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### **MS-4787: Abba Hillel Silver Papers, 1902-1989.**

Series I: General Correspondence, 1914-1969, undated.

Sub-series A: Alphabetical, 1914-1965, undated.

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Jewish National Fund, 1935-1936.



[1935]

MINUTES OF MEETING OF Z.O.A. ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE HELD ON SUNDAY, JULY 21,  
2 P.M., AT THE ASTOR HOTEL, NEW YORK CITY

PRESENT: Morris Rothenberg, (in the chair), Louis Lipsky, Dr. H. Raphael Gold, Hon. Elihu D. Stone, Morris Margulies, Dr. A. J. Rongy, Charles A. Cowen, Abraham Goldberg, Dr. S. Margoshes, Louis Rinsky, Sol Cohen, Monachem Ribalow, Abraham Spicehandler, A. K. Isroeli, Samuel Judenfreund, Dr. Leon R. Levinson, Dr. Leo B. Schwartz, Charles Ross, Murray Wyner, David J. Galter, Jacob B. Hoffman, Mendel N. Fisher, Dr. Alex S. Wolf, Robert Silverman, Samuel Umansky, Arthur Weiss, Mrs. Mabel Fisher, Joseph Kraemer, Samuel Markewich, Eliezer Kushner, Dr. H. J. Levin, Heinrich Abramowitz, Milton S. Taylor.

Excuses for Non-Attendance were received from Messrs. I.S. Chipkin, Bernard S. Deutsch, M. Maldwin Fortig, Louis A. Freed, Harry Friedberg, Myro Glass, Abraham Goldstein, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Rabbi A. M. Heller, Isidore Horshfield, Rabbi Edward Israel, Isaac Imber, Samuel Katz, Wm. M. Katz, Prof. Gustavo Klausner, Max I. Kohrman, Rabbi I. H. Levinthal, Louis E. Levinthal, Rabbi Felix A. Levy, Dr. M. B. Lichtenstein, Julius Livingston, Eldar Markson, Jacob Rabinowitz, Dr. M. Robbins, Louis P. Rucker, H. D. Schwartz, Simon Shetzer, Max Shulman, Rabbi A. H. Silver, Bennett Silverblatt, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Leo Wolfson, Rabbi Harry Z. Zwelling.

The meeting was called to order at 2 P. M. Mr. Rothenberg took occasion to welcome the newly elected members of the Administrative Committee, and expressed the hope that the year before us would be one of harmonious and fruitful cooperation in the tasks before us. He reported that the Executive, as we now call what was formerly the Governing Council, had two meetings since the Convention, at which a number of decisions were taken, particularly at the first meeting which was devoted largely to the consideration of the division of labor among the members of the Executive. The Executive, he pointed out, now consists of the Officers plus the seven members of the Executive that were elected at the Convention. It was the idea of the Convention that this Executive should operate somewhat similarly to the Executive of the World Zionist Organization, that is, that every member of the Executive should have assigned to him a special task for which he was to be responsible to the Executive. It would not mean that that member of the Executive would carry that responsibility himself. It would, of course, be shared by the entire Executive; but one person of the Executive would be charged with the principal business of the office which he assumed. For instance, it is expected that the person who would take charge of finances would give most of his thoughts to the financial problems of the Organization, not only to the matter of regulating the finances, but also creating ways and means for additional revenue for the Zionist Organization. And it is with this end in view that we gave consideration to the assigning special portfolios to every member of the Executive, and the following assignments were made:

Finances: Mr. Louis P. Rucker is to act as the Head of the Treasury Department; he is to have charge of finances and to be the responsible person on the Executive on all matters of finance. It was the consensus of opinion of the Executive that the Finance Committee should sub-divide itself into two sections: one to act as the Controllers of Finance, and the other to act as a Ways and Means Committee, to be made up of members of the Finance Committee and of additional persons to be co-opted.

Youth Organization: Mr. Charles A. Cowen is to be responsible in all matters pertaining to Youth Organization generally, including Masada, Avukah, and Young Judaea.



Palestine Funds: Dr. Israel Goldstein was named to represent the Jewish National Fund on the Executive of the Z.O.A.; Mr. Louis Lipsky was named to represent the work of the American Palestine Campaign and the Keren Hayesod. The Chairman of these Funds are to report to the Executive and to bring before it the problems that may arise in connection with these Funds.

Jewish Rights: Dr. Stephen S. Wise was named as the responsible member of the Executive in all matters pertaining to Jewish Rights.

Organization: Mr. Morris Margulies is the responsible member of the Executive in charge of Organization Department.

It was understood that the Heads of the various Departments are not to carry on the work independently, but that it shall be coordinated through the President and the Executive.

As for Propaganda -- oral and written -- the work was divided into the following categories:

1) Palestine Affairs: It was decided that Mr. Abraham Goldberg is to have charge of Palestine Affairs. The purpose of this Department is to coordinate the work of the various Palestine Bureaus, and to acquaint the public with Palestine by means of articles on Palestine, exhibitions of Palestinian products. These activities are to be in addition to the appropriate observance of Palestine Day in the United States.

2) Publication of Zionist Propaganda Literature: Dr. S. Margoshes was named as Head of the Propaganda Department, which is to include the publication and distribution of Zionist literature, the Zionist Page in The Day, preparation of lectures on Zionism, supervision of the Zionist press, i.e., publicity and Zionist propaganda, generally.

3) The New Palestine: Mr. Louis Lipsky is to be responsible to the Executive for The New Palestine. A Committee consisting of Dr. S. Margoshes, Abraham Goldberg, and Morris Rothenberg, ex officio, was named to cooperate with Mr. Lipsky in matters relating to The New Palestine.

Hebrew: Mr. Rothenberg reported that the Histadruth Ivrit have made a request that we make them our agents in carrying forward our Hebrew work. In other words, the Z.O.A. should claim credit for whatever work is done for Hebrew by the Histadruth Ivrit. It was decided to invite Mr. Israel S. Chipkin to attend the meetings of the Executive when matters concerning Zionist education were to come before the Executive.

#### COMMISSION ON ORGANIZATION:

Mr. Rothenberg presented a list of persons to be invited to serve as members of the proposed Commission on Organization. It is intended to have a smaller committee acting in New York, which will place itself in contact with the leaders of the Districts and Regions and persons who have some understanding of Organizational problems. In this way we shall have the consensus of opinion of the leaders of Zionism throughout the country on various Organization problems.



FINANCES:

Mr. Rothenberg reported further on the Executive's decision to request the American Palestine Campaign to pay the balance of its appropriation to the Z.O.A. of \$20,000, in view of the stringency of the financial situation in the Zionist Organization. The matter was subsequently presented at the meeting of the A.P.C. Board of Directors, and it was decided to grant the request of the Z.O.A. Executive. There was a definite opinion expressed in the Executive that hereafter the question of appropriation to the Z.O.A. should be considered not only with respect to the American Palestine Campaign, but also the Jewish National Fund and Hadassah.

OUR ATTITUDE TOWARD WORLD UNION OF GENERAL ZIONISTS AND CONFEDERATION OF GENERAL ZIONISTS AT FORTHCOMING ZIONIST CONGRESS:

This question arose at the meeting of the Executive of the Z.O.A., and it was felt that we ought to have the guidance of the Administrative Committee on this important question. It is not only a matter of the opinion of the delegation itself as to what position to take, but it actually involves the policy of the Zionist Organization of America, Mr. Rothenberg pointed out. At Cracow, several months ago, there was a meeting of the General Zionist Organization and there was a split which resulted in the formation of a Confederation of General Zionists, so that the old General Zionist Organization now represents Group B and the new Confederation represents Group A. There is to be a meeting of both of these groups in Lucerne preceding the Congress. The meeting of the Confederation will take place on August 18th; we do not know whether a date has been fixed for the Group B. meeting. It is important, therefore, that the Administrative Committee indicate today what position the American Delegation is to take at the Congress.

This matter was deferred until later in the meeting, to enable some of the members of the Executive to speak on the subject, particularly Mr. Goldberg, who wished to outline certain ideas that he has on the subject.

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DISCUSSION:

Mr. Spicandler moved

THAT the Z.O.A. Finance Committee should be charged with the duty of looking into the various Funds, including the United Jewish Appeal and the Jewish National Fund, and report to this Administrative Committee once or twice a year, if necessary, whether these funds are properly conducted, both as to expenditures and allocations.

Mr. Cohen added a motion

THAT the Z.O.A. be officially represented on the Jewish National Fund and the American Palestine Campaign Board of Directors.

Mr. Rothenberg pointed out that it has always been the custom of the Z.O.A. to name its ten representatives on the J.N.F. Board. With regard to the A.P.C., originally the same procedure was followed, and the representatives of the Board of the Keren Hayesod or the U.P.A. acted either as representatives of the Z.O.A., Mizrachi or Poale Zion, but gradually the Mizrachi and Poale Zion



dropped out of activity in these funds, and the Z.O.A. made no effort to name its directors in the same manner as for the J.N.F. Therefore, there are now a number of persons on the A.P.C. Board who might be said to represent the Z.O.A., and some who may be said to represent nobody but themselves. While this is a matter which ought to be considered at some time, it would be out of place to make such official request at this time. Mr. Rothenberg added, however, that there ought to be some discipline in the situation. At present there are two sections in the A.P.C. -- Zionist and non-Zionist -- and unquestionably the Zionist representation is the more active, but the Z.O.A. is exercising no control over them. Mr. Rothenberg was of the opinion that some way ought to be found to regulate this matter, but he thought it was not imperative that such action should be taken at this meeting.

Mr. Röss stated that his vote happened to be the only negative vote at the meeting of the American Palestine Campaign Board, at which the matter of the A.P.C. appropriation to the Zionist Organization was discussed. The difficulty, he thought, is a very fundamental one. One may look through all of the literature, through the By-Laws of the American Palestine Campaign, and unfortunately, not the slightest legal justification can be found for the Z.O.A. using one solitary cent of the money contributed in the Campaign of the United Jewish Appeal for the Administrative expenses of the Zionist Organization of America. Mr. Röss pointed out that he did not say that it is improper to use that money; certainly some parts of the activities of the Z.O.A. must be supported out of funds raised in that way, but, he added, 90% of the men and women who contribute to the Keren Hayesod through the United Jewish Appeal did not intend to contribute a solitary cent to the Administrative expenses of the Zionist Organization of America, and for that reason, he felt it his duty to vote "no" and to be recorded as voting "no", because he thought it a matter of honor and conscience. He said further that he was not alone among his Officers and the members of the American Palestine Campaign, although there was not very much voting done. He was glad the question came up as this is what, it seemed to him, must be done to put an end to this unfortunate situation.

Mr. Röss stated that he got personal abuse for following the dictates of his conscience and now there are threats of discipline because he is a member of the Administrative Committee. His conscience comes first, he added, and he is willing to meet anybody worthwhile as to whether or not it is the duty of the Officers of the American Palestine Campaign to insist upon regularity in the conduct of its affairs. We must decide upon the question as to whether or not the Jews of America are to be asked to contribute funds for the maintenance of the Zionist Organization of America, and thus put an end to these unpleasant arguments and discussions. A method should be worked out for raising money for the support of the Z.O.A., and when that is done, the men and women who contribute to Zionist funds will be told that a certain part of that contribution will be allotted to the Administrative expenses of the Zionist Organization of America. Mr. Röss added that he would never vote against such a proposal, but would give his energy as far as possible if it is decided that that is the way it is to be done. He concluded his remarks with the plea that the members of the Administrative Committee of the Z.O.A. take that position and thus avoid a repetition of that which occurred at the meeting of the A.P.C. Board, which he and some other people of responsibility in the Organization felt was entirely improper under the circumstances.

Mr. Margulies states that Mr. Spicehandler's motion in its present form cannot and does not mean anything. No one intends that this Administrative Committee should appoint a committee to investigate the conduct of the J.N.F. and the A.P.C. With regard to the J.N.F., he pointed out that the Z.O.A. representatives could be an important influence but unfortunately these representatives



do not attend the meetings of the J.N.F. Board. With regard to the A.P.C., Mr. Margulies suggested that when the next A.P.C. Board is organized, the Z.O.A. should appoint an official representative body to serve on that Board, these representatives to be responsible to the Z.O.A. However, should any representative find that the decisions of the Board do not coincide with his own views, he should resign. This should also be done in the case of the Z.O.A. representatives on the J.N.F. Board.

Mr. Margulies thereupon moved as follows:

THAT the Z.O.A. appoint a representative body to attend the next meeting of the Board of Directors of the A.P.C., it being understood that the Z.O.A. representatives are responsible to the Z.O.A. and were expected to carry out the decisions of that Organization.

Mr. Cowen pointed out that there were two questions involved in this whole discussion: The question of Z.O.A. finances and the sources from which the Organization is to maintain itself and therefore the disposition of the moneys raised by the various Funds is a matter that can come up for discussion here. He pointed out that prior to 1921, under the old regime, there was one common fund, out of which American Zionist and Palestine activities were maintained. However, when the Keren Hayesod was organized, the Zionist Organization of America was challenged as to how much of this money should be spent in America, though without the Z.O.A. the work of the Keren Hayesod could not have been carried on. The work done by Zionists and the Z.O.A. for the Keren Hayesod and its successors interfere with the raising of its own Administration Fund by the Z.O.A. and therefore the Keren Hayesod ought to take cognizance of this situation and make the necessary allowance for it. This is only just and equitable, but we cannot dictate to the members of the Board of the Keren Hayesod, as has been suggested. Mr. Cowen added, however, that the fund-raising organization should be requested to contribute toward the expenses of the Z.O.A. for the services the latter renders, and that in the meantime ways and means should be considered for the raising of an Administration Fund by the Z.O.A.

Mr. Wilson stated that the Z.O.A. is the parent organization of the Keren Hayesod and the Jewish National Fund, and as such is entitled to some compensation, but the Z.O.A. should be guided in this matter by whatever the rules of the Congress dictate.

Dr. Alex S. Wolf who was the next speaker took this occasion to express his gratification over the re-election of Mr. Rothenberg as President. He added that he was very much impressed with the remarks of Mr. Röss, but that in his own opinion a conference should be called of representatives of the Z.O.A. the Keren Hayesod, and the Jewish National Fund, in order to localize the financial relations between the Zionist Organization of America and these bodies; and he so moved.

Mr. Markewich urged that steps should be taken, in accordance with the resolution adopted at the last Zionist Convention, to unite the various forces in Zionism, for the purpose of forming a Joint Consultative Council. The text of the Resolution follows:

"WHEREAS, there are at the present time numerous organizations in this country affiliated and unaffiliated with the Z.O.A., each separately engaged in Zionist activities; and



"WHEREAS, experience has proved and established the wisdom and value of coordinated effort and activities of those engaged in the same work, in a common cause and purpose; and

"WHEREAS, it is evident that it will prove to the advantage of all existing Zionist groups to meet together periodically to discuss and plan for Zionist work, common to the welfare and progress of Eretz Israel;

"THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED BY THE Z.O.A., in Convention assembled, that the incoming Administration of the Z.O.A. shall issue a call to all organizations, whether affiliated or unaffiliated with the Z.O.A., engaged in Zionist activities, for the purpose of forming a joint consultative council, to the end that all Zionist forces in America may be enabled to render more effective service towards the development and upbuilding of Eretz Israel."

The Joint Consultative Council, Mr. Markewich thought, would be a forerunner to real constructive Zionist work. There would not be one Campaign for the Keren Hayesod with the American Palestine Campaign, another Campaign for the Jewish National Fund; a Campaign by the Poale Zion; by the Mizrachi; and by the Hadassah. We are all doing work for the one common purpose. We should begin now to carry this Resolution into effect, to send out a call to all the different groups and bodies engaged in Zionist activities to sit down in conference for the purpose of devising ways and means to help the different organizations maintain their administrative expenses and to send as much as possible to Palestine for Palestinian activities. Mr. Markewich agreed with Dr. Wolf's statement that it is impossible to get a large membership for the Z.O.A. with all the existing groups and parties. Therefore it is impossible to be supported by the membership solely. We must, therefore, devise ways and means to have a united appeal worked out for the administrative expenses of those organizations, -- the balance to be spent for real constructive Palestine endeavor.

Referring to Mr. Spicchandler's remarks that the Finance Committee ought not to be only a Committee to control the finances of the Zionist Organization, but also the finances of the fund-raising organizations, Mr. Rothenberg said that he is not in agreement with Mr. Spicchandler's proposal. He did not think the Finance Committee of the Zionist Organization could undertake to control the finances of the American Palestine Campaign or the Jewish National Fund. What we might have, Mr. Rothenberg suggested, is a standing Committee on Palestine Funds, and this Committee should acquaint itself with all the details of the finances of the two Organizations, and perhaps it should also look into other fund-raising activities for Palestine and be in a position, from time to time, to submit reports, in addition to the reports which will be submitted by the Heads of those two institutions -- Mr. Louis Lipsky and Dr. Israel Goldstein. That, Mr. Rothenberg thought, comes within the function of the Zionist Organization. After all what is the Zionist Organization to do? Is it only to conduct propaganda for Zionism in the United States? It has always been recognized that the Zionist Organization is the policy-making body for Zionism in America. That is one of its principal functions. For example, when the decision had to be made as to whether there should be a United Jewish Appeal, the decision was made by the Z.O.A. If a different form of fund-raising is proposed for the United States, the decision is made by the Z.O.A. and then it is given effect in the United Palestine Appeal. Without desiring to interfere in the details of the management of the institutions mentioned, as the policy-making body the Z.O.A. should be thoroughly



informed of their affairs, so as to exercise its influence when necessary. Therefore, a Standing Committee on Palestine Funds would be very serviceable. Referring to the situation which arose at the APC Board meeting held on Thursday night, July 18th, Mr. Rothenberg stated that the Chairman of the Finance Committee presented a resolution adopted that day by the Executive of the Z.O.A., asking for an appropriation of the balance of \$10,000 due the Z.O.A. Mr. Ress, who is a member of the Administrative Committee of the Zionist Organization, arose and opposed the official request of the Z.O.A., and made a bitter attack upon it. Mr. Rothenberg said he thought it a very extraordinary situation that a member of the Administrative Committee of the Z.O.A. should oppose a request of the Executive of the Zionist Organization. In his judgment, it was a violation of elementary discipline of an Organization. For years it has been thought proper that the A.P.C. make a contribution to the administrative expenses of the Z.O.A. Whatever formula may be adopted in effect such a contribution, in essence it is made to enable the Zionist Organization of America, which is the generating power of all the Zionist institutions to properly function. Mr. Ress questioned the right of the A.P.C. to make such appropriations. We have gone over that question year after year; it has been discussed with the non-Zionists. While they did not like to see an appropriation for general Zionist activities, they recognized that the influence of the Zionist Organization of America played a great part in furthering the fund-raising activities for Palestine, and raised no objection to a reasonable appropriation to the Zionist Organization of America, so that by its increased strength it would also aid the American Palestine Campaign. The Z.O.A. needs a minimum budget of from \$100,000 to \$120,000 a year if it to conduct its work effectively. Mr. Rothenberg felt that the Z.O.A. could raise the largest part of its budget itself but had to have it supplemented by its affiliated institutions. He felt that our representatives on the Board of Directors of the American Palestine Campaign and the Jewish National Fund should understand the situation and act in sympathy with it. It seemed to him that if our representatives conscientiously could not follow the decided policy of the Zionist Organization, they should not serve as the representatives of the Z.O.A. on those Boards. Mr. Rothenberg concluded with the following suggestions:

- 1) That a Standing Committee on Palestine Funds be named;
- 2) That the Executive consider the entire question of our relationship to the American Palestine Campaign, and at an early meeting of the Administrative Committee, bring its conclusions to the Administrative Committee for definitive action.

At this juncture, Dr. Gold read the resolution drafted by the Committee on Palestine Funds at the Convention, of which he was Chairman. The Convention had referred this resolution to the first meeting of the new Administrative Committee.

In view of the fact that Dr. Gold's report had only a very remote bearing on the internal question of our relation to the American Palestine Campaign, the question of our subvention, the question of our representation on the A.P.C. Board of Directors, Mr. Rothenberg thought it better to hold the report until a subsequent meeting.

It was finally moved, seconded and carried

THAT this entire matter be referred to the Executive of the Z.O.A., with instructions that at any early meeting of the Administrative Committee, a plan be presented which will enable us to meet the problems raised at this meeting of the Administrative Committee.

UNANIMOUSLY CARRIED



It was further moved, seconded and unanimously carried

THAT the President of the Zionist Organization of America be authorized to appoint a Standing Committee on Palestine Funds.

HEBREW WORK:

In connection with Hebrew work of the Z.O.A. and its relationship to the Histadruth Ivrit, touched on by Mr. Rothenberg in his report earlier in the meeting, Mr. Spicehandler explained that the Histadruth Ivrit proposes to act as the agent of the Z.O.A. in carrying forward all Hebrew cultural work which the Zionist Organization desires to undertake. This Thursday night there will be a Bialik Memorial Meeting, jointly arranged and the expenses jointly shared by the Z.O.A. and Histadruth Ivrit. Mr. Spicehandler suggested that the Z.O.A. include the Histadruth Ivrit in its budget for Hebrew work.

Mr. Isreeli felt that if the Histadruth Ivrit is to become the agent of the Z.O.A. in all Hebrew work, the Z.O.A. ought to be officially represented on the Administrative Committee of the Histadruth Ivrit.

Mr. Margulies stated that the Z.O.A. at the present time -- with or without representation -- pays the rent for the Histadruth Ivrit, pays the telephone expense, light, and similar expenses. In addition, Histadruth receives a subvention of \$50 a week from the Z.O.A.

BUDGET -- 1935-36:

Mr. Rothenberg stated that the Finance Committee had not had time to prepare a budget for 1935-36. A budget was presented by it to the Administrative Committee in March, 1935, which it carefully considered and approved. That budget covered a period ending December 31, 1935. The following resolution was then submitted:

"THAT the Administrative Committee request the Finance Committee to prepare a budget for 1935-36, and to present it first to the Executive, for approval, and then for approval at a meeting of the Administrative Committee to be held not later than November, 1935; that, pending the adoption of the 1935-36 budget, the present budget adopted in March, 1935, shall continue in operation."

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

GERMAN SITUATION -- AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS:

Mr. Rothenberg reported that the American Jewish Congress and the Jewish Labor Committee had called a joint Emergency Conference for Monday evening, July 22nd, at the Hotel Pennsylvania, for the purpose of protesting against the recent new disturbances in Germany and to plan further action to be taken. There was a feeling on the part of our Executive that this meeting should voice its sentiments even before the meeting on Monday night. Mr. Rothenberg called for a discussion of the subject.

Mr. Fisher suggested that a Committee of Three be appointed with instructions that they draw up a vigorous resolution to be given out from this meeting.



Mr. Lipsky reported that for the first time the Congress has the co-operation of all parties in American Jewry interested in the situation, and this will be productive of good results.

Dr. Margoshes added that the adoption of a resolution here would serve no purpose at all. The Congress will have a meeting tomorrow night where a resolution will be adopted and plans devised for taking action not only in behalf of the Z.O.A., but in behalf of all Jews in America, for that purpose the President of the Z.O.A. has issued a call to all affiliated societies and organizations to send their delegates to the conference tomorrow night, and this call appears in all the Yiddish dailies. It is necessary, however, to further urge all Zionist units in the city and vicinity to make sure to send their delegates to the conference tomorrow night, but it is of no use to pass a resolution of indignation here.

Mr. Goldberg strongly urged that the members of the Administrative Committee should not come away from this meeting without a strong utterance on the subject, and that the resolution adopted here should be read at tomorrow night's meeting. Of course, all Zionist representatives should be urged to attend the meeting tomorrow night but we must express here our sorrow, grief and indignation over what is happening in Germany -- this expression must not be directed so much against Germany, as against America, France, England and all civilized countries, who should be aroused to action.

Mr. Galter was of the opinion that this body should as a national body consider what action should be taken **and** not merely aid in calling tomorrow night's meeting.

Dr. Rongy urged the necessity of bringing pressure to bear upon the American Government and pointing out the incongruity of the German situation.

Mr. Lipsky stated that he is in full agreement with the suggestion that the Z.O.A. as such express its views with regard to the German situation and take such action as may be necessary to stimulate and instigate action on the part of the Zionist Districts throughout the country in this connection. There is something to be gained by having agitation spread all over the country, but it is important to bear in mind what the American Jewish Congress, the American Jewish Committee, Bnai Brith and the Jewish Labor Committee have in mind at this time. It is **quite** clear that the boycott has been in a measure weakened during the last few weeks, and the time has come for the Jews of this country to make a direct appeal to the American Government, to express its opposition with regard to what has happened in Germany. If united and concerted action is taken the same sentiment can be created as was created by the Z.O.A. in 1922 with regard to the Lodge Resolution. Therefore, steps must be taken through united action to have the American Government express its abhorrence and condemnation of the German Government.

Mr. Rothenberg recalled the protest demonstrations that were held in this country in 1919, when the Ukrainian pogroms took place. A great march was organized which culminated in a protest meeting at Carnegie Hall. After that meeting was over, there was organized a delegation on a national basis, which waited on the Secretary of State at Washington. At that time, Mr. Louis Marshall was



head of the American Jewish Committee, and he strenuously opposed the going of a delegation to the State Department, because, he said, there was nothing to be accomplished. Those responsible for the pogroms, he said, were not Government officials, and there was no one against whom to protest, the offenders were brigands. But we nevertheless went ahead with our plans and organized a large national Delegation of probably 300 people, with representatives from every national organization in the United States. It was received by Secretary Lansing and made an enormous impression upon him and upon the entire country. Mr. Rothenberg declared that the time has come when a similar delegation should go to Washington. The small delegations privately received were in his judgement doing no service whatever. Something different must be done to impress the mind of our Government. There ought to be a delegation of two or three hundred people such as we had at that time. Every Jew of note was in the delegation. The head of every important Organization was represented on it. A delegation composed of national Jewish leaders, and perhaps also non-Jews, Liberals, representatives of Labor and the Church,--such a Delegation if received either by the President or by Secretary Hull would certainly have great significance from every point of view and its views could not and would not be ignored by the President.

Dr. Margoshes stated that along with the preparations made for the Conference tomorrow night, which he trusted will be a huge Conference, attended by thousands of representatives of Organizations throughout the Greater City, preparations were made to have similar protest meetings arranged by local communities throughout the United States. Dispatches have gone out from the office of the American Jewish Congress and from the office of the Jewish Labor Committee, to their respective branches throughout the country, asking them to do likewise,--to repeat the Monday night Conference throughout the United States. He thought the President should tell the Zionists throughout the country to participate and to take a real part in the movement which will gather momentum in the days to come. With regard to Mr. Rothenberg's suggestion, Dr. Margoshes added, it may be interesting to point out that we are facing now a situation which is altogether different from the situation that we have faced in the days of Lansing, when that great delegation was received. Today we have someone in the White House who has an attitude toward the German problem which is basically different from the attitude held by the occupant of the White House years ago. The attitude is different all along. It comes from the White House and it extends all through the various branches of the Executive arm of the Government. We have our difficulties in getting even a small committee received by Hull. Hull is officially not in the Cabinet. He has taken an extended vacation and is not in power, and a tremendous amount of pressure must be brought to bear to have him receive any kind, even a limited delegation. The alternative is to be received by some functionary; and you realize that if you see the Assistant Secretary and the Second Assistant Secretary it will have no effect. We have to lay our ground very carefully and very cautiously. At least, we have to make sure that we are going to be received by the head of that Department which has to do with international relations in the United States. The chances of anyone succeeding in changing the attitude of the head of the Government are, to Dr. Margoshes' mind, nil. He spoke of some effort made as late as a year ago, with the assistance of the most influential party leaders, and the answer was that under no circumstances will there be given any appearance of meddling in this very troublesome situation (which affects fourteen million of our people). In the absence of the chief Officers of the American Jewish Congress, those who remain -- Mr. Lipsky at the head -- are endeavoring to bring every ounce of pressure. Since Tuesday morning we have been sitting practically in constant session, using every line of argument and persuasiveness with those people who are of any consequence, bringing in all the Jews who are interested, and the first step in the open is tomorrow



night's Conference, out of which we expect will arise those actions that will be the beginning of the revival of the protest movement of two years ago.

Mr. Margulies suggested that the delegation to meet with Secretary Hull should be reinforced by pressure upon the various Congressmen and Senators by their local Jewish constituents.

Mr. Goldberg urged that a national committee be formed of representatives from the entire country and that eventually pressure be brought to bear upon the President. He urged that a resolution be adopted here for the meeting tomorrow night, otherwise Zionists will be remiss in their duty.

Mr. Rothenberg expressed the opinion that if President Roosevelt knows that a body of national leaders in the United States want to meet him, he will not decline.

Dr. Margoshes suggested that the American Jewish Congress, the Jewish Consultative Council, in close cooperation with the President of the Zionist Organization of America should take this very fruitful idea, full of great prospects and full of danger, and very quietly and cautiously feel their way and find out whether, given the 1,000 names, we have a chance of seeing the President of the United States. He agreed that the important thing is to see the President. The Secretary of State has been seen before. This step must be handled by a small committee that must find its way very quietly and very cautiously and very slowly.

Dr. Wolf expressed the thought that the Z.O.A. can and should take the decisive step in this matter.

Mr. Fisher thought, too, that the voice of the Zionists of America should speak through an appropriate resolution at the joint emergency meeting Monday night.

Mr. Cowen said that we must insist that the President be asked to receive us, and that as large a delegation as possible be sent to Washington.

Mr. Lipsky pointed out that a responsible body like the Z.O.A. has to be very thoughtful of any suggestions as to the action to be taken by others and even by itself. What Dr. Margoshes and he talked about was action of the American Jewish Congress, and the American Jewish Congress by reason of the interests that have been approved by everybody involved, has called into being joint co-operative council in which representatives of the American Jewish Committee, Bnai Brith are bound by agreement in that none of the things involving German Jewry shall they act independently until the matter is taken up by this joint council. The American Jewish Congress also has gotten the cooperation of the Jewish Labor Committee in order to create a united front. This joint council will have to consider the procedure to be adopted and they will consider every avenue of approach and opinion that may be effective in the situation. Mr. Lipsky did not think it quite appropriate at the meeting Monday night, at which will be present a number of Communists, to propose that we, the Zionists of America, stand for a demonstration at the White House. We should express as strongly as possible our feelings with regard to the attitude of the Government, with regard to the attitude of the Secretary of State, but our proposal should not be a proposal which runs out of bounds but rather a formal action taken in the proper way as to circumstances to be developed, and as to whether it is necessary to take action which goes outside the limits of the American Jewish Congress or the Zionist Organization of America.



Mr. Goldberg believed that the President would not declare publicly that he does not wish to receive the delegation. A National Committee is to wait on the President. Some of the people will see their Senators; others will see their Congressmen; and the President will learn from various channels that there is a Committee waiting for him. Mr. Goldberg suggested that the Z.O.A. representatives at the meeting Monday night should say that we have deliberated and have come to the conclusion that a National Committee, with all those who are ready to help us, should wait on the President.

Mr. Stone stated that we are simply giving directions to our representatives so that they will be in a position to make a contribution towards a crystallization of action. This is constitutional, perfectly proper, and advisable, he thought. Unfortunately, the only power we possess is moral power. The President of the United States will receive us and will give his consent much more quickly than we will be able to receive the consent of the members of the American Jewish Committee for that purpose. We are the injured party, and our cry is much more effective than that of one who is interested in trying to achieve something which he knows is immoral. If the President of the United States refuses us, the sooner we know it the better it will be for us. It is in our interest that we should know our own position in the United States. Personally, Mr. Stone was in favor of the delegation consisting of 48 different delegations, -- each State having its own delegation. In this way we will get the proper people. Our leaders must not be overcome by psychosis of fear. We must resolve that we will be received by the President of the United States. Let us pass that resolution and instruct our representatives, including the Acting President of the Congress, that that is our position. We can do no less than protect Jewish dignity.

RESOLUTION PROPOSED BY MR. ROTHENBERG:

Mr. Rothenberg submitted the following resolution:

THAT the Administrative Committee of the Zionist Organization of America expresses its sense of deep outrage at the new manifestations of brutality against the Jewish Population in Germany. The Administrative Committee instructs the representatives of the Zionist Organization of America in the American Jewish Congress to take immediate steps towards the end that there may be organized a nation-wide delegation to wait upon the President of the United States, and to call upon him to voice the indignation of the American People against the inhuman treatment of the Jews in Germany.

The resolution was unanimously carried.

The question of the method of procedure in this matter was left open.

At the same time, the Administrative Committee declared itself in favor of having the smaller delegation, as proposed by the American Jewish Congress, call upon Secretary of State Cordell Hull.

Mr. Fisher moved

THAT the President of the Z.O.A. appoint a special Committee of Ten, representing the Administrative Committee of the Z.O.A., to be present at the Joint Emergency Conference Monday evening and to convey the above resolution to that meeting.

CARRIED



ATTITUDE OF ZOA TOWARDS WORLD UNION  
OF GENERAL ZIONISTS AND THE NEWLY FORMED CONFEDERATION OF GENERAL ZIONISTS:

Mr. Rothenberg read the following communication received from the Zionist Federation of Great Britain and Ireland, in reference to the newly formed Confederation of General Zionists:

COPY

75, Great Russell Street,  
LONDON, W.C.1.

June 28th, 1935.

Dear Sirs:

It is with great pleasure that we are writing to inform you of the formation of the World Confederation of General Zionists, consisting of the English Zionist Federation, the Zionist Federation of Congress Poland, and Groups of General Zionists of Germany, Czecho-Slovakia, Yugo-Slavia, Letland, France, Switzerland, Littau, Roumania, as also of The Radicals, led by Mr. Gruenbaum and Dr. Goldman. Also the Hashachar of Lemberg, Hancar Hazioni, Hechalutz Haklal Zioni and, finally, Kidmah, led by Dr. Kurt Blumenfeld, Mitkadmim, led by Dr. Gluecksohn, Editor of the Haaretz.

The World Confederation was made inevitable as a result of the attitude of the leaders of the World Union of General Zionists in Cracow, who have insisted on the recognition of the Irgun, that is to say, their new Trade Union of General Zionists as entirely independent from the Histadruth.

We regard with profound regret this new separatist tendency which is being fostered from above among the workers in Palestine. We favour one Central Labour Organisation which, whilst allowing autonomy and complete equality to all its sections, irrespective of their political and religious opinions, will, nevertheless, weld them into one united body working for the rapid rebuilding of Palestine.

The first Conference of the new Confederation will take place at Lucerne a few days before the opening of the 19th Zionist Congress, of which we shall advise you shortly. It has been decided that the Executive of the Confederation shall, until the next Congress, be in London, and shall consist of the Rev. J.K. Goldbloom, Chairman, Dr. Nahum Goldman, Dr. Martin Rosenblueth, The Rev. M. L. Perlzweig, Mr. Paul Goodman, Mr. L. Bakstansky, Hon. Secretary, and Mr. S. Temkin, Hon. Assistant Secretary.

The first task of the Confederation is the constitution of a World Election List. We appeal to you to associate yourself with the new Confederation, and would suggest: (a) to notify your Territorial Election Board that the surplus of your votes should be earmarked for the World List of the Confederation of General Zionists, headed by Dr. Chaim Weizmann, and (b) to wire the World Executive (Zioniburo, London), to the same effect.

We look forward to your warm and close co-operation and hope to hear from you by return.

Yours very truly,

(Signed) J.K. GOLDBLOOM,  
Chairman.  
" L. BAKSTANSKY,  
Hon. Secretary.



Discussion:

Discussion arose as to the attitude of the Zionist Organization of America towards this new Confederation.

It was generally agreed that the American Delegation at Lucerne cannot afford to remain isolated; that the Delegation will have no influence unless it aligns itself with other forces; and secondly, if it does align itself with other forces, it must be those forces that stand on our Platform, those forces that make our Platform part of our ideology.

The following resolution was presented and adopted as expressing the attitude of the Z.O.A. towards the World Union of General Zionists and the newly formed Confederation of General Zionists:

THAT in view of the fact that at the Cracow Conference of General Zionists action was taken contrary to the letter and spirit of important planks of the Platform adopted by the Z.O.A. Convention, and in view of the fact that the attitude of the leaders of the World Union of General Zionists at Cracow has resulted in splitting the General Zionists into two groups--known as Group A and Group B;

THEREFORE, the Administrative Committee of the Z.O.A. recommends to the Zionist Organization of America Delegation at the 19th World Zionist Congress to join the Conference to be held in Lucerne, called by Group A, or otherwise known as the Confederation of General Zionists, but to reserve to itself freedom of action on all questions that may arise outside the province of the Platform adopted by the Convention of the Zionist Organization of America.

UNANIMOUSLY ADOPTED.

LOUIS MYERS CO-OPTED:

It was moved, seconded and carried

THAT Mr. Louis Myers be co-opted as a member of the Administrative Committee, to represent the Order Sons of Zion.

Meeting adjourned at 6 P.M.

Respectfully submitted,



# JEWISH NATIONAL FUND OF AMERICA

קרן קימת לישראל  
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Honorary Secretary

October 4, 1935.

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*air mail*

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David Wertheim  
Leo Wolfson

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver  
c/o The Temple  
Euclid Avenue at Ansel Road  
Cleveland, Ohio

My dear Rabbi Silver:

The Jewish National Fund Council of Los Angeles has written me asking that I make an effort to prevail upon you to visit Los Angeles on behalf of the \$500,000 Palestine Land Redemption Campaign. The preparatory work has already been put into Los Angeles. They are planning a campaign for a substantial amount, and I have the assurance from the committee there that your coming will contribute more than anything else to the success of the drive.

I realize that you have recently returned from abroad and that you undoubtedly have a very busy program. At the same time, you know how urgent it is that we raise large sums of money. I wish you could find it possible to accept their invitation, which is for the early part of December or the latter part of November.

Mr. Maurice Firth in whom I have a great deal of confidence, because of his tact and ability as a campaigner, will arrive in Cleveland next Wednesday in connection with the Palestine Land Redemption Campaign. I wanted to get the very best person possible for Cleveland and someone in whom you will have confidence. I am asking Mr. Firth to see you as soon as he comes to Cleveland.

The idea which you suggested to me in Lucerne to have a parlor meeting with the Palestine pictures will, we hope, be feasible. If not, I am sure you can find some other way of starting off the National Fund effort in Cleveland properly. Your speech at our conference in Atlantic City is still ringing in my ears. At that time you challenged us to make demands of you. I am accepting the challenge right now. Your help in Cleveland can really determine whether we shall remain as we were in the past, a small second rate project, or whether we shall lift the Jewish National Fund in Cleveland to the level it deserves to have.

Likewise your visit to Los Angeles which can be utilized also for one or two other communities on the way can



Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver

October 4, 1935.

help us to make that entire section of the country JNF  
conscious in a big way.

One of the things that impressed me at the  
Congress in Lucerne was the way in which the leaders of the  
World Zionist Movement stressed the land emergency. We  
Americans have been made to feel duly ashamed for having  
done so little, in view of our numbers and resources. We  
can all work together to make the year 5696 a new and  
brighter page in the calendar of Geulah Haaretz.

With cordial regards and best wishes to you  
and Mrs. Silver for the New Year in which Mrs. Goldstein  
joins me, I am

Faithfully yours,

*Israel Goldstein*  
Dr. Israel Goldstein  
President



IG:RC



# JEWISH NATIONAL FUND OF AMERICA

קרן קימת לישראל  
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Honorary Secretary

October 8, 1955.

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Abraham Spicehandler  
Hon. Elihu D. Stone  
David Wertheim  
Leo Wolfson

My dear Rabbi Silver:

Welcome home.

In the first place, we should like to have from you a statement that we can use throughout the country in connection with our \$500,000 Campaign. In your absence, we sent you a transcript of the proceedings of our National Conference that you addressed at Atlantic City. You might use that as a basis or you can comment on the decisions made at Lucerne to raise five million dollars for the Keren Kayemeth.

Secondly, Dr. Goldstein wrote you on October 4th that Mr. Firth would be in Cleveland to take charge of our campaign. Since Dr. Goldstein wrote you the letter, Prof. Gustave Klausner who is in charge of the Midwest territory for the Jewish National Fund, has released Mr. J. S. Pearlstien who has been very successful in organizing campaigns, who will be available for Cleveland instead of Mr. Firth.

We think Mr. Pearlstien is admirably suited to handle the Cleveland drive. He was formerly director of the Jewish Welfare Federation for Omaha; he has a fine cultural background and it is our judgment that he is an ideal person to take charge of the work in Cleveland. We have asked Mr. Pearlstien to confer with you upon his arrival in your city on Wednesday.

I want to take this opportunity to wish you and Mrs. Silver a very happy New Year.

Sincerely yours,

MENDEL N. FISHER

National Campaign Director

MNF:RC



October 8, 1935

Dr. Israel Goldstein, President,  
Jewish National Fund of America,  
111 Fifth Ave.,  
New York, N.Y.

My dear Dr. Goldstein:

Let me acknowledge your letter of October 4 and the invitation of the Jewish National Fund Council of Los Angeles. You realize, of course, that it is quite impossible for me to go to Los Angeles either now or in the next few months. I have been away from Cleveland all summer and I owe certain obligations to my own congregation. A trip that far from Cleveland which would amount to a week's absence from the city or more is certainly out of the question.

I am pleased to know that you are sending a good man to Cleveland to help in the National Fund Campaign. I shall be very pleased to see him when he arrives here. Rabbi Armond Cohen who is chairman of the local Fund is in constant touch with me about planning the coming campaign.

With all good wishes to you and yours for a happy new year, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK



# JEWISH NATIONAL FUND OF AMERICA

קרן קימת לישראל

(Keren Kayemeth Le Israel, Inc.)

111 Fifth Avenue, New York

October 11, 1935.

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Dr. Abba Hillel Silver,  
The Temple,  
East 105th Street at Ansel Road,  
Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Dr. Silver:

I have given a little further thought to the subject of our telephone conversation, and I have talked the matter over with one or two people on our Administrative Committee.

As I indicated to you, we feel that in view of your own deep interest in the Jewish National Fund and also your position in the community, you are best able to judge whether we ought to accept a \$5,000. allotment from the Community Chest. We know you will make every effort to get \$7,500. for us. It is our opinion that we should be able to raise \$7,500. net in the present campaign. We are ready to put one of our best men into Cleveland for this campaign and have him remain there until it is brought to a successful conclusion.

Again I would like to make reference, as I did on the telephone to the instance of San Francisco. Their Community Chest has voted us \$5,000. Considering that their Jewish population is only a fraction of that of Cleveland, it would seem that the Cleveland Community Chest ought to vote an amount at least three times as much. The San Francisco Community Chest was impelled to allot us a fairly substantial sum by the realization of the land emergency in Palestine. I am sure that the leaders of the Cleveland Jewish community realize, or can be made to realize, this emergency affecting the present and the future of the Jewish people.

The previous record for the Jewish National Fund, even in good years, is hardly a criterion for what can be accomplished this year, since this year we have a stronger personnel in the field and, furthermore, the land problem in Palestine is in the forefront of Zionist and non-Zionist attention. That is why we believe that our hope of raising a substantial amount by an independent effort is more than a hope.

We shall rely upon your judgment and upon those others who are with you vitally interested in our cause. The suggestion you made with reference to getting our full allotment before Septem-



Dr. Abba Hillel Silver,  
Cleveland, Ohio.

October 11, 1935.

ber 1st, 1936 would be a great favor to us.

I don't have to tell you how much we appreciate your  
interest and your cooperation.

With cordial regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

*Israel Goldstein*  
ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN,  
President.

IG:F





# JEWISH NATIONAL FUND OF AMERICA

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Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver,  
c/o The Temple,  
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Cleveland, Ohio.

My dear Rabbi Silver:

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Robert Silverman  
Abraham Spicehandler  
Hon. Elihu D. Stone  
David Wertheim  
Leo Wolfson

At the request of Rabbi Cohen, Dr. Goldstein wrote to Mr. Halle, chairman of the Budget Committee of the Jewish Welfare Fund, as per enclosed copy.

We are counting upon you to secure the maximum for the Palestine Land Redemption Campaign. Our request is for \$10,000. It will be a serious disappointment to us unless the minimum of \$7,500. is secured.

With kindest regards, I

am

Very sincerely yours,

MENDEL N. FISHER

National Campaign Director

MNF:EL



MINUTES OF MEETING OF Z.O.A ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE HELD ON  
SUNDAY, OCTOBER 27, 1935, AT THE HOTEL ASTOR, NEW YORK.

Present: Messrs. Morris Rothenberg (in the chair), Louis Lipsky, Hon. Elihu D. Stone, Harry P. Fierst, Louis Rimsky, Sigmund Thau, Charles A. Cowen, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Heinrich Abramowitz, Sol Cohen, Bernard S. Deutsch, Mendel N. Fisher, Daniel Frisch, David J. Galter, Jacob Ginsburg, Abraham Goldstein, Dr. A. M. Heller, Isaac Imber, Arnold K. Isreeli, Samuel Judenfroind, Eliezer Kushner, Dr. Harris J. Lovine, Dr. Loon R. Levinson, Rabbi I. H. Lovinthal, Louis E. Levinthal, Samuel Markewich, Dr. Isidore Mogil, Louis Myers, Jacob Rabinowitz, Charles Ross, Bernard G. Richards, Dr. M. Robbins, Mrs. John D. Safer, Dr. Leo B. Schwartz, Bernard Sholvin, Barnett Silverblatt, Mrs. Archibald Silverman, Robert Silverman, Milton S. Taylor, Samuel Umansky, Arthur Weiss, Leo Wilson, Murray Wynor, Hon. Julian W. Mack, Jacob Fishman.

Excuses for non-attendance were received from Dr. Frances Burnee, Israel S. Chipkin, Mrs. Mabel Fischer, Louis A. Freed, Rabbi Joel S. Goffen, Cantor Myro Glass, Rabbi Henry R. Goldberger, Rabbi Solomon Goldman, Isidore Horshfield, Rabbi Edward L. Israel, Samuel J. Keiser, Prof. Gustave Klausner, Joseph Kraemer, Abraham Krumbein, Judge Wm. M. Lewis, Dr. M. B. Lichtenstein, Eldar Markson, M. Ribalow, Dr. A. J. Rongy, Rabbi Milton Rosen, H. D. Schwartz, Simon Shetzer, Max Shulman, Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, Abraham Spicehandler, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Rabbi Harry Z. Zwelling.

Mr. Rothenberg opened the meeting with the following remarks:

"I desire to extend my warm greetings to all the members of the Administrative Committee. I believe this is the first meeting of the new Administration. I hope it marks the beginning of energetic and devoted labors in the cause in which we are all engaged.

"I have had many weeks of interesting and instructive experience both at the Congress and in Palestine, and I hope tonight to give some of my observations with regard to Palestine. But now I would like to say a word or two with respect to the Congress. I know that a meeting was held here at which the returning delegates made their report, and I am sure that they covered the proceedings at Lucerne, fully. But since our Delegation had their definite instructions with regard to policies that were to be pursued at the Congress, I think it only proper that, for the purposes of the record, something should be said of the manner in which those instructions were executed.

"You will recall that in 1933, preceding the Prague Congress, we formed an alliance with Hadassah, and the Z.O.A. Delegation was divided between the Hadassah and the Z.O.A. That experience was not a very satisfactory one. As you will recall, the Hadassah for the most part gave their allegiance to Group B, and the Delegation of the Z.O.A. identified itself with Group A. The picture that the American Delegation made at the Congress in Prague was one of division and one that was not calculated to advance the prestige of the Z.O.A. When we came to the Elections for the Congress that had just closed, the question again arose as to whether we could unite with the Hadassah in one Ticket. There were many who were opposed to it; there were some who were in favor of it. I urged that we again join with the Hadassah in one slate, because I had canvassed the situation carefully and had come to the conclusion that the position of many of the leaders of Hadassah and many of those who had formerly been in Group B,



had changed, and that we might expect at the Congress in Lucerne a united front insofar as the Z.O.A. Delegation was concerned. I am very happy to be able to report that that was the case at Lucerne. When we arrived there we found that there had been created a strengthened Group A, much enlarged over the numbers of 1933. Group A, we found, contained the liberal and progressive and forward-looking General Zionists at the Congress. The first task of the American Delegation was to consolidate our Delegation so that it might enter Group A as a unit, and we were successful in that. Not only did the Hadassah join Group A, but leading members of the Z.O.A. who were in 1933 very active in Group B, like Judge Mack and Dr. Wise, united with the Z.O.A. Delegation in affiliating with Group A. Nevertheless we followed the instructions we received from the Administrative Committee and retained entire freedom of action. I think it is no exaggeration to say that the American Delegation played a very important role in influencing and shaping the policies of Group A, and eventually the policies that were adopted by the Congress. Although the Z.O.A. Delegation was a minority of the total Delegation that went from America, I am quite certain the Z.O.A. influence at the Congress did not suffer thereby. It was consulted on all important issues. Members of our Delegation were on all the important Committees; they participated in all the important negotiations with respect to the proposed new Administration, and I feel sure that the Z.O.A. Delegation emerged from the 19th Congress with every reason to feel satisfied with the work it had done and the role it played. Specifically, I should like to say that we succeeded in carrying through a number, if not most, of the planks of the Z.O.A. Congress Platform. One of the important planks of our Platform related to the Histadruth and Labor. We took the position that we were in favor of a single Labor Union in Palestine, provided, however, that all elements of Jewish Labor in Palestine should have the right to join the Histadruth and to share equal rights therein. We were opposed to the splitting up of labor organizations in Palestine into a number of independent units, as likely to undermine the solidarity of Labor. Our policy, of course, was shared by Group A, and as Group A we gained momentum. We found that its policies made considerable inroads upon Group B, a number of that Group evidencing open sympathy with the views of Group A rather than those of their own Group on the Labor issue as on other issues.

"We had a plank in our Platform calling for the establishment of an Economic Planning Commission to coordinate economic enterprise in Palestine. We did not succeed in creating such a Board at the Congress, but Dr. Ruppin, who was placed in charge of the economic work of the Agency was instructed to take the necessary steps in organizing an Economic Board which shall function in connection with the Executive.

"Our Delegation also gave support to the demand in our Platform calling for the observance of traditional Judaism in public institutions of the Agency. You know what a difficult problem that was at the Congress, and I must say that the Labor forces in the Congress, upon whom rests the responsibility for carrying that policy out, acted with a great deal of forbearance and with much tact and wisdom in meeting the demands and the tactics of Mizrahi. Anyone visiting the Kwutzahs and the Kibbutzim in Palestine realizes what a complex problem the strict observance of the religious demands of Mizrahi is. It is easy enough to include such a demand in a platform, but there are practical difficulties in carrying such a policy out everywhere. Not because the workers are irreligious or unwilling to observe traditional Judaism in public institutions, but because of conditions under which they labor. In many of the Kibbutzim the help is hired out, because there is not sufficient employment in their own Kibbutz. They work in other Colonies for hire. As a result, they neglect duties in their own homes and on their own fields, and the one day they can catch up with their home duties is on Shabbath when they are free. It is a serious problem, and one they would



gladly solve but they don't know how to do it without sacrificing their interests, the doing of which they can ill afford. Rabbi Kook understood this and he was most tolerant.

"The Executive and the leaders of the Histadruth undertook to meet the demands of the Mizrachi and the demands of public opinion insofar as it was possible for them to do so and in the end the Mizrachi took their assurance of honest intentions in the matter.

"Another plank in our Platform called for equal opportunities for all classes of Jews to share in the development and the privileges of Palestine upbuilding. You will recall that there were many charges before the Congress, that the Histadruth was exercising its power in such a way as to exclude from opportunities of settlement and labor in Palestine other classes of Labor not sharing Socialist doctrines. In the discussions which took place at the Congress, the Labor forces acceded to our demand upon which we laid great emphasis, -- that no preference must be given to laboring elements identified with the political views of Histadruth in the issuance of Certificates. An allocation of Certificates as between the Chalutzim and other classes was agreed upon. With respect to the charge that was made that Labor was unfair in the distribution of Certificates through the Palestine Amts, I believe that it appeared that there had been irregularities in Certificate distribution in several countries, but there was no evidence either that the Executive or anyone in a position of authority shared in such abuses. The Head of the Immigration Department was given instructions by the Congress that this matter be firmly taken in hand and an end made of all abuses. When I was in Palestine, I followed this matter up with members of the Executive and I feel certain they mean to put a stop to such practices which give them much concern.

"You know that there has been considerable talk with respect to the fact that the hopes that were entertained for bringing in new sections of Jewry through the enlarged Jewish Agency were not being realized. The enlarged Agency was brought into being with the expectation that especially in America influential elements in American Jewish life which had not theretofore taken a part in Palestine upbuilding would through the extended Agency be enlisted. It was felt that this Congress would be a deciding factor in the situation. The Agency would either make itself an effective instrument, or it would pass into history. At the Atlantic City Convention and even some time before it, I made the suggestion that the solution of the problem lay not in discarding the enlarged Agency but in finding a better way of selecting the non-Zionists. I suggested that instead of having the non-Zionists to select their representatives in the Agency in a private manner as it was done until now, they should be selected publicly by communities. This idea, I think, was followed by Dr. Senator in Europe, who made a tour of European countries and succeeded in organizing a number of communities for election purposes. The result was that for the first time since 1929 when the Agency was organized, there was a good attendance at the Council meeting of the Agency, many distinguished representatives having come from a number of European lands. The weakest part of the representation at the Council meeting was from America, because in America the old course was pursued of selecting individuals who represented no particular Organization or constituency, men who were known to have sympathy with Palestine upbuilding but were really not responsible for their actions to anyone. One had the feeling at the meeting of the Council of the Jewish Agency that unless America adopted a similar policy of choosing the non-Zionist representatives from an organized constituency, that the next meeting of the Jewish Agency would see the entire structure into which went so much effort, break up. I might also report that your President was elected Co-Chairman with Lord Melchett, of the Council of the Jewish Agency.



"I am sure you must have greeted with satisfaction, the results of the Congress. The Congress dragged out a little too long. There were protracted discussions which might be avoided if steps were taken to reform the procedure of the Congress, but, of course, the General Debate is a long and time-honored tradition which it is difficult to change at once. But any shortcomings that existed in the Congress, I think were compensated for by the union of forces represented in the new Administration, which brought back the leadership of Dr. Weizmann. The re-election of Dr. Weizmann was hailed with satisfaction in Europe, as also in Palestine. Dr. Sokolow was elected Honorary President of the World Zionist Organization, and also President of the Keren Hayesod. He also was given some special duties in connection with the educational program of the World Zionist Organization. I also desire to report that our Organization is represented on the Administrative Committee of the Jewish Agency, and that Mr. Lipsky was elected member of the Executive to represent America.

"I must say, too, that the Labor Group at the Congress which was in a position to elect the entire Executive, acted with much restraint and self-denial, even sacrificing one of their ablest men on the Executive, Mr. Locker, in order to secure the formation of a small workable Executive. As for those who have left the Zionist Organization and formed a Congress of their own, the less said about it the better. It is a heavy charge they will have to answer for at the Board of Jewish history that they attempted to break up the one instrument in Jewish life that is effective to meet the present tragic Jewish position.

"In all, Mr. Rothenberg ended, "the record of the 19th Congress is one that calls for much satisfaction."

Mr. Elihu D. Stone stated that since this is the first meeting of the Administrative Committee since the return of the President from his Palestinian visit, and the return of the American delegation from the Congress, the Administrative Committee should express its gratification at the manner in which the delegation discharged its difficult duty. He pointed out that the American delegation played a leading and constructive part in the deliberations and achievements of the Congress and made a genuine and everlasting contribution to the Zionist cause, the results of which will be felt for many years. The restraint, unity and constructive action of the Congress, in contrast to the spectacle of division and irritation manifest in the past should be an example and inspiration to all in achieving a united American front. Mr. Stone added that the return of Dr. Weizmann to the Presidency of the Organization should be hailed with satisfaction by the Administrative Committee, and in this connection, he said, the ZOA delegation played a leading role. Particular praise is due to those who had the courage and vision to change their attitude in the light of the realities of Jewish life in Palestine and the Diaspora.

Mr. Stone then made the following motion, which was subsequently seconded and carried:

THAT the Administrative Committee goes on record in expressing its grateful appreciation to our delegation to the 19th Congress for the manner in which it discharged its duties and for the service it rendered to Palestine and to the Zionist movement in this country.

Mr. Frisch urged that the Committee discuss practical aspects of the work of the Organization, as it will reflect itself in the various communities.



Mrs. Silverman expressed her gratification over the solution found in connection with the Haavarah. She suggested that the chairman reserve a few moments for an explanation of this matter

Mr. Rothenberg stated that the consideration of this problem was largely in the Political Committee of the Congress. For obvious reasons it was not advisable to have a detailed discussion at the plenum on this whole matter which involved many delicate phases. He pointed out that even Dr. Wise and Dr. Silver who had been bitter critics of the activities of some elements in Palestine in relation to the boycott and the transfer agreement, after going into the whole subject carefully at the Congress, found that the Haavarah is serving a useful and necessary purpose in aiding Jews to escape from Germany and salvage a part of their property.

Mr. Goldstein suggested that the meeting hear from the other delegates to the Congress.

Mr. Lipsky replied that so far as this meeting is concerned, it should be content with the report of the President. There is nothing to be gained by having all the delegates relate everything that happened at the Congress, the proceedings of which have no doubt become familiar to all by this time through the newspapers.

Dr. Schwartz then seconded the motion of Mr. Stone which was carried.

The Chairman then inquired whether any of the members of the Administrative Committee desired clarification of any matters pertaining to the Congress.

Mr. Sol Cohen stated that he would like to have an explanation of the proposed territorial union.

The Chairman called upon Mr. Lipsky to make a statement on the subject.

#### TERRITORIAL ORGANIZATION :

Mr. Lipsky stated that the idea of the Territorial Organization was projected by Mr. Ben Gurion when he was here last spring. It was felt that coupled with the idea of coalition in the Executive, and unity and harmony in the World Zionist Organization through the Congress, there must come some adjustment in the relations of the various Zionist organizations. On the one hand there is unity and cooperation at the Congress, and in the operations of the Executive in Palestine. On the other hand, Zionist organizations in various countries are engaged in competition and rivalry. Therefore the idea of a territorial organization in every country was projected, and there are differences of opinion as to how this is to be established. The idea, is, however, that there should be formed in every country a union of all Zionist parties and organizations based on shekel membership, which organization is to have full control and power over those matters coming within the jurisdiction of the Zionist Congress; viz, the Keren Hayesod, the Jewish National Fund, Palestine Bureaus, shekolim, Congress elections, and also, in accordance with the resolution adopted at Lucerne, propaganda for Hebrew in the Galuth, which activity Mr. Sokolow is to direct. All of these matters will now belong to the territorial organization. However, matters that have to do with the propaganda of the Poale Zion, Mizrachi, the special funds of these organizations do not belong to the territorial organization, nor would the territorial organization have the right to engage in the local politics of the respective country.



Mr. Lipsky added that the original proposal of Mr. Ben Gurion was greatly modified in the caucus of the labor party and discussions with other parties. All other parties including the representatives of the Z.O.A. felt that there was something offensive in this territorial organization, unless so far as we were concerned it would be limited to shekel payers. However, Mr. Lipsky pointed out, the resolution adopted by the Congress, is a piece of legislation, which, if we abide by the idea of discipline and loyalty approved by the Lucerne Congress, is binding upon the Z.O.A. In all probability the labor party in many parts of the world will resist the introduction of this territorial organization. However, as the matter stands at the present time, the Executive has authority to proceed to organize these territorial organizations, and we have called a conference of the various organizations concerned to find some way to make this plan effective. Whether the Executive, facing resistance, will proceed with a great deal of vigor and insist upon discipline, is quite another matter, but the plan will have to be carried through with the consent of those concerned and in a friendly spirit but not based on coercion.

In reply to an inquiry by Dr. Mogil regarding the future fund-raising in the United States and the place of the Gewerkschaften, Mr. Rothenberg stated that at the Congress the delegates from America met and discussed with the Executive the problem of fund-raising in the United States. The consensus of opinion was that it was desirable that we have coordination of all the Funds. The Poale Zion took the position that even if we coordinated the Keren Hayesod, the Kerey Kayemeth and other Funds, it still would be desirable to have the Gewerkschaften as a separate activity because it was appealing to an element which the Keren Hayesod does not reach. Mr. Rothenberg said he thought that was not entirely the case. Whereas the Gewerkschaften Campaign originally confined itself to elements that the Keren Hayesod could not reach, nevertheless by this time the Gewerkschaften receives a very substantial part of its contribution from the Keren Hayesod clientele, and thus was competing with the Keren Hayesod. This is a subject upon which no decision was taken at the Congress. Mr. Rothenberg said that in his address before Congress he brought up the subject of co-ordination of the Funds, but that as usual Congress and the Executive side-stepped this question. An agreement was entered into as a result of a Conference called by the Keren Kayemeth, but it does not meet the situation.

Mr. Rothenberg reported that the meeting of the Executive of the Z.O.A. held on Thursday, October 24th, carefully considered the question of coordination of Zionist activities and adopted a unanimous resolution for the creation of a united Zionist front in the United States, which it would place before the Administrative Committee. He called upon Mr. Lipsky to report the views and conclusions reached by the Executive of the Zionist Organization of America.

COORDINATION OF ZIONIST ACTIVITIES  
IN RELATION TO COMING CAMPAIGN:

Mr. Lipsky expressed the thought that all the members of the Executive of the Z.O.A. share the feeling that this meeting of the Administrative Committee can mark the beginning of a new period in the history of the Zionist movement in America. In previous years, whenever we approached the beginning of the season, we always found ourselves confronted by many complicated relationships, by entangled alliances that more or less affected our freedom of action, and many of our decisions were made in the face of outer difficulties in accordance with which we had to choose our position so that our position would be in harmony with the reality surrounding us. At this time every Zionist sensed that we are now facing a historic opportunity which has not faced us for many years past.



Mr. Lipsky then recalled the days when the Provisional Zionist Executive Committee for General Zionist Affairs was organized, and the spirit and the tone that was brought into Zionist life when that action was taken. The Provisional Zionist Committee was a reaction to a situation, he felt, a distinctive reaction of Zionists to a situation which was as yet inchoate and unclear, but everybody felt that that action was of the utmost importance in helping to bring about clarity in the future. Mr. Lipsky then spoke of the situation which led to the formation of the United Palestine Campaign in 1925 when in the outer Jewish world there were ideas flung about which were called Crimea, Russian colonization, the forces that were not with us were organizing themselves for something which everyone instinctively felt was hostile to the Zionist movement. We developed out of the United Palestine Appeal a movement which kept us going until the Arab riots in 1929 brought us to a halt; and then we passed through the period of the depression. Today the situation which confronts us has in it the same element that prevailed in 1914 and in 1929, and the incident that brings about the clarity of our position is the fact, as the President has already indicated, that so far as the United Jewish Appeal is concerned our partners have practically given us notice of cancellation of the contract, about which we refuse to speak today because the matter will be officially dealt with at a meeting to be held tomorrow afternoon. But we know in advance that so far as next year is concerned, we will have to carry on an independent Palestine Campaign, and that we have no entangling alliances, and that we have a clear road so far as we ourselves are concerned as to the place that Palestine occupies in the living issues of Jewish life about which we now for the first time can speak with freedom, about which in years that have gone by, for practical immediate reasons, our hands were tied and our voices were quiet. We are now not under any shadow of depression. Every instinct of the American people seems to indicate that we are moving out of the depression. We are not oppressed by the feeling that things are getting worse. Jewish life is improving so far as the United States is concerned. Economic conditions are improving and we have the opportunity since 1929 to speak out with regard to claims of Palestine with regard to the American People, in a way that we have never spoken before. If history has a voice it would certainly have something to condemn in us that for the sake of Zion for five years we kept silent; because it is quite evident to everybody concerned that today no longer does Zionism speak in terms of theory or philosophy, but that the answer of Zionism to the Jewish question is immediate, direct, and effective. In 1929 there was no such situation as in Germany and in Poland, things were very bad on the other side, but there was no such situation as exists today to bring about the evacuation of Jewish life from certain territories. The whole of Middle Europe seems to be organized and directing its efforts to make Jewish life impossible to exist, and the issue of evacuation becomes an immediate issue, and against the issue of evacuation the theory of relief and patching up becomes absurd and burlesque of reality. There are persons thinking that for the sake of peace and unity the thing can be maintained. We are facing the possibility today of going out against the situation which is very clear, — that life in Germany must be removed, and the only place where that life in Germany can be transplanted is in Palestine. The only good that can be done with regard to the Jews of Germany is to take their bodies and their properties, if possible, and to transfer them into Palestine. There is no other rational practical proposition that compares with this. Palestine has become the embracing arm that invites thousands upon thousands, where formerly it used to invite a couple of hundred. The Executive of the Jewish Agency has made a contract with a shipping company to put 80,000 Jews into Palestine. It has bought the tickets for 80,000. In the face of this, what relation has the relief for Germany or Poland to Jewish life? Palestine has become big enough, strong enough, and inviting enough to solve this question which faces us today. Everybody knows that the whole Zionist movement has been moving in the direction of unity and cooperation. The time has come for us to take absolute control of Jewish life so that Jewish life begins to adapt itself in



Palestine to the utmost of its limits, so that it will become that absorbing community which will extend its arms in all directions and be capable of receiving hundreds of thousands of Jews. The Zionist Organization, so far as America is concerned, in order to establish cooperation and good-will, has to proceed in the direction of establishing a united Zionist front, behind which not only the question of Funds belongs, but everything which pertains to the Funds. It is not merely a United Palestine Appeal that we have to construct in order to meet this situation. We have to have a United Zionist front of all the Organizations and Parties and all the Zionist Funds that go behind the discipline of the Zionist Organization, and everyone who has a partisan interest has to subordinate that specialized interest to the united front of the Zionist movement. In this respect the Zionist Organization is in a position to take the initiative just as it took the initiative in 1914 and in 1925, to summon an Extraordinary Conference to be held within the next few weeks to bring together all those who want to stand behind the united Zionist front and let us reorganize the whole Zionist movement and make the whole Zionist movement a spear-head of the attack upon American Jewry in order to win it not merely in the sense of raising money, but in the sense of under-writing convictions which have to do with the Zionist movement. If we go out with the idea that we are going to establish a United Palestine Campaign and merely think of it in terms of money, we will be making a great mistake. We ought to take the opportunity of winning once and for all the five million Jews of America for our cause, and whether they give us money or not this year is only a matter of secondary concern. We are interested in having people not as we have had them in the Jewish Agency, that is, not altogether willing to subordinate themselves to the ideal. They did not want to be converted to the ideal. They refused to accept it. They thought to themselves: "We have to hold back; we have to remain what we were before". The time is coming now when all those who are with us will join in with us. We can have a movement now that will actually bring about the establishment of that National Home that will surprise us.

Mr. Lipsky concluded his remarks by proposing, in the name of the Executive of the Z.O.A., that the Executive be authorized and directed to summon an Extraordinary Conference of all Zionist Organizations and Parties and groups, in order that that Conference shall organize the united Palestine front of Zionists in America.

Mr. Galter inquired whether Mr. Lipsky is at liberty to read the correspondence giving notice of the termination of the agreement between the American Palestine Campaign and the Joint Distribution Committee.

Mr. Lipsky replied that the reading of the correspondence is irrelevant.

Mr. Rothenberg explained that under the agreement in force between the American Palestine Campaign and the Joint Distribution Committee, the joint Campaign was to last until the end of December, 1935; there is a provision in the agreement to the effect that in the month of October, representatives of both groups were to come together for the purpose of canvassing the whole situation, reviewing the experiences of the past year, and determining whether or not to continue the arrangement for a further period. That meeting took place about a week ago. There had been no correspondence on the subject. The representatives of the J.D.C. pointed to the resolution adopted at the Congress in Lucerne favoring independent Zionist campaigns, and said that in view of that resolution and other reasons which, however, they did not explain, they, the Joint Distribution Committee, had decided not to renew the agreement. Our representatives in that conference replied that the Resolution at Congress was not specifically directed at



America, and that it was clearly and definitely understood at Lucerne that it was left to the American Zionist leaders to determine whether or not to continue the joint arrangement. Nevertheless, Mr. Rothenberg added, the J.D.C. group did not alter their position and it was clear that they had decided among themselves in advance of the meeting, to terminate the United Jewish Appeal.

Dr. Robbins inquired what would be the relation of the Labor Party Gewerkschaften campaign to an independent Zionist campaign for funds.

Mr. Lipsky pointed out that he has been a very strong sympathizer and friend of the Labor Party, and that the ZOA delegation at Lucerne acted as allies of the Labor Party. At the same time while supporting the Labor program and expressing our deep appreciation of a great many things which the Labor Party had done in Palestine, we reserve the right to pass comment on activities of the Labor Party, which, in our judgment, may be harmful to General Zionist interests. We have taken the position that the Labor Party which represented practically one-half of the Congress at Lucerne, cannot adopt a budget for the Keren Hayesod and the Jewish National Fund and at the same time have private business of its own -- no matter how important and valuable it may be -- which restricts it from doing its duty to these fundamental and primary objects. The Labor Party for the past three or four years has had the Gewerkschaften Campaign which serves certain good purposes of this Party, but it is not the budget of the Congress. The Gewerkschaften Campaign Fund belongs to the Labor Party. Part of it may be used in Palestine but part of it is used to build up the Labor Party. Therefore when we are talking here of a united Zionist front, it remains to be seen whether the Labor Party will subordinate the Gewerkschaften Campaign to the Keren Hayesod and the Jewish National Fund, or will insist that the members of the Labor Party should give their almost exclusive attention to the Gerwerkschaften Campaign. Mr. Lipsky was of the opinion that when the Labor Party is confronted with this issue, it will realize that it cannot play this double game in Zionist affairs -- at the Congress to vote for a budget, and in America to collect for purposes that have nothing to do with that budget.

Mr. Maltin pointed out that if at the Conference planned to be called, there will be a majority of labor delegates, they will legislate for the minority.

Mr. Rothenberg pointed out that it is essential for the members of the Administrative Committee to express their sentiments with regard to a combination of Zionist Funds. There appears to be considerable opposition on the part of a number to having the Jewish National Fund combined with the Keren Hayesod in a united fund-raising effort.

Dr. Robbins said that in the smaller communities the same persons are approached several times a year for various Zionist purposes, and that it would be much better to have one united campaign. He then urged that the Gewerkschaften campaign should be included in such joint campaign.

Mr. Rothenberg stressed the fact that it is necessary first to consider the question of our own funds, since there are elements in our own organization opposed to having the Jewish National Fund included in a joint campaign with the Keren Hayesod. They believe the JNF can raise more money in a separate effort. Mr. Rothenberg pointed out that what was involved in a joint campaign was not only the question of fund-raising, but a union of Zionist forces in America, essential for the progress of Zionist aims.



Mr. Galter was of the opinion that two definite issues were being confused, and in the light of Zionist history, ought to be taken into consideration ... the need of getting a maximum amount of money as well as maximum sentiment for Palestine. He believed the two could be divorced, especially since he could not see we will have more energy and manpower to increase Zionist sentiment if we will have the additional burden of raising funds. Moreover he doubted the right of anyone to say that such a combination is worthwhile even if less money is raised. This cannot be undertaken at the expense of the work in Palestine.

Mr. Stone stated that the opinion of the last speaker is symbolic of the attitude of many Zionists. Palestine is not being built by Kol Yisroel but still requires the exclusive obligation of the Zionists, and unless the Zionists are the initiators of the fund-raising effort and are given freedom of self-expression in it, we will be the losers. It may be true that we obtained more money by reason of a joint campaign with JDC, but we must consider the price we paid for it. We obtained certain rights and privileges, but we paid the price with our souls. Zionists cannot represent merely a fund raising campaign but must combine such effort with Zionist ideology. In the combined effort during the past few years Palestine was sidetracked and Zionists could not emphasize Palestine but had to speak about relief. Mr. Stone therefore welcomed a separate campaign, for it is not a question of temporary relief for the Jewish people, but a historic movement which will not be satisfied until it has achieved its ultimate aim in Palestine -- the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine, on both sides of the Jordan. If we are determined to approach this campaign with militancy on a Zionist platform, we will be the winners and exercise a more potent influence on Jewish life in America.

Mr. Lipsky stated that it is very important in view of the point made by Mr. Galter, which has a direct bearing on what we are trying to do, to realize the fundamental error which was committed when the Keren Hayesod was first organized and the Zionist Organization was separated from the fund-raising effort. Since then the Zionist Organization has been apart and distinct from fund-raising. This was done out of respect to the Poale Zion, the Mizrachi and Hadassah who had equal rights with regard to the Keren Hayesod, as did the Zionist Organization. The result was that we created a double Zionist propaganda which has been used by European Zionists to charge us with being superficial Zionists because we have neglected the idealistic aspects of the movement and made the Keren Hayesod merely a money campaign, and the Zionist Organization was left without the strength or resources to build up an idealistic campaign. The result was that by the time of the depression years in America, the Keren Hayesod was merely a money machine, and as soon as people had no more money to contribute, there was nothing left and their interest in Palestine ended and they were through with the Zionist movement, and they have since transferred their interest and even financial support to causes that are the exact opposite of the Keren Hayesod. Mr. Lipsky added that the Poale Zion, Mizrachi and Hadassah are morally and legally obligated as Zionist organizations to support the Keren Hayesod and the Jewish National Fund.

Mr. Lipsky advocated the calling of an emergency conference to be attended by representatives of these various organizations for the purpose of creating a synthesis between the Zionist Organization and these bodies. He pointed out that the Poale Zion had definitely committed themselves 100% to the discipline of the Congress, and they will find it very difficult to withdraw from such combined arrangement.



Mr. Cowen thought it is very clear that the Zionist Organization has suffered from the methods pursued since the cessation of the last War. The Zionist Organization has been a very feeble instrument, he thought, due not to the fault of any one particular person or any group of persons, and due not to the fault of any particular Administration but due to our failure to arrive at a proper procedure in the raising of funds and the carrying on of our activities. We all feel strongly and in the case of most of us there is no conviction that is stronger in our lives than that Palestine must be made the foundation stone of the solution of the unparalleled Jewish problem that confronts us, and we all feel that the instrument for carrying out the work for the establishment of the National Home in Palestine is the Zionist Organization and in the face of that fact the Zionist Organization is small and weak and feeble. Under those circumstances he felt that the people in Lucerne, .... Dr. Weizmann and others -- have shown courage and wisdom in facing the fact that it would be better for us to collect a smaller amount of money the coming year, provided we can concentrate on the right kind of Zionist propaganda. At the Convention in Atlantic City, Mr. Cowen recalled, he had occasion to say that we lost a generation, perhaps more than one generation; this is because of our method of propaganda. He regarded the reclamation of our youth even more important this coming year than raising money for Palestine, not that he thought we would have a right to overlook our obligation to Palestine, but because he believed it must be obvious to every Zionist that the important thing is to make Zionists and to organize the Jews of America for Zionist purposes. It is just as important to organize for Palestine as to raise funds for Palestine. In the ultimate sense the more we organize for Palestine the more money we will ultimately get and it is short-sighted policy that prevents us from recognizing that it is of the utmost importance to strengthen our Zionist Organization to carry on all this -- in fact, to strengthen the organization of the National Fund, to strengthen the organization of our youth -- in order that the money be raised, in order that we mobilize our forces for Palestine. If we do not go to the youth and organize them properly, American Jewry is doomed, both for Palestine and for Judaism. We have a program that must appeal to the overwhelming majority of the Jewish People and it is for us to organize on this program. If we envisage this as a Campaign for Zionism, as a Campaign for Palestine -- and money as a by-product -- we will get more money than if we make this merely a money-raising Campaign.

Mr. Röss felt that undoubtedly much can be said on the question as to whether or not the type of joint drive which we have had is of advantage to Palestine and to American Jewry, and to many, this decision which was made for us brings a sense of relief, because even if we did not utter our feelings, way down deep in our hearts we all longed to be able to talk Palestine without any reservation. What has happened, however, is that we have before us both an opportunity and a test. He did not think we need to approach a United Palestine Campaign with a feeling that we are going to raise less money. That may be the outcome, but he believed that we here can start a sentiment growing so that it becomes stronger and stronger, which will enlist in the cause of Palestine not only those of us who have been formerly identified with Zionism, but every Jew in whose heart there is a love for Zion. But the measure of our success will be our ability to unite ourselves. This is our problem: Have we the bigness, the understanding, the determination to forget all matters of organization, to set aside all talk of leadership, to subordinate everything to an opportunity to unite all forces, for in union there is strength. Mr. Röss then referred to the competitive efforts in the past between the Keren Hayesod and the Jewish National Fund and urged the importance of uniting these "twin pillars" of the National Home in future fund-raising.



Dr. Goldstein referred to the Conference that took place in Lucerne at which were present Messrs. Rothenberg, Lipsky, Kaplan, Jaffe and Hantke and the question arose as to the future of the Campaign in America, and it was for the first time, at that meeting, that he heard a consensus of opinion from the Keren Hayesod leaders that it would be advisable to have a separate Campaign conducted by the Zionists in America. It is true that they did not close the doors to the possibilities of resuming the joint campaign, but it is also true that there the opinion was sounded for the first time in favor of a separate Campaign. Those who were present representing the various parties and groups were asked to give their opinions as to whether they could participate in a joint Campaign, and, as Dr. Goldstein recalled it, Mrs. Jacobs for Hadassah got up and said that Hadassah for its own special reasons would find it very difficult to engage in a Campaign together with the other Zionist groups, but would, after conducting its own efforts, be glad to lend some of its woman power toward the General Zionist Campaign, and so for the time being Hadassah was considered out. The Poale Zion said it would be very difficult for them to give up the Gewerkschaften Campaign and merge with our Campaign, because they felt that the Gewerkschaften Campaign is a very splendid educational benefit insofar as it educates non-Zionist groups for the Zionist ideal. Mizrachi said they would find it possible to participate in a Campaign with other Zionist groups. So that the two most important, most active and most powerful groups outside of the General Zionists, at that particular meeting, expressed skepticism regarding the possibility of joining in a Campaign with us. Now if there is to be a joint campaign for the reasons which have been enumerated and they are valid reasons, then is it to be a really a joint campaign, or is it to be a Campaign representing a union of only fragments of the Zionist movement and not the entire Zionist front? If it is to be a really joint campaign then no doubt it will be worthwhile even making the financial sacrifice, because we all realize -- much as we should like to be able to the contrary -- that a Campaign conducted by Zionists alone will probably net less money for Palestine than a Campaign with the J.D.C. in which the Zionists would have a 50% or even a 40% share. If we are to have really a united front, all these sacrifices are possible, but if within the Zionist ranks there is to be division because Hadassah and Poale Zion will not enter, then we have cause to pause and consider whether all these sacrifices will be warranted, and whether, perhaps, it may not be possible if we must have a united Zionist front -- and we must -- to discover another kind of approach whereby to bring this united front before the attention of American Jewry. Perhaps it can be something in the nature of a series of Palestine days; perhaps it can be something like a territorial union which could be started at this time; but we ought to be realistic enough to appreciate the fact that when we speak of a joint campaign and a united front, we are talking only of the General Zionists and that a very large and very important part of the Zionist movement in this country has so far to our knowledge indicated a negative rather than a positive attitude.

If a joint campaign between the Keren Hayesod and the Keren Kayemeth is to be decided upon, Dr. Goldstein continued, then it must be upon the recognition of that principle which has been alluded to by one of the speakers this afternoon, namely, "twin pillars", upon which must rest the edifice of the Zionist movement. "Twin pillars" means that the pillars must be equally strong, of equal size, otherwise the edifice will be somewhat unbalanced. It has been unbalanced in Palestine because of the fact that the Jewish National Fund for the past number of years did not receive the attention at the hands of Zionists commensurate with its needs and its importance. And now that the consciousness of Zionists throughout the world has been aroused to the importance of the land



problem, and now that the Zionist Congress has endorsed the Jewish National Fund goal of five million dollars for the next two years, --- in view of all that recognition that here we have two pillars of equal importance, of equal strength -- we Zionists in America ought to try ourselves to translate that recognition into terms of practical arrangements.

Speaking for the Jewish National Fund, Dr. Goldstein added that if a joint Campaign between the Jewish National Fund and the Keren Hayesod should become a reality, the J.N.F. hopes to contribute to it its full forces and its Organization which has been developed in the course of the past two years. The Jewish National Fund, he felt, is in a position to make a worthwhile contribution to Palestine effort. With the Keren Hayesod resources in this country we can make a strong bid for the attention not alone of our Zionists but the tremendous untapped resources among non-Zionists in this country which are today available for the upbuilding of Palestine.

Mr. Shelvin expressed his agreement with the decision favoring an independent Campaign, and thought there is a possibility of coercing all the elements in the Zionist movement in America to join the Campaign. Separation ought not to be encouraged, he urged, and if there is a tendency for separation we ought to do something about it. But whether all the other Zionist elements will join the General Zionist Campaign or not, the General Zionists will have to go out for a separate campaign and for this reason during the last several years of separate campaigns we have neglected Zionist education. We have neglected to conduct proper Zionist propaganda in America, and this neglect has resulted twice in the failure of the General Zionists to send a proper Delegation to the Zionist Congress. Our failure last time to turn out a proper Delegation was a great disappointment to the Zionists in Europe, and chiefly to the Zionists in Palestine. Not only the General Zionists and the Agency people but the entire Zionist world was disappointed and also the Labor element was disappointed because the Labor element would have much rather seen the General Zionists succeed because they need that support that the General Zionists may give them. It was the prevailing opinion in Palestine that the failure of the General Zionists in America to elect a proper Delegation was due to their neglect of proper propaganda. They asked: Why don't the General Zionists emulate the example of the Labor element which before a Congress makes a special effort to educate the masses to the importance of electing a large Delegation. They bring over special people for that purpose. Mr. Shelvin thought the General Zionists ought to do likewise and that the best time to start is now, during the Campaign. We must educate the masses in Zionism, bring them to a better understanding of Zionism in general, and that educational work will not only result in raising funds for Palestine, but also in a more thorough understanding of Zionism in America. The General Zionists will certainly benefit by it and they will not be disappointed in the funds raised. Our friends in Palestine in any event, complain that the General Zionists do not supply enough funds for the Keren Hayesod. Mr. Rothenberg stressed the fact that the proposal for a combined campaign between the Keren Hayesod and the Keren Kayemeth and other Zionist funds that may join, is not the proposal of any member of the Executive, but of the entire Executive of the Zionist Organization of America. It is a unanimous proposal which comes from the Executive of the Z.O.A. which met a few days ago and which almost spontaneously expressed itself that the present position made it imperative to centralize Zionist authority and to unite all of our forces for an advance which is more ripe now than at any time in the last five years. Replying to Dr. Goldstein's remarks, Mr. Rothenberg paid tribute to Dr. Goldstein for his services. He has been devoted and he has been energetic and he has done much to focus attention upon the importance of the



National Fund. Mr. Rothenberg said that he felt particularly after his recent visit to Palestine that the National Fund was not given that attention which it deserved. The furnishing of adequate funds for the purchase of land was in his judgement just as important as securing money for the Keren Hayesod. A Homeland without land would be a strange anomaly. At the same time, Mr. Rothenberg pointed out, he did not agree that the Jewish National Fund is an organization in the sense in which Dr. Goldstein seemed to indicate it was, a separate organization with a following which it could place at the disposal of a joint effort. This is an illustration of the chaotic condition that has developed in the Zionist movement in America over a period of years, which, if continued, will lead to disintegration. The Poale Zion considers itself an independent body, approaches the contributors whom the Keren Hayesod has developed, and thus the Keren Hayesod suffers. Although the Jewish National Fund has succeeded in a limited way to develop a special clientele of its own, in the largest measure it has gone to the regular Zionists who were not busy with the United Jewish Appeal and enlisted their energies and secured from them funds for the Jewish National Fund, thus again taking funds from the Keren Hayesod. In a few instances some large donations were obtained for the Jewish National Fund through the efforts of Dr. Goldstein and Mr. Fisher, but substantially, the J.N.F. is working with and among the Zionists. Thus, Zionist authority is undermined and the Zionists of the country are utterly at a loss to know where their duty lies. They are in confusion. If this overlapping and competition continues it will result in destroying the morale of the Zionist movement in America. And any Head of an Organization who is expected to make a success of it under such conditions is being done an injustice.

Mr. Rothenberg said he did not know whether it would be possible to get the Gewerkschaften, Hadassah, and the Mizrachi into a united front. If the Zionist Organization of America, the Keren Hayesod and the Jewish National Fund join together and pursue the task with energy, understanding, and intelligence, some of the parties that may now be unwilling to get into line will do so at a later period, he thought, but if we defer action it may be too late.

It is time for a re-alignment, Mr. Rothenberg said; it is time to take courageous action. It is the unanimous proposal of the Executive of the Z.O.A. and when we adopt the resolution here, it becomes the proposal of the Administrative Committee of the Zionist Organization of America, that as a first step towards a United Zionist front in America we call for a United Palestine Appeal. It will be a difficult task to effect a united front. He did not underestimate the problem. The Administration are willing to undertake it, however burdensome it may be, but only if they have the whole-hearted support of the Administrative Committee.

Mr. A. Goldstein pointed out that in many communities the joint arrangement was advantageous and he cited the example of Connecticut where \$10,000 used to be raised for the United Palestine Appeal, and \$50,000 was netted in a joint drive. Moreover even the anti-Zionists were compelled to deliver Zionist speeches under the auspices of the joint campaign. However we must reckon with the fact that we are now forced to go out on our own, and if the Congress has fixed the responsibility for the Palestine budget upon the Zionists alone, all Zionist forces must unite for this purpose. Therefore the leaders must see to it that all Zionist forces are mustered and this work is undertaken seriously and effectively.

Mr. Deutsch pointed out that the time was ripe during the past two years since the advent of Hitler, for spreading the gospel of Zionism, but this was sidetracked for the main objective of raising funds. He appreciated the necessity for raising these funds, but the real objective must not be overlooked; viz; the strengthening of the ranks of the Zionist Organization in America. He recommended, however, that the work of increasing Zionist membership and spreading Zionist idealism and ideology should be separated from the work of fund-raising.



Mr. Frisch pointed out that the greatest danger is the lack of confidence in the machinery of the Zionist Organization, because the public seems to make a definite distinction between the Zionist Organization in New York and Palestine, and as soon as people are told that we want to unite the Jewish National Fund with the Keren Hayesod, there is a difference of opinion. Therefore there must be some way found once and for all to offset this false conviction, that in New York there is a fight for power and division of power between the two organizations. He therefore urged unity and harmony between Zionist workers, and that in each community the Zionists themselves should make contributions to Zionist Funds.

Mr. Levinthal reported that the Zionists of Philadelphia were strongly in favor of continuing the joint campaign with the J.D.C, if at all possible. He added that Dr. Adler had quoted Mr. Warburg as being of the opinion that the best interests of Jewry would be served by a joint campaign, and that Dr. Adler also expressed his being in favor of the joint campaign. Mr. Levinthal believed that the fault for the severance of the joint arrangement can be laid as much to the Zionists as to the non-Zionists. He added that in Philadelphia the most cordial relations and closest cooperation existed between the two groups in the joint campaign, while in other communities, particularly in New York there were hostile camps and competitive agencies. He urged that all Zionist factions should unite for a common platform of work in this country, and that this combined Zionist front should come to the JDC and say that a partnership should be organized with them for all Jewish purposes -- relief and Palestine. Then the JDC will realize that they are dealing with a partner that represents full Zionist strength and will make the best possible terms. He pointed out that in Philadelphia, for instance, after the Zionists had been given 50% of the joint campaign, and their separate efforts for the Keren Kayemeth and Hadassah, an additional \$6,000 was voted by the Joint Campaign, for the Jewish National Fund. He thought the idea of a separate Zionist campaign should not be regarded as a fait accompli, but that there should be unity in the house of Israel in America, and a joint campaign arranged.

Mr. Lipsky then formulated the following motion which was seconded and ultimately unanimously carried, subject to editing by the Executive of the ZOA:

In view of the necessity that confronts the Zionist Organization to mobilize American Jewry in an independent effort for the urgent responsibilities that arise out of the present economic and political opportunities in Palestine for the enlarged settlement of **Jews** and for the acceptance of Zionist ideals on the part of American Jewry, the Executive of the Z.O.A. is authorized and directed to summon an extraordinary conference of all parties and organizations and groups within the Zionist movement as well as of representatives of other groups who are sympathetic to Palestine upbuilding, to consider what action should be taken under the circumstances, and to organize, if possible, a united Palestine front.

Mr. Lipsky added as a member of the Executive of the World Zionist Organization, he considers it the duty of the Executive of the Z.O.A. to establish a united front in the United States of all Zionist organizations and parties to support the program of the World Executive, which consists of the Jewish National Fund, the Keren Hayesod, etc. and we are in duty bound to summon all parties and ask them to subordinate themselves to that program. There may be some that will refuse, as in former times. Then the Z.O.A. goes ahead with these responsibilities as in the past when the only ones meeting its Zionist responsibilities was the Zionist Organization. When this extraordinary conference is called and there



is no affirmative response from Hadassah, the Poale Zion and the Mizrachi, the Zionist Organization, in view of these responsibilities, is legally and morally bound to go forward and defend the Congress and protect the interests of American Jewish life.

The above resolution was then unanimously carried.

At this point Mr. Rothenberg called upon Judge Mack who, he said, had contributed so effectively to the results achieved by the 19th Congress:

Judge Mack stated that he was somewhat puzzled as to just what the proposed campaign would be. He called attention to the fact that the Keren Hayesod is not only the responsibility of the Zionist Congress and the Zionist Organization, but that the Jewish Agency is supposed to be a partner in the Keren Hayesod and the upbuilding of Palestine. Moreover at the Congress in Lucerne, or at least at the meeting of the Jewish Agency, there was inserted an item in the budget for the extension of the work of the Jewish Agency in America; i.e., for the securing of adherents among the non-Zionists for the work in America, and there was elected as a member of the Jewish Agency Executive a non-Zionist in America for the purpose of Palestine propaganda. It is therefore our duty to take counsel with those non-Zionists who are in the Jewish Agency, as there are many non-Zionists who, though they may not be interested in Zionist ideology, are nevertheless interested in the upbuilding of Palestine, for we ought not to lose sight of any contribution that comes for Palestine work.

Another observation made by Judge Mack was that we ought not to fool ourselves and attribute evil motives to those who differ with us. We ought to assume that they are just as sincere as we are, but that their ideals are different from ours and there is an honest difference of opinion. We believe that the only real solution both for Polish Jewry, German Jewry and other Jewries, lies in the upbuilding of Palestine. German Jewry cannot be saved in Germany. The older generation may have to die there, but the younger generation must be saved and Palestine is the only real hope in the world. The doors of America are closed, and the salvation of Jewry lies not in Ecuador or Argentine or Brazil or Biro Bidjan but only in Palestine -- and what ought to be part of Palestine -- Trans-Jordania and then the surrounding hinterland. For that reason we must unite all Jewry for the upbuilding of our land.

Judge Mack added that in all his talks, he always emphasized the Zionist ideal, but he believed that in these days it is wiser not to talk too much about the Zionist ideal, because it is work, not thinking, but work and action that we need. And if we can secure the cooperation of any Jew whether he thoroughly agrees with our ideas or not at the present time, in the actual work of building up Palestine, he should be welcomed by us. The important thing of course is for us Zionists to get together in our Zionist work, and we can unite ourselves and still have room for honest differences of opinion. We must go ahead with self-confidence and unbounded zeal. There is more union in Zionist ranks than there has been for many years past. In Lucerne we were confronted with a different situation than at the last Congress in Basle when we were faced with bankruptcy. In Lucerne we were faced with the increasing prosperity of Palestine, the funding of the debt over a long period of years, and there was time to consider other problems.

Judge Mack added that he differed very often with Dr. Weizmann in the past,

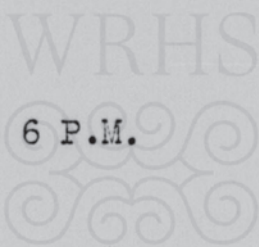


and was with him at times --- he is not offering any apologies for anything he had done or left undone in his Zionist life - but at present Dr. Weizmann is the best leader of our movement. Dr. Weizmann has worked since the close of the last Basle Congress in 1931 with devotion, with zeal and in a real sportsmanlike spirit in the face of defeat, and had shown the kind of spirit that nobody could withhold approval of, and under his leadership, Judge Mack felt that every Zionist could go into the work, looking forward to the realization (perhaps not in the lifetime of the older men) but in the lifetime of the younger men, of our Zionist aims and ideals.

Mr. Rothenberg stated that there is, of course, not the slightest thought of failing to secure the continued cooperation of our non-Zionist friends in the Agency. From conversations he had had with some of their leaders they would welcome the coordination of Zionist Funds in the way we were planning to do. They never could understand why the Zionist Organization permitted this chaos to creep into Zionist fund-raising. He added that the Zionist leaders are very anxious that in separating with the J.D.C., good-will should be maintained on both sides, and he hoped it would be. A United Palestine Appeal will give us the opportunity to emphasize our appeal, and it will give the Joint Distribution Committee the opportunity to stress their appeal. That was recognized in the public statement that was issued by the American Palestine Campaign and the Joint Distribution Committee, upon the dissolution of the United Jewish Appeal. The Jews of America will have to decide where their greater interests lie.

The meeting adjourned at 6 P.M.

Respectfully submitted,





October 28, 1935

Dr. Israel Goldstein, President,  
Jewish National Fund of America,  
111 Fifth Ave.,  
New York, N.Y.

My dear Dr. Goldstein:

We had a meeting of the Jewish Welfare Fund Committee this noon at which a committee representing the Jewish National Fund Council was present and presented its case. I am happy to inform you that the committee voted to allocate \$7500 in its 1936 campaign to the J.N.F. This decision of the committee must be approved by the entire Board of the Federation but I anticipate no difficulty. This amount, together with what the Jewish National Fund has been raising annually in Cleveland through boxes, synagogues, etc., ought to give the Fund this year a sum well up to \$15,000, and perhaps more, if the Council will be active during the year. This will represent an increase of close on to three hundred percent over the average contributions which Cleveland has been making to the J.N.F. in the last few years.

There was some opposition to the motion for \$7500 which I made on the ground that the National Fund has not raised anywhere near that amount in the City in recent years and that the Fund ought to be satisfied with a lesser amount in its first year's affiliation with the Jewish Welfare Fund. But when the vote was finally taken, there were no negative votes registered.

I believe that we ought to feel highly gratified at the results. With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK



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# JEWISH NATIONAL FUND OF AMERICA

קרן קימת לישראל

(Keren Kayemeth Le Israel, Inc.)

111 Fifth Avenue, New York

November 8, 1935.

Cable Address: Hakeren  
Telephone ALgonquin 4-2495

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HEAD OFFICE  
KEREN KAYEMETH LE ISRAEL, LTD.  
JERUSALEM, PALESTINE

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver,  
The Temple,  
East 105th Street and Ansel Road,  
Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Dr. Silver:

Supplementing my wire to you is this additional expression of our appreciation for your great help in securing \$7,500. from the Welfare Fund. The only other thing that remains to be accomplished is to secure that money in the nearest possible future. In that respect, too, I am sure your influence can be highly important.

Now it remains for us to realize a similar amount from the regular JNF collections. If Cleveland produces \$15,000. it will be an encouraging improvement over last year's income, even though it will not be sufficiently adequate in view of the land emergency in Palestine. In a few places in this country we have actually succeeded in making Jews realize what Keren Kayemeth means. Here in New York, of course, where we are able to focus most of our attention, we are breaking through new elements with the Keren Kayemeth appeal.

It may interest you to know that at a small dinner last night, which was attended by less than one hundred men we raised \$55,000. I mention this not in order to show an assiduous comparison between New York and Cleveland, but for the purpose of showing that where it is possible to invest effort results are forthcoming.

One of our problems is that of getting the outstanding personalities to address JNF dinners in other communities. If you were in a position to give a half dozen speeches, I think we could raise anywhere between \$25,000. and \$50,000. for the JNF. In Los Angeles the campaign depended on one man alone. If you had been able to visit that community they would have carried through ~~with~~ the campaign. Of course, that is terribly unfair. How could they expect a man as busy as you are to take off a week for a JNF tour? Still, that is the situation. These communities apparently are spoiled. They want only the best.



Dr. Abba Hillel Silver,  
Cleveland, Ohio.

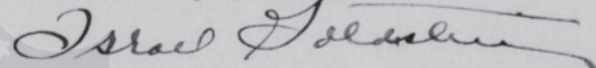
November 5, 1935.

Could you perhaps give us a few engagements which we could endeavor to arrange within twenty-four hours radius of Cleveland? It will be a tremendous service to us.

There is another matter which has come up recently about which I am going to write you shortly. I can only say now that it has to do with Justice Louis D. Brandeis who believes that land acquisitions in Palestine is a most urgent matter today. It seems that he will be willing to lend his name to a Keren Kayemeth project if he could be sure that it would be carried through within the next few months immediately following his 79th birthday, so that we could announce that in honor of his 80th year we have established a Nachlath Brandeis in Palestine. Do you think this is possible? Could we get a dozen of the rich men in your community to give \$1,000. each toward such a project?

Again, let me thank you for your effort. You have given us additional strength with which we hope to go forward.

Cordially yours,



AMERICAN JEWISH  
ARCHIVE  
ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN,  
President.



IG:F



JEWISH NATIONAL FUND

1107 Standard Life Building  
Pittsburgh, Pa.

December 11, 1935

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver  
The Temple  
Cleveland, Ohio

My dear Rabbi Silver:

The Pittsburgh Council of the Jewish National Fund has decided to tender a testimonial dinner to Dr. M. B. Lichtenstein on February 23, 1936.

We are forming a Committee of One Hundred and wish to ask your permission for the use of your name on this committee.

Dr. Lichtenstein has been a Zionist leader of the Pittsburgh Region for a number of years and we feel that by adding your name to the list of the committee, you will help to grace the occasion.

Thanking you in advance for your prompt reply,  
I am

Sincerely yours,

*Max Engelberg*

Max Engelberg  
Chairman, Testimonial  
Dinner for Dr. Lichtenstein

ME:EK



# JEWISH NATIONAL FUND OF AMERICA

קרן קימת לישראל

(Keren Kayemeth Le Israel, Inc.)

111 Fifth Avenue, New York

Cable Address: Hakeren  
Telephone ALgonquin 4-2495

December 16, 1935

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Mrs. ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN  
MORRIS MARGULIES  
LOUIS P. ROCKER  
NELSON RUTTENBERG

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver,  
c/o The Temple  
Cleveland, Ohio.

My dear Dr. Silver,

The Zionists of Pittsburgh in conjunction with other members of the community will honor Dr. M. B. Lichtenstein, who has been a pioneer in the Zionist movement in Pittsburgh, and as you know, has been a very ardent worker in every phase of our movement.

Mr. Max Engelberg, Chairman of the Testimonial Dinner committee, has requested us to extend an invitation to you to be the principal speaker at this function which they are tendering to Dr. Lichtenstein on February 23rd.

Under the able leadership of Dr. Lichtenstein, the Palestine Land Redemption campaign in Pittsburgh was successfully conducted. It is the unanimous opinion of the Pittsburgh committee that your presence will have a very stimulating effect on the whole Zionist movement in that city.

With my personal regards,

Cordially yours,

Mendel M. Fisher



December 17, 1935

Mr. Max Engelberg,  
1107 Standard Life Building,  
Pittsburgh, Pa.

My dear Mr. Engelberg:

In reply to your letter of December 11,  
permit me to say that you may use my name on the  
committee which you are forming to tender a dinner  
to Dr. M. B. Lichtenstein.

With all good wishes, permit me to  
remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK



## CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable sign above or preceding the address.

# WESTERN UNION

R. B. WHITE  
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON  
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER  
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

## SIGNS

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## Received at

1935 DEC 24 PM 12 04

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RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER=

MINUTES IN TRANSIT

FULL-RATE	DAY LETTER
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PITTSBURGH COUNCIL OF JEWISH NATIONAL FUND HAVE ARRANGED TO HONOR OUR LEADER DR M B LICHTENSTEIN WITH A TESTIMONIAL DINNER ON FEBRUARY TWENTY THIRD NINETEEN THIRTY SIX THE COMMITTEE IN CHARGE REQUESTED ME TO EXTEND YOU AN INVITATION TO ADDRESS US ON THIS OCCASION THIS COMMITTEE AS WELL AS ALL ZIONISTS OF PITTSBURGH WOULD BE VERY GRATEFUL TO YOU IF YOU SEE FIT TO ACCEPT THIS INVITATION AS WE FEEL BY SO DOING YOU WILL GRACE THIS OCCASION I HAVE COMMUNICATED WITH NEWYORK AND THEY PROMISED TO WRITE YOU IF POSSIBLE WOULD ASK YOU TO WIRE REPLY AT OUR EXPENSE I FOUR FIFTY :FOURTH AVE BY WESTERNUNION=

MAX ENGELBERG CHAIRMAN TESTIMONIAL DINNER  
COMMITTEE.





Emek Zebulun viewed from Mt. Carmel

**WHY U. S. JEWRY IS**

**Urgently Required to Contribute**

**\$500,000.**

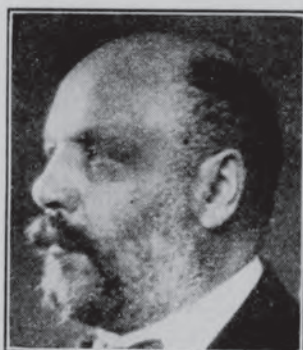
**For Palestine Land Redemption**



# PUT THE 'LAND' INTO THE JEWISH HOMELAND!

In Lucerne, Switzerland, where the 19th Zionist World Congress just concluded its sessions, all have agreed that to cope with the plight of the persecuted, disinherited and homeless Jewish masses, and to secure for them an opportunity to live as a free people, the frontiers of Eretz Israel must be extended. For this purpose, the immediate acquisition and reclamation of new land areas for new agricultural settlements is a task of the greatest urgency. This urgency was emphasized in the following statements by:

## M. USSISHKIN



*President,  
Keren Kayemeth le'Israel*

The increasing immigration into Palestine calls for the immediate purchase of new and greater land areas.

It is impossible to understand or to explain the placid attitude of Jews and Zionists, in view of the fact that less than 6% of Palestine's land areas is in Jewish hands.

Israel is still a landless nation.

## DR. ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN



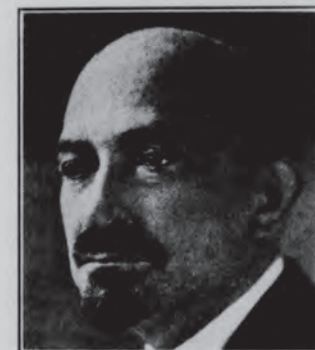
*President, Jewish National  
Fund of America*

Of the precious soil which is to redeem the soul as well as the body of Israel, we have succeeded, after nearly fifty years of effort, to redeem only 6%. The result is shocking as it is menacing. There is not

enough land available for Jewish settlement.

World Jewry and, in particular, American Jews, who enjoy a status of freedom and comparative prosperity, cannot remain indifferent any longer to this most vital of Jewish problems.

## DR. CHAIM WEIZMANN



*President, World Zionist  
Organization and the Jewish  
Agency for Palestine*

Three things are needed for the rebuilding of the Jewish National Home: people, land and money.

We have no lack of people who must enter the country, while the possibility of

additional land is to be found not only in Palestine, but also in Trans-Jordania.

I am heartily in favor of the land redemption program outlined by Ussishkin. His appeal at the 19th Zionist Congress found an echo in all hearts.

## MAURICE LEVIN



*National Chairman, Palestine  
Land Redemption Campaign*

If the future holds any hope for the Jew, that hope rests within the bounds of Palestine's soil.

The objective of our Palestine Land Redemption Campaign is to enable the

Jewish National Fund to buy MORE LAND, which is never to be encumbered or sold, so that the Jew, with his untiring pioneering spirit, may go on in the upbuilding of his Promised Land into a Land of Promise.

For the sake of our persecuted and homeless people, let's redeem the soil and extend the frontiers of Eretz Israel!

## DR. STEPHEN S. WISE



*Honorary Chairman, Palestine  
Land Redemption Campaign*

We call Palestine Eretz Israel (the land of Israel). We have 350,000 Jews there and by the next Congress they will number 500,000.

But these figures are meaningless unless there will be a parallel growth of population and of land purchasing. It was a saddening experience on my trip to pass vast stretches of unredeemed land.

It is untrue to say we have Palestine. Only the beginnings have been made. The Jewish National Fund must be given a new place in the Zionist world in full accord with the magnitude of the necessity for land purchasing.

## JAMES J. McDONALD



*League of Nations High Com-  
missioner for German Refugees*

Our daily grace after meals should be "Thank God for Palestine."

Without that homeland the prospect for the Jews in Germany during these last two and a half years would have been black indeed.

It is a great thing that in these days when the doors of nearly all countries, the biggest and the smallest, are almost entirely closed against immigration, Palestine should have been able to give a home to some 50,000 Jews from Germany.





Pioneers at work on J. N. F. plantation



A child of Palestine

in an orange grove



Swamps are drained by J. N. F.

## WORLD CONFERENCE ISSUES S. O. S. CALL FOR PALESTINE LAND REDEMPTION

(Newspaper Headline)

On the banks of Lake Lucerne, Switzerland, a tragic scene in the present-day drama of the Jewish people was enacted. Delegations from Jewish communities in forty-two countries had gathered to attend the 19th bi-annual World Zionist Congress. The authorized representatives of an ancient people, scattered and persecuted but continuing its brave fight for survival, met to review its position in the world. As the report from each of the attending delegations was heard, the depth of Jewry's tragic plight was bared to the eyes of mankind.

### THE TWENTIETH CENTURY EXODUS

The gist of it all is that, from the darkness and desolation of the wilderness that was Europe, there emerges a world-shaking event—THE TWENTIETH CENTURY EXODUS.

Whether they are the outlawed victims of a forced Exile, preceded by a most cruel and grinding torture like that inflicted upon Jews in Naziland, or the outcasts of a changing social order, or the scapegoats of an economic depression, which drives them to a "voluntary" search for new homes, millions of Jewish men, women and children are compelled to emigrate with nowhere to emigrate to.

Only one delegation had a cheerful report to make: The representatives of Eretz Israel, where the Jewish National Home is being rebuilt and restored. Amidst a cloudy sky, the sun of progress is shining over the Land of Israel, which has, during the past year, absorbed more Jews than all other immigration countries combined. As in the days of yore, the Twentieth Century Exodus is streaming, like a mighty river, toward Eretz Israel. However, there too, the bright picture is blighted, the ray of hope is dimmed, and the march of progress is threatened for a very obvious reason: A LAND HUNGER.

### LAND THEIR GREATEST NEED

But the blame for this serious obstacle in the way of Jewish Redemption cannot be ascribed to others only. Jews arriving in Eretz Israel from the lands of exile, of persecution or of economic depression need, like air to breathe, like water to drink, like bread to eat, one thing: A piece of land on which to gain a foothold.

The national land reserve acquired by the Jewish National Fund in the course of thirty years is exhausted. On its 400,000 dunam area more than one hundred agricultural settlements have been established. These settlements constitute the very backbone and foundation of the new Jewish life which is blossoming forth. LAND, MORE LAND, is the need and the demand of those who have been fortunate enough to gain admittance into Eretz Israel, as well as of the countless thousands who await their opportunity to enter its gates.

Made aware of the gravity of the land problem in Eretz Israel and convinced that the speedy, even though partial, solution of this problem is one of the greatest urgency, the World Conference for Palestine Land Redemption, held in Lucerne prior to the

opening of the Zionist Congress, had but one course to take. It issued an S.O.S. (SAVE OUR SOIL) CALL to Jewry throughout the world. Acting on the recommendation of the World Conference for Palestine Land Redemption, the 19th Zionist World Congress promulgated and decided on a plan to raise, within the next two years, the amount of \$5,000,000. for Palestine Land Redemption through the Jewish National Fund.

What will American Jewry do for the realization of this program? This question hung on the lips of all.

### THEY LOOK TO AMERICA

Thundering applause was the response of the assembly to the presentation, by Dr. Israel Goldstein, President of the Jewish National Fund of America, of a \$25,000. contribution. It was the strong hope of the World Conference for Palestine Land Redemption that U. S. Jewry will rise to the gravity of the problem at the present juncture, and undertake an effort for Palestine Land Redemption commensurate with its numerical strength and sense of responsibility in this critical hour.

Responding to the SAVE OUR SOIL CALL, the Jewish National Fund of America has launched a nation-wide drive for raising American Jewry's 1935 quota: An amount of \$500,000.

The cause of Palestine Land Redemption is not alien to the Jews of America. For decades they have been contributing to the Jewish National Fund to the extent of 25% of the world income of the Palestine land redemption agency. In the \$25,000,000., which is the estimated value of the Keren Kayemeth land holdings, American Jewry has a share of nearly one-fifth, having contributed to the Jewish National Fund the amount of \$4,430,901. Without that support, the Keren Kayemeth would not have been able to accomplish as much as it did. But without a much greater effort in the immediate future on the part of U. S. Jewry, Eretz Israel and the sound reconstruction of the Jewish National Home would suffer a serious set-back.

### LAND REDEMPTION DRIVE IN U. S.

Impelled by the emergency of the Palestine land hunger, moved by the tragedy of large sections of our people to whom settlement on the soil in Palestine is the only ray of hope, and inspired by the ideal of social justice underlying the work of the Jewish National Fund, a National Committee for Palestine Land Redemption has been formed, to bring the \$500,000. Land Redemption appeal to a successful end.

Dr. Stephen S. Wise, the tribune of American Jewry, who has just returned from a visit to Palestine, will act as honorary chairman; and Mr. Maurice Levin, president of Hearn's Department Store in New York City, a merchant prince who has set a high example in understanding of and devotion to the Zionist ideal, has accepted the chairmanship of the campaign. The outstanding leaders of all Zionist groups and parties, and the active workers of many national organizations, have pledged their support.

Relaying the SAVE OUR SOIL CALL issued by the Lucerne World Conference, the National Committee for Palestine Land Redemption calls upon American Jewry:

**SAVE THE LAND OF ISRAEL FOR THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL! ORGANIZE FOR THE CAMPAIGN TO EXTEND THE FRONTIERS OF ERETZ ISRAEL!**



Girls ploughing in J. N. F. settlement



German refugees at work in fields



Farmer's home on J. N. F. land



## FACTS AND FIGURES

- I: The Jewish population in Palestine now approaches the 400,000 mark.
- II: The total area of Western Palestine comprises 26,000,000 dunams of land; the total of Jewish land possessions amounts to only 1,300,000.
- III: In the 34 years of its operations, the Jewish National Fund, because of the meager support derived from small-coin contributions, was able to acquire only 400,000 dunams of land.
- IV: The Jews of the world have contributed to the Jewish National Fund a sum slightly exceeding \$20,000,000. U. S. Jewry contributed \$4,430,901.
- V: Investments of the Jewish National Fund in land reclamation, reforestation, and modern water supply systems amount to \$11,500,000. The value of its land holdings, secured forever as inalienable property of the Jewish people exceeds \$25,000,000.
- VI: More than 100 agricultural settlements, with a population exceeding 26,000 souls, have been established on Jewish National Fund land in the Valley of Jezreel, in Judaea, in Gallilee, in the Valley of the Sharon, in the Haifa Bay Region, and in other strategic points. These settlements constitute the very backbone and unshakable foundation of the Jewish National Home.
- VII: Thousands of Jewish pioneer families in Palestine and scores of thousands of refugees from Hitlerland and would-be immigrants from the lands of oppression and depression, anxious to proceed to Palestine, are awaiting their turn for obtaining land on which they can gain a foothold.
- VIII: THE MAJOR OBSTACLE TO PROVIDE THEM WITH THIS OPPORTUNITY IS THE LACK OF SUFFICIENT FUNDS FOR PALESTINE LAND REDEMPTION.
- IX: FOR ALL THESE AND OTHER WEIGHTY REASONS

*Jew. Nat'l Fund*

## A CALL TO ACTION

"WHEREAS the redemption of the soil of Eretz Israel, a condition precedent to the upbuilding of the Jewish National Home, is the principal objective of the Zionist movement; and

"WHEREAS the continuing wave of intolerance, oppression and persecution in many lands has placed large sections of the Jewish people in a plight unprecedented in its long history of suffering; and

"WHEREAS the constantly growing influx of refugees from Germany, of pioneers and immigrants from other countries has created in Palestine a virtual land hunger, which, if unsatisfied, is likely to unbalance the economy of the Jewish National Home, and to halt its further normal and progressive development; and

"WHEREAS in order to enable the Keren Kayemeth le'Israel in Jerusalem, at least partially, to cope with this acute problem by the immediate acquisition of new land areas, the Jewish National Fund of America has launched a nation-wide drive to raise among Jewry in the United States the amount of \$500,000.00 for Palestine Land Redemption.

"THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED by the National Keren Kayemeth Conference comprised of Z.O.A. delegates and other Zionist groups and J.N.F. committees, in extraordinary session assembled to:

"To call upon all Jewish communities in the United States to inaugurate as soon as possible their fund-raising drives for Palestine Land Redemption work through the Jewish National Fund, in order to provide for the victims of oppression a speedy and sound opportunity to gain a foothold in the soil of Eretz Israel."

*(Text of Resolution adopted at the National Keren Kayemeth Conference held on July 1, 1935, at the Ritz Carlton Hotel, Atlantic City, N. J.)*

## RESOLUTION

Adopted by

### The Central Conference of American Rabbis

"WHEREAS the Central Conference of American Rabbis has evinced its interest in the upbuilding of Palestine; and

"WHEREAS, recent events have given special emphasis to Palestine; and

"WHEREAS, the Jewish National Fund has been fundamental in the upbuilding of Palestine; and

"WHEREAS we of the Central Conference of American Rabbis regard favorably the social principles of the Jewish National Fund,

"THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that the Central Conference of American Rabbis, in convention assembled, urge its members to support the activities of the Jewish National Fund in their respective communities, and that it invite the attention of its religious schools to the general work of the Keren Kayemeth, and recommend systematic allotments from the charity funds of these schools, raised by the pupils, for the purposes of the Jewish National Fund."

*(Text of Resolution adopted by the Central Conference of American Rabbis held on June 25th, 1935, at the Congress Hotel in Chicago.)*

THE FRONTIERS OF ERETZ ISRAEL MUST IMMEDIATELY BE EXTENDED!



CONFIDENTIAL

January 4, 1936.

COPY

Dear Grant:

I carefully read your letter of December 30th to Mr. Rothenberg and his answer to you of January 2nd.

I had intended, until I read his letter, to answer you in detail. Inasmuch, however, as I agree with every word that he has said, it is unnecessary to do this.

I cannot believe that you consulted any of the leading non-Zionist members of the Council before writing your letter, because I have never heard from any of them, either at the meeting in New York last January, or at any of the meetings in Lucerne last summer, a single word against the decisions then and theretofore taken, that the Jews should not participate in the kind of Legislative Council now to be established.

I ought perhaps, however, to add for your information these additional facts, namely, that the High Commissioner has clearly understood and fully appreciated even though he disagrees with the position taken by the Jewish Agency, that he has warmly welcomed many suggestions made by members of the Executive to him bearing on the form and constitution of the Legislative Council, and that he has still more warmly welcomed the unanimous expression of their desire and intention fully to cooperate with him and with his government in all matters except only that of participation in the Legislative Council.

I might emphasize too what Mr. Rothenberg says about the meetings of the Jewish Agency in Lucerne last summer. The participation of the European and Palestine members of the non-Zionist half of the Agency was not only the best and largest that we have ever had, but the interest displayed by these members, both in the resolutions pertaining to the Legislative Council and to all other matters, was greater than ever before.

Unfortunately most of the American members were absent. They were, however, represented by five or six of their number who held proxies for practically all, if not all, of the absent members. If you gave a proxy it was no doubt voted in favor of the resolutions, as the action thereon was unanimous.

I cannot but believe that in these circumstances you will on further consideration, and especially on further consultation, revise your views on the matter and withdraw your resignation.

I need hardly add that I am ready and willing at any convenient time personally to talk over this matter with you.

I am sending a copy of this to Mr. Rothenberg for his information, but I refrain from circularizing it, at any rate until I shall have heard from you, and then I greatly trust it will be unnecessary so to do.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) JULIAN W. MACK

Mr. Hugh Grant Straus  
31 East 72nd Street  
New York City



CONFIDENTIAL

DR. S. SOLIS-COHEN  
1906 Walnut St.  
Philadelphia

---

January 4, 1936.

C  
O  
P  
Y

Morris Rothenberg, Esq.,  
Co-Chairman, Council of the Jewish Agency for Palestine  
111 Fifth Avenue  
New York City, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Rothenberg:

I have your letter of January 2nd in answer to the communication of Mr. Hugh Grant Straus. I fully agree with all that you say.

It is impossible to live by rigid formulas, and while superficially, adherence to Democratic principles might seem to require a Government by the majority, as a matter of fact, no such Government is proposed, or could be carried out in Palestine at the present time. If, however, adherence to formulas is demanded, the basic formula is that of the Balfour Declaration, and it is quite obvious that the proposed legislative council is in direct opposition to the Balfour principles.

With kindest regards, I am,

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) S. SOLIS-COHEN



CONFIDENTIAL

52 WILLIAM STREET  
New York

January 6, 1936.

C  
O  
P  
Y

My dear Mr. Rothenberg:

I have received your circular letter of January 2nd, in which you quote me as having agreed to object to the creation of the Legislative Council -- which is correct only insofar as, at the time of the meeting here in spring, we felt that we should work for postponement of this Council. We did not decide on any direct action in regard to what we should do if the Council were, notwithstanding, to be put into motion, and also if we should take the attitude of non-cooperation once the matter were a fait accompli. With this in view, I should be obliged if you would not use my name or quote it in connection with the action to be taken at present or for the future.

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) FELIX M. WARBURG

Morris Rothenberg, Esq.  
111 Fifth Avenue  
New York, N. Y.



CONFIDENTIAL

Synagogue House  
40 West 68th Street  
New York City

1/7/36.

C  
O  
P  
Y

Morris Rothenberg, Esq.  
Zionist Organization of America  
111 Fifth Avenue  
New York City

Dear Morris:

I want you to know that I have very carefully gone over your letter to Hugh Grant Straus, and I find it a complete answer to the things he said. I would like to see it published in the NEW PALESTINE, excepting that Montor and others seem to think we would give undue publicity to the letter that evoked it. It is an admirable letter, and an unanswerable answer to the rash statement he made.

Yours,

(Signed) STEPHEN S. WISE



CONFIDENTIAL

EDWIN B. MEISSNER

8000 North Broadway

St. Louis, Mo.

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January 8, 1936.

C  
O  
P  
Y

Mr. Morris Rothenberg, Co-Chairman Council  
of the Jewish Agency for Palestine  
111 Fifth Avenue  
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Rothenberg:

Thank you for your favor of the 2nd enclosing  
copy of your communication to Mr. Straus. Trust your explanatory  
appeal will result in the withdrawal of Mr. Straus' resignation.

Kind regards.

Sincerely,

(Signed) EDWIN B. MEISSNER



CONFIDENTIAL

C  
O  
P  
Y

111 Fifth Avenue  
New York, January 16, 1936.

Mr. Felix M. Warburg  
52 William Street  
New York City

Dear Mr. Warburg:

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of January 6th, reply to which was unavoidably delayed.

I shall, of course, comply with your request not to use your name or quote it in connection with present or future action relating to the establishment of a Legislative Council in Palestine.

With all due respect, may I nevertheless say, that there can be little doubt that in the light of the discussions that preceded the adoption of the Resolutions by the Administrative Committee and the Council of the Jewish Agency, the decision of the Executive of the Agency as announced by Dr. Weizmann to the High Commissioner, not to cooperate in the Legislative Council, is clearly within the spirit and intent of the Agency Resolutions.

For your information I attach hereto copy of a cable received from the London Office of the Jewish Agency, indicating that the non-Zionists of Great Britain will join with the Zionists in a Conference to be held on January 19th, to express opposition to the Legislative Council.

I should like further to inform you that at a meeting of representatives of all Zionist groups in America, held on January 13th, it was unanimously decided to take the initiative in convening a Conference on Sunday, January 26th, at 8:15 P.M., at the Hotel Astor, at which firm but dignified opposition to the Legislative Council will be expressed. Pursuant to this decision, a call has gone out to national and central Jewish Organizations, a copy of which I also attach hereto.

I earnestly hope that the weight of your influence and that of the non-Zionist group in this country will not be withheld in resisting an act which the Zionist Congress, the Council and Administrative Committee of the Jewish Agency, a united Palestinian Jewry, and the great body of Jewish public opinion throughout the world regard as a menace to the Jewish National Home and a blow at the heart of the Mandate.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) MORRIS ROTHENBERG

Encls.



COPY OF CABLE RECEIVED FROM THE LONDON OFFICE OF THE JEWISH AGENCY

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LONDON JANUARY 14 1936

ROTHENBERG  
ZIONISTS  
NEW YORK

CONFERENCE TO PASS RESOLUTION OPPOSING LEGISLATIVE CALLED FOR  
SUNDAY NEXT BY BRITISH SECTION AGENCY STOP BOARD DEPUTIES  
PARTICIPATING MELCHETT PRESIDING LASKI SPEAKING

ZIONIBURO



RABBI ARMOND E. COHEN

CLEVELAND, OHIO

January

24

19 36

Rabbi A. H. Silver,  
The Temple,  
Ansel Road at East 105th St.,  
Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Rabbi Silver:

On Tuesday evening, January 28th,  
the Jewish National Fund Council  
will hold a meeting at 8:15 o'clock  
at the Center. We hope to have pres-  
ent for the first time representatives  
of all the major Zionist groups in the  
city.

Will you be kind enough to urge the  
representatives of the Zionist Society  
to be present.

Faithfully,

Armond E. Cohen  
*ED*