lipsky, New York; Morris Margulies, New York; Ezra Z. Shapiro, Cleveland; Hon. Carl Sherman, New York; Rudolf G. Sonneborn, New York; Robert Szold, New York; Dr. Stephen S. Wise, New York.

Dear Rabbin:

I wonder if
others have the same
reaction to the
"literature" of the
Committee for Propaganda
Allen

ALLEN KLIVANS
16901 SHAKER BLVD.
CLEVELAND, OHIO

December 2, 1948

Mr. Charles J. Rosenbloom
Committee for Progressive Zionism
250 W. 43rd Street - Room 315
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Rosenbloom:-

This morning I received your letter of November 24th and during the past year I have also received many pamphlets, letters, as well as tabloids issued by your Committee.

After reading all of the above, I must admit that I am in the dark as to the controversy existing between your Committee and the present administration of the ZOA. I will also admit too that the New Palestine has said very little about the misunderstanding, with the result--I am sure--that tens of thousands of Zionists do not know the facts anymore than I do.

If the underlying factors are so important--I assume they are or otherwise the damage that is being done would not be continued--I think in fairness to the membership that all of us should be appraised in a clear-cut manner as to the issues involved so as to judge who is wrong or who is right.

If this misunderstanding is trivial--then it is a pity that the Zionist cause should suffer as I am sure it will in the coming campaigns thruout the U. S. Why not issue a plain statement of facts of the faults of the present officers of the ZOA and let the membership decide who is in error.

If they are petty, may I suggest a "meeting of the minds" and let the "hatchet be buried" as that hatchet seems to me to have a double edge.

For your information I am a good friend--I feel I am--of Ezra and Sylvia Shapiro, as well as a member of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver's Temple. Possibly you know my father Abraham Klivans, as he has lived in Atlantic City for years --now in Miami Beach--and he has always told me of his friendship with a Mr. Rosenbloom of Pittsburgh. I wonder if you are the one he has always referred to.

Anyhow, I would appreciate a reply to the above letter.

Sincerely yours,
Allen Klivans

AK:MP

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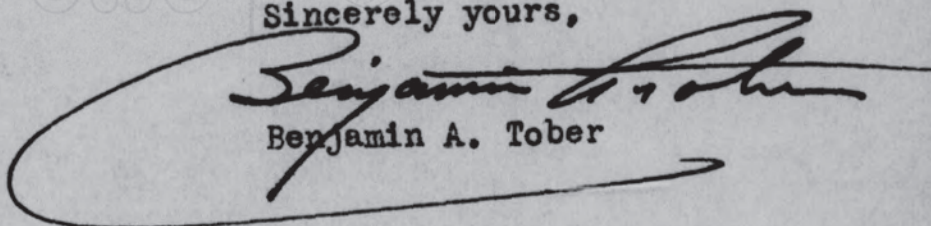
January 22, 1949

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York City, New York

Dear Dr. Silver:

I am enclosing a letter received from the Committee for Progressive Zionism plus a copy of my reply. I thought it might be of interest to you.

Sincerely yours,

A large, stylized handwritten signature of Benjamin A. Tober, written in dark ink. The signature is fluid and cursive, with a large loop at the end. It is positioned below the typed name "Benjamin A. Tober".

Benjamin A. Tober

BAT/ab

GUSTAVE L. GOLDSTEIN
453 South Spring Street
Los Angeles 13, Calif.
TRinity 9041

C
O
P
Y

January 25, 1949

Committee for Progressive Zionism
250 West 43rd Street
New York 18, N. Y.

Attention: Charles J. Rosenbloom, Chairman

Dear Mr. Rosenbloom:

This is with reference to your January 19, 1949 letter and follow-up night letter in re the "urgent emergency meeting of the Committee for Progressive Zionism at the Hotel Biltmore on Sunday, January 30th, beginning at 10:30 A. M."

I regret that I will be unable to attend this meeting but in expressing this regret it is only because I would like to have the opportunity to express my disagreement with the "nebulous" objectives of your Committee.

I have read with great interest all your previous mailings but I still have to have pointed out to me just what your Committee is complaining about and just what it seeks to accomplish. Everything seems to be so vague and indefinite that I cannot escape the conclusion that your Committee is unwilling to accept the results of Democratic processes.

At the Convention of the Zionist Organization of America, your Committee had an opportunity to present its case in an effort to convince the delegates of your viewpoints and, assuming you were able to convince them, to get the Z. O. A. to adopt your program and the leadership of the persons who are interested in your Committee.

The most impressive thing about a Democracy is the opportunity afforded to a minority to convert its viewpoint into a majority. Either your delegates could have defined the issues and have them acted upon by the delegates at the Convention or, as appeared more obvious, your delegates chose to run away from the situation and not draw the lines of battle. Since the present leadership of the Z. O. A. was duly and regularly elected at the Convention it must be presumed that they have full authority to speak for the membership of the Z. O. A., and that the Z. O. A. membership has approved that leadership and its policies.

In your January 19th letter you make comment about the "New Palestine bans any news, editorial or comment that does not directly glorify the current leadership or that does not reflect the 'administration line.'"

The New Palestine is the "house organ" of the Z.O.A. and must necessarily reflect the policies of the Z.O.A. as arrived at at the last Convention, and even under ordinary circumstances sound confidence in the leadership elected by the Z.O.A. When that leadership is under attack, I think it is more than proper for The New Palestine to lay special emphasis on the fine qualities of leadership displayed by the Z.O.A.'s duly elected leaders.

I think it is about time, if you have a case, to state it succinctly and clearly without hinting at "boggeymen." Why not if you have a case, remove the dark clouds that seem to conceal it?

Anyway, notwithstanding the fact that many of the persons associated with your Committee are personal friends of mine for whom I have a very high personal regard, I feel that your Committee, by its veiled attacks, is proving most harmful to the Zionist movement. It ought to "cease and desist" unless it is prepared to put its leadership to a test against the present leadership of the Z.O.A. at the next Convention, and have that Convention decide whose leadership Z.O.A. wishes to follow.

I write this without being partisan, but with deep feeling that at this critical time Israel must not be placed in jeopardy by an internal fight among American Zionists.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) Gustave L. Goldstein

GLG:f

COMMITTEE FOR PROGRESSIVE ZIONISM

WITHIN THE ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

250 West 57th Street, New York 19, N. Y.

REPORT ON CONFERENCE

January 30 - Hotel Biltmore, N. Y. C.

In a mood of indignation and resentment against the latest and most flagrant act of wilfull destruction by the ZOA Administration, 200 Zionist leaders from all parts of the country met on Sunday, January 30th, in New York, under the auspices of the Committee for Progressive Zionism, and moved quickly to organize a campaign to replace the present dictatorial regime of the ZOA and to restore an administrative system based on democracy.

Those present at the meeting, including some of the foremost Zionist leaders of this country, were deeply moved by the factual reports which described the present status of the Zionist movement and the steady deterioration of the relationship between the ZOA and the Government of Israel, the World Zionist movement and the United States Government.

Z.O.A. WARS ON JEWISH AGENCY

The antagonism of the present leadership of the ZOA to all other sections of the Zionist movement was climaxed during the last week by a resolution adopted, it is said, by the National Executive Committee of the ZOA, which constitutes an open declaration of war against the Executive of the Jewish Agency which is also the Executive of the World Zionist Organization representing all sections of the World Zionist movement.

It was this open attack against the authority of the Zionist movement which moved the Committee for Progressive Zionism, at its meeting on Sunday, to adopt a program whose aim is to unseat the present regime of the ZOA and to bring about a closer relationship of the ZOA with other sections of the Zionist movement and the American Jewish community.

The meeting adopted the following resolutions:

I -

GENERAL RESOLUTION

The advent of the State of Israel, its transfer from a provisional to a permanent government, its recognition by the major nations of the world led by the United States of America, its ardent support by the overwhelming majority of the Jews of this country, will inevitably and in due course bring about the transformation of American Zionism, its organization and its functions.

An enlightened leadership of the ZOA would seek to develop the kind of an organization that would draw into participation and cooperation all American Jews devoted to the upbuilding of Israel.

The present administration of the ZOA bristles with antagonisms, resents and suppresses justifiable criticism and constructive suggestions, has closed its ranks

to representative and progressive leadership, has given its support to the most reactionary political parties in Israel, and has lost contact with the Government of the United States to the detriment of Israel, and is even today in open conflict with the highest authority of the World Zionist Organization, the Executive of the Jewish Agency.

The Committee for Progressive Zionism, therefore believes that the best interests of the Zionist movement in America would be served by changing the present regime of the ZOA at its next annual convention. We express the conviction that if no such change is made, the ZOA will proceed from its present confusion to rapid disintegration. We call upon all members of the ZOA, its Districts and Regions, to join our organized effort within the ZOA to achieve the objective of strengthening the Zionist movement in America by nominating and electing an enlightened, progressive and representative leadership of the Z.O.A.

II - RESOLUTION ON RELATIONSHIP WITH THE JEWISH AGENCY

We have learned with amazement that the Executive Committee of the Zionist Organization of America at its last meeting adopted a resolution including the following:

"The Jewish Agency for Palestine be advised that the Zionist Organization of America deems any intervention by the Agency in the matter of techniques and organization of the American Zionist movement as not being within their competence and jurisdiction;

"A cablegram be sent to the Jewish Agency for Palestine in Jerusalem advising them that their contemplated meeting in New York or elsewhere for a discussion of Zionism on the American scene is both unprecedented and emphatically inopportune at this time."

We voice our strong protest against this attack on the authority of the Executive of the Jewish Agency by the present leadership of the ZOA. We welcome the Jerusalem members of the Agency Executive to this country, and express our confidence in them. We assure the Agency Executive of our loyal support in all their endeavors to achieve effective cooperation in American Zionism.

In order to enable the CPZ to carry on its activities, a fund raising effort aiming at a goal of \$250,000 was initiated. Mr. Fred Monosson, veteran Zionist leader, was elected Campaign Chairman.

Harold J. Goldenberg, of Minneapolis, presided. Among the speakers were Dr. Nahum Goldmann, member of the Jewish Agency Executive, Dr. Stephen S. Wise and Louis Lipsky, noted leaders of American Zionism, Judge Louis E. Levinthal, (the three latter being former presidents of the Z.O.A.), Meyer Weisgal, Abraham Feinberg, Michael Stavitsky, Carl Sherman, and others.

OUT OF TUNE WITH THE WORLD ZIONIST MOVEMENT Dr. Nahum Goldmann

Dr. Goldmann began with an analysis of the relationship of local Zionist affairs

to the international scene. The role of the ZOA must be looked at from the point of view that the establishment of the Jewish State has made it necessary to reorient the Zionist organization and reconsider its relations to Palestine. Unless there is a new interpretation of these relations the disintegration of Jewry in the Diaspora will result. However, this central problem of Zionism today, the relationship of Jews to Israel, cannot be solved in a matter of months, but must take years and must go through a number of stages and steps. The World Zionist Organization, in all its aspects, will have to undergo revision. The Basle Program, shekel, party setup outside of Israel, must be revised. But regardless of what happens, the World Zionist Organization must be the primary instrument of that change. No outside power can eliminate the Organization, which, for the next few years, must be the means to reorganize the Jews around Palestine. Otherwise, there would be chaos. The World Zionist Organization will have to be the main instrument for reshaping the relationship between Jews outside of Israel and those in Israel.

In another year or two, half of European Jewry may have left Europe. This will increase the proportionate importance of American Jewry within the framework of World Jewry outside of Israel. The Zionist movement in this country and the ZOA will play an important role. The main issue before the Zionist Congress will be just this problem of the relationship of Israel to World Jewry. It will make a big difference who represents American Zionists at the Congress, whether the group dominating the ZOA at present or groups which are not in accord with their ideas.

The ZOA as it is today is out of tune with not only a large part of the Zionist group in America and a large part of American Jewry, but also with the State of Israel and with the majority of the World Zionist movement.

The present conflict is not about Montor, despite the impression the Yiddish papers try to create. We should not allow the issue to be distorted into a personal one. In that conflict the large majority of the Executive of the Jewish Agency here and in Israel has taken one position, backed by the Government of Israel, and Dr. Silver backed by Mr. Neumann has taken another position. A resolution of the Executive of the ZOA was cabled to the Executive of the Jewish Agency in Jerusalem warning them not to come to this country. But the Executive of the Jewish Agency decided to disregard the warning and come here anyway, because they feel that it is of utmost importance to establish once and for all, who is the highest authority in the Zionist movement.

The question of the autonomy of the ZOA in Zionist affairs in this country does not arise. The UPA collects money for the Agency and the World Zionist movement and not for the ZOA. A situation wherein an instrument defies its creator must be remedied.

The ZOA is also out of tune with the Government of Israel. Whoever knows the inside situation of the World Zionist Movement and its relationship with the Government of Israel knows it. The ZOA administration recognizes the State of Israel de jure but not de facto.

The ZOA is part of the Confederation of General Zionists but it is also out of tune with the General Zionist movement in the world. Whether the differences can be overcome at the next Zionist Congress will depend on the willingness of the ZOA to compromise. In Israel, one part of the General Zionist Organization tries to establish itself not as a kind of liberal central party (as it always did before) but as a right-wing bourgeois group. It is that right-wing group in Israel that is supported by the ZOA administration.

It is a Zionist duty to clean house within the Zionist movement in America. Zionism cannot tolerate a Tammany Hall machine and the rule of a small group. A voluntary movement (contrary to a State with police powers) cannot use dictatorial powers, and cannot be effective and assume responsibility if it is organized as is the ZOA today. Such rule will not do within the Zionist movement, especially today, when we have to organize the good will of Jews who are already for us.

It is an essential Zionist duty to organize properly the Zionist movement in this country so that the World Zionist movement can fulfill the purpose and task it must face in the next few years. It must be done this year.

AUTOCRATIC CONTROL SHUTS OUT OPPOSITION

Louis Lipsky

In his address, Mr. Lipsky said: there is a government in the ZOA administration called the Executive. But the Executive does not make any decision of importance. It never overrode the president or the small group that controls the ZOA. When we try to change the administration, we are not attacking the ZOA which is just as dear to me as to anyone else in the movement. The present regime has continued in office for four years. It stifles opposition, and suppresses any honest expression of opinion. It seeks to control without free debate, without the scrutiny of the public. The NEW PALESTINE is closed to discussion. Control has become the objective of the Zionist Administration.

The present administration is organized for attack - attack on everyone and everything - until finally the whole psychology is attuned to attack. Why is the ZOA spending so much of their money always attacking?

All Jews are encompassed by the destiny of creating the Jewish State. Anyone who obstructs it because of arrogance or lust for power will fall because he is standing in the way of the fulfillment of Zionist aims. This is not a movement to proscribe anybody. It is a movement where everyone who works for this common good is welcome and the forces that are destroying the common good must give place to other forces. The regime of the ZOA of today must make way for a new regime. If we don't do it for love of the Jewish people and love for the cause, it will be done by others with force and anger and hatred and destruction. We are doing it in such a way as to make it possible for the ZOA to win the Jewish communities. The Jewish people have contributed as much to the success of the Zionist movement as any of the Zionists have. Everyone is entitled to a seat at the table. To do this in an orderly way we organize ourselves to change this regime.

The obstinacy of Silver was an important thing in the war against our enemies. But his obstinacy internally must not continue to the detriment of the movement. The ZOA is the most important organization in the Galuth. To abandon it would be folly. It would be stupidity to give it up to the control of those controlling it now. It would be a lack of faith of which none of us should be guilty. Therefore the resolutions we adopt are important. They should not indicate the cheapness and vulgarity of the resolutions adopted by the ZOA. We are engaged in bringing into the ZOA those principles of morality and regard for the Jewish people as a whole which reflect the old Zionist spirit - sympathy for Jews, concern for their future, interest in their rights. We are working to recover in the Zionist Organization those virtues that had been lost in the warlike struggles of the movement. The Zionist Organization has become a rendezvous for ambitious persons who want to wreck their will on the Zionists of the United States and fulfill their own personal am-

bitions. The time has come for peace. We are the instruments of peace. Those standing in its way should be removed legally and by those principles by which we are guided as Zionists.

I appeal to you therefore not only to adopt resolutions and give contributions which are essential, but your duty lies in the work within the regions, districts and among your friends. If we do this, the voice and arrogance of the present ZOA leaders will melt in the heat of our anger and indignation.

THE ZOA - AN INSTRUMENT FOR SELF-GLORIFICATION
Dr. Stephen S. Wise

I want to throw a little supplementary light on the UPA. About three months ago, I sent a telegram urging a meeting of the Board of Directors in order to pass on action which had been taken by the Executive Committee. For five months the problems of the UPA have been dealt with by a controlled executive committee and no meeting of the Board of Directors has been called - with one reason or another given.

Some day you are going to give me a medal for sitting through six or eight of the nauseating meetings of the Executive of the UPA marked by violent diatribes by Silver and Neumann and by foul and loathsome speeches by the candidates for successor to Neumann. More fawning went on in order to gain the favor of Dr. Silver and to be remembered on the day of election. But still no meeting of the Board of Directors.

Thus there are some differences which cannot be settled with Dr. Silver and Dr. Neumann. Two such differences which cannot be settled are (1) lack of democracy and what is even more serious (2) the desire to exercise control over Israel. With regard to the first, democracy has fled from the ZOA, which is an autocratic dictatorial organization that does not know democracy. How can we settle with that? I have not given my life to Zionism to have the State of Israel Silverized and Neumannized. We fought for a free progressive State in Israel. The regime here is a mortal enemy of the Government of Israel. The Government of Israel since May 15th is almost as great a miracle as the miracle of the Jewish State.

We will make up our differences with Silver and Neumann when they reaccept the democratic faith, and when they cease to deal with Ben Gurion as if he were Bevin and with the State of Israel as if it were our enemy.

If the masses in the Zionist movement today understood the intent of the resolutions passed by the ZOA Executive Committee, they would consign them to oblivion. We would not have had to hold this meeting today. If you will it, that Neumann-Silver regime will come to an end.

In conclusion, I support these resolutions. We will give and secure whatever funds are required in order to dislodge the group which disgraces the Zionist movement and which is hostile to the Jewish Agency and the World Zionist Congress.

I want to see the State of Israel. But when I go I want to be able to say of American Zionism that "we are not going to tether you, to imprison you. We want a liberal progressive democratic forward-looking State." I feel that the biggest problem in my life is still before me. We are going to liberate the Zionist Organization of America and help to keep the State of Israel a great free, democratic, liberal progressive State worthy of our past.

February 2, 1949

Mr. Benjamin A. Tober
151 Congress Street
Portsmouth, New Hampshire

My dear Mr. Tober:

I am grateful to you for your thoughtfulness in sending me a copy of the letter which you addressed to Mr. Rosenbloom and the Committee for so-called Progressive Zionists. I enjoyed reading your letter tremendously.

I shall, of course, look forward with pleasure to seeing you at the Zionist Convention where I am confident that the position of all of us who are working in the Z.O.A. will be completely vindicated.

Most cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:er

COMMITTEE FOR PROGRESSIVE ZIONISM

C O P Y

WITHIN THE ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

250 West 57th Street, New York 19, N. Y.

February 4, 1949

MEMORANDUM

TO THE DISTRICTS AND REGIONS OF THE ZOA

Acting within its constitutional rights, the Committee for Progressive Zionism has given notice to all Zionist Districts and Regions that it intends to call for a change of regime in the ZOA at the next annual convention.

A conference of interested parties -- all ZOA members, many representatives of districts and regions -- was held at the Biltmore Hotel on January 30th, under the chairmanship of Harold J. Goldenberg. Two principal resolutions were adopted. (See attached.)

The ZOA administration, using the general funds of the ZOA to which all members contribute, has now called an "extraordinary national conference", to be held in New York on February 13th, of the officers of all Zionist districts as well as members of the Administrative and Executive Committee to consider "the present situation of the American Zionist Movement." This conference will undoubtedly be used by the administration to secure a condemnation of "all charges brought against the ZOA leadership."

No intimation is given of any desire to have both sides represented, the complainant as well as the defenders. It is expected that an attempt will be made to force a vote expressing confidence in the administration after hearing what the administration has to say. The opposition is not invited to attend. Any decision made is to be based on ex parte statements.

This is most undemocratic procedure. If it is allowed without protest, every ZOA administration could perpetuate itself in office by using administration funds and ZOA apparatus to stifle all criticism.

A government (or administration) of the ZOA represents all its members. The funds of the organization and its entire apparatus cannot fairly be used to repel criticism of the groups within the ZOA who are compelled to pay their own expenses in order to conduct a public service which their criticism represents.

Go to the conference on February 13th and speak your own mind. Tell the group that wants to use you to perpetuate their control of the ZOA what you think of the policies they have been pursuing -- the policy of destruction, the policy of retribution and war, the policy of disregarding public opinion.

Since when has criticism and opposition become a crime in the ZOA? The right to criticize one's own organization is inalienable in the Zionist movement. Exercise your right without fear or favor.

Charles J. Rosenbloom, Chairman
Committee for Progressive Zionism

Committee for
PROGRESSIVE ZIONISM
within the
ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

250 WEST FIFTY-SEVENTH STREET • NEW YORK 19, N. Y. • ROOM 1014 • PL 7-4725

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Secretary

JOEL GROSS
Newark, N. J.

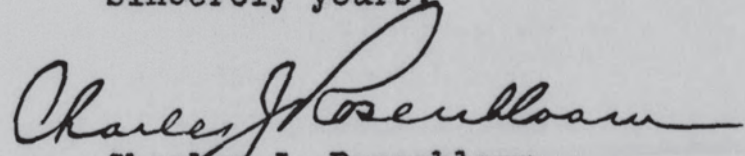
February 9, 1949

Dear Friend:

A number of crucial issues affecting American Zionism are now being discussed. In order that your district may have the benefit of all points of view, we would appreciate having on the enclosed card the names and addresses of your officers.

We are sure you will want to have the information for your membership so that they may be informed and may arrive at decisions based on the facts.

Sincerely yours,


Charles J. Rosenbloom
Chairman

CJR:gb

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Meyer W. Weisgal, *New York, N. Y.*

Joseph Weiss, *New York, N. Y.*

Dr. Stephen S. Wise, *New York, N. Y.*

AFTER FIVE DAYS RETURN TO
401 SLATER BUILDING
390 MAIN STREET
WORCESTER 8, MASSACHUSETTS



WRHS



Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland Ohio

Committee for
PROGRESSIVE ZIONISM
within the
ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

250 WEST FIFTY-SEVENTH STREET • NEW YORK 19, N. Y. • ROOM 1011 • PL 7-4725

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April 26, 1949

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Pittsburgh, Pa.

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FRED MONOSSON
Boston, Mass.

Secretary

JOEL GROSS
Newark, N. J.

Dear Rabbi Silver:

In connection with the Fifty-Second Annual Convention scheduled for the May 28th week-end in New York City, I earnestly hope that you will be represented by a full delegation. I am sure you realize that this will be a most important Convention, and every district therefore should be represented to its fullest numerical strength.

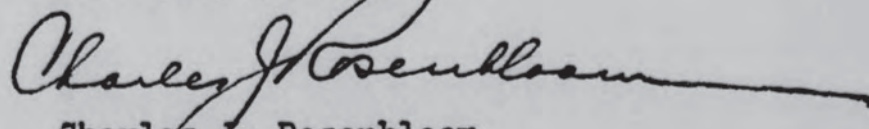
In the event, however, that you are not in a position to send all of the delegates to which your membership entitles you, I respectfully suggest the names of those Zionist personalities who comprise our officers and Executive Committee and who are prepared to go to New York as delegates from your district.

Should you choose one or more of the Zionists named on this letterhead as your representative, he, or they, will, following the Convention, either personally or in writing submit a report to you on the Convention proceedings.

I hope that you will give favorable consideration to this suggestion and notify the Z.O.A. Election Board of any name or names that you will have chosen from this list to serve as delegates representing your district. I should also deeply appreciate it if you would drop me a note stating what action you have taken on my recommendation.

With Zionist greetings,

Sincerely yours,


Charles J. Rosenbloom
Chairman

P. S. This communication is addressed to all Z.O.A. district chairmen and secretaries. In the event that you no longer occupy one of these offices, I should be very grateful to you if you would forward this letter to your present chairman or secretary. Thank you.

C.J.R.

[1949?]



THE Z.O.A. ADMINISTRATION CONFUSES THE ISSUE

The leadership of the Z.O.A. is seeking to avoid discussion and confuse the issues by trying to make it appear that the aim of the Committee for Progressive Zionism is to undermine "the strength and authority of the Z.O.A." This is the reverse of the truth.

The objectives of the Progressive Committee are to bring about in regular democratic fashion a change of the present Z.O.A. regime at the next convention. A movement to overthrow the administration may reflect, as ours does, the desire to increase the strength and authority of the Z.O.A; not to weaken it. It might just as correctly be said that the Republicans in the last election aimed to destroy the American republic when they tried to defeat President Truman.

As the State of Israel faces the end of the war and the beginning of peace, the moral authority of the Z.O.A. administration sinks lower and lower. By now the Z.O.A. should have established its leadership in the organization of all Jewish forces awakened to the responsibilities of the Jewish State. It should be operating in a friendly atmosphere. It should be more influential than ever, morally stronger. Have not its efforts of fifty years been crowned with miraculous success?

Just the reverse is the case. The Z.O.A. does not know where it should be going. A perverse spirit has gotten control of this organization. It is dominated by the strange desire to impress the American Jewish community - now at one with its traditional objective - with its "power" and authority. It sees a challenge to that authority in every free activity in aid of Israel. It wants now to have a monopoly in all Zionist affairs, which it never had before. It claims jurisdiction over Americans for Haganah, Materials for Palestine, the United Palestine Appeal and the Emergency Council. It clashes with the Jewish Agency and the Government of Israel. It insists that the whole United States must recognize its right to rule or suffer its displeasure and condign punishment.

As a result, the Z.O.A. administration gives the impression of being at war with the Jews of America and with the Jews of Palestine. Its entire front bristles with antagonisms. It has lost all its amiability. It creates and fosters controversies, instead of softening them. It stimulates and exaggerates partisan and personal bickerings, instead of straightening them out. It fumes and denounces and threatens. It is determined to rule or ruin.

This derangement is due to the acquired habit of a regime which has outlived its usefulness and is unable to turn a corner to deal with a new situation which requires a new approach and new methods. It is also due to the fact that the small group of men in control of Z.O.A. affairs are in mortal fear that their four-year control will be broken by new forces that have come to life in Zionist circles and in the Jewish community. In order to defend their authority, their status and place, they want to stifle free thinking and free action. They are determined to choke off discussion of vital issues, turning every official Zionist meeting into an assembly of "party members" to hold to the official line at all costs.

Free discussion would destroy them and they know it. For that reason the New Palestine - the only official organ of the Z.O.A. - slants all its news and bans the airing of views that do not glorify or hail the current leadership. Not only is the New Palestine an organ speaking only for the administration, but a staff of Jewish writers employed on the Yiddish press are paid to write as ordered in support of administration leaders, administration policies and to attack on signal any object against which the finger of Z.O.A. official displeasure is pointed.

Never in Zionist history has the Z.O.A. administration - out of its general funds to which all members contribute - employed so large a staff of writers and propagandists whose chief task is to defend the administration and to attack its critics.

The rapid culmination of events in Israel has undoubtedly confused the Z.O.A. leadership. They are exhausting themselves in a frantic attempt to retain their power without understanding that under the new conditions all power has passed over to the State of Israel where it belongs, and that it is the business of all Zionists in the Galuth to adjust themselves to the inevitable consequences of Zionist political success.