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United Jewish Appeal, dissolution and reconstitution, 1945.

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WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

1220

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HW221 103 6 EXTRA=WUX NEWYORK NY 17 600P

DR ABBA HILLEL SILVER

1945 JAN 17 PM 8 36

THE TEMPLE=CLEVE=

BAYONNE NEW JERSEY IS ONE OF THE FIRST SPRING CAMPAIGNS OF UNITED JEWISH APPEAL. WE ARE DETERMINED FOR EFFECT UPON ENTIRE STATE OF NEWJERSEY TO TRANSFORM ALL LEVELS OF GIVING IN THAT COMMUNITY. ALL OF US WOULD BE ENORMOUSLY GRATEFUL IF YOU COULD POSSIBLY GIVE US A DATE IN EARLY FEBRUARY FOR A BIG GIFTS DINNER AT WHICH YOU WOULD BE THE FOCUS AND SPEAKER. THIS WOULD BE A SPLENDID SERVICE NOT ONLY IN RELATION TO UJA INTEREST IN BAYONNE BUT ENTIRE STATE. ANY DATE CONVENIENT YOUR OWN CALENDAR WOULD BE BASIS FOR OUR ARRANGEMENT CORDIAL REGARDS=

HENRY MONTOR EXECUTIVE VICE CHAIRMAN UNITED JEWISH
APPEAL 342 MADISON AVENUE.

342 UJA.

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1-26-45

WANT A REPLY?
"Answer by WESTERN UNION"
or similar phrases may be
Included without charge.

Henry Montor
United Jewish Appeal
342 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

WRHS



APPRECIATE YOUR INVITATION TO ADDRESS BAYONNE COMMUNITY BUT REGRET THAT PRESSURE OF WORK MAKES IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR ME TO ACCEPT. KINDEST REGARDS.

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

COLLECT

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HW13 NL PD=WILKESBARRE PENN FEB 13

1945 FEB 14 AM 8 48

DR ABAA HILLEL SILVER=

RABBI THE TEMPLE EAST 105 AT ANSEL RD=

WE ARE PLANNING TO OPEN OUR 11TH ANNUAL UJA CAMPAIGN WITH THE USUAL BIG GIFTS DINNER SUNDAY EVENING APRIL 22ND WE HAVE SET ASIDE APPROXIMATELY 200 DOLLARS FOR LECTURE PURPOSES FOR THIS AFFAIR. THE WYOMING VALLEY JEWISH COMMITTEE IS MOST ANXIOUS TO HAVE YOU AS THE PRINCIPAL SPEAKER FOR THAT EVENING AND ON THEIR BEHALF I EXTEND A CORDIAL INVITATION FOR YOU TO ATTEND PLEASE ADVISE WESTERN UNION COLLECT SINCERELY=

J S RAUB 1945 CAMPAIGN CHAIRMAN.

11 UJA 22 200 1945. NTO IS ABAA...

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Feb. 22, 45

WANT A REPLY?

"Answer by WESTERN UNION"
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included without charge.

J. S. Raub
Wilkesbarre, Pa.

Deeply regret cannot accept your kind
invitation. Wish you every success. Kindest
regards.

Abba Hillel Silver

Collect

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1201

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NA376 47 SER=WUX NEW YORK NY 17 1151A

1945 FEB 17 PM 12 18

DR ABBA HILLEL SILVER

THE TEMPLE=CLEVE=

THERE WILL BE AN IMPORTANT MEETING THURSDAY FEBRUARY 22 AT
1230 PM AT THE UNITED JEWISH APPEAL OFFICE 342 MADISON
AVE OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE UJA TO MAKE OFFICIAL
DECISIONS ON THE DISSOLUTION OF THE UJA. URGENT YOU BE
PRESENT IF AT ALL POSSIBLE=

HENRY MONTOR.

RB

22 1230 PM 342 UJA UJA.

April 2, 1945

Mr. Henry Montor
United Palestine Appeal
41 East 42nd St.
New York, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Montor:

I am enclosing herewith a letter which I sent this morning to Mr. Neumann. I trust that when you have an opportunity to speak of the matter referred to in this letter that you will correct any false rumors which may be circulated.

I wish to call your attention especially to the last paragraph of the letter.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very sincerely yours,

AHS:BK

UNITED PALESTINE APPEAL

PALESTINE FOUNDATION FUND (*Keren Hayesod*)

JEWISH NATIONAL FUND (*Keren Kayemeth*)

MIZRACHI PALESTINE FUND

41 EAST 42nd STREET, NEW YORK 17, N. Y. • Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-3320 • Cable Address—Palfund

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Executive Director

HENRY MONTOR

April 11, 1945

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

I would like to urge you very strongly to accept an invitation that has been extended to you by the Worcester Jewish Welfare Fund to open its campaign on Sunday, May 27th. I know how burdened you are with many other calls, but I am taking the liberty of urgently recommending your acceptance of Worcester's invitation because of the following facts:

The Chairman of the Worcester Campaign is Mr. George Farber. He is an exceedingly devoted person with a remarkable gift for stimulating campaigns. Because of his interest in the campaign he has built up Worcester during the last two years to the point where it is the outstanding community of its class in the country. This year Worcester should do even better. Mr. Farber was deeply upset by the dissolution of the United Jewish Appeal. That is not because he is anti any cause, but because he felt that the U.J.A. was an important symbol in American Jewish life. I am most anxious that his good-will be preserved for Palestine and the U.P.A. In addition to that, Worcester is, as I have indicated, the best community in its class in the nation.

Your acceptance of the Worcester invitation to be the speaker on May 27th would be a very great service indeed to the U.P.A. I would be grateful.

Hoping that your calendar will permit acceptance of the date and with kindest personal regards, I am

Cordially yours,

Henry Montor
Henry Montor
Executive Director

HM:BG

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included without charge.

4-17-45

Mr. Henry Montor
UPA
41 E. 42nd St.
New York, N.Y.

WRHS



REGRET VERY MUCH CANNOT ACCEPT WORCESTER INVITATION. ~~IMPORTANT~~ MUST BE IN
CLEVELAND FOR TEMPLE ANNUAL MEETING. REGARDS.

A H SILVER

Collect

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NC89 17 SER=WUX NEWYORK NY 17 1032A

DR ABBA HILLER SILVER=

:THE TEMPLE EAST 105 ST AT ANSEL RD /CLEVE=

WOULD BE VERY GRATEFUL IF POSSIBLE YOUR ACCEPTANCE OPEN
WORCESTER CAMPAIGN MAY 27TH KINDLY WIRE REPLY. REGARDS=
HENRY MONTRO.:

No.	To
By 27.6	To Be
1140	

SK 3740 changed to
DR 1090

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

MINUTE OF A MEETING TO DISCUSS THE RECONSTITUTION OF
THE UNITED JEWISH APPEAL FOR 1945
AT COMMODORE HOTEL, NEW YORK CITY
TUESDAY, APRIL 17, 1945, 2:00 P.M.

PRESENT: Fred M. Butzel, Detroit - presiding) For communities represented
Louis Caplan, Pittsburgh) at meeting in Cleveland
Irwin W. Spiegel, Newark) March 31, 1945

Harold J. Goldenberg)
Joel Gross)
James G. Heller)
Alex Lowenthal)
Henry Montor)
Morris Rotherberg) For the United Palestine Appeal
Rudolf G. Sonneborn)
Herman L. Weisman)

Sidney Green)
Martin Rosenbluth)

MR. BUTZEL: We have a limited amount of time on account of the pressure of business and because there is another meeting, and trains. Introductory remarks need be very short. The various communities, the larger communities, with the exception of New York, are rather disturbed by problems that are arising in their own communities. They are rather anxious not to be burdened with problems of allocations, percentages, etc. For the purpose of avoiding the necessity, they met in Cleveland. There were some divisions of opinion, but there was no division of opinion that a last attempt should be made to reconstitute the United Jewish Appeal. It was felt that, no matter what is to happen in the years to come - when conditions will be solved by historical events -, in this particular war year (when every dollar cuts a great deal of ice and with the prospect of spending a great deal of money on publicity, on the raising of funds, etc.) in order to raise the maximum amount of money needed, the United Jewish Appeal should be reconstituted.

A small committee, consisting of Mr. Caplan, Mr. Spiegel and myself, were told to come to New York. We had called a session with the JDC this morning, and with the UPA this afternoon. We want to find out two things: Is there a desire for the reconstitution of the UJA, or are there factors that make that unthinkable? And if it can be reconstituted, how can we find a formula for this reconstitution? I don't know whether Dr. Heller or Mr. Sonneborn or anybody has an answer. If we can deal with the question, we will be delighted, purely for selfish reasons. As you know, people who run federations have enough troubles without this additional problem.

DR. HELLER: We are very eager to hear anything that the Committee has to say before we say anything.

MR. SPIEGEL: We are not to make any proposition either to the UPA or to the JDC. We want one important question answered: Is it desirable to reconstitute the United Jewish Appeal? Does the JDC and does the UPA think it a worthy effort on the part of this Committee to make an attempt to reconstitute? At the conclusion of this morning's meeting I took away with me this one fact: that the JDC believes that an effort should be made to reconstitute the UJA. There was no statement made as to percentages or conditions. But they

consented to the effort on our part. If at the conclusion of this afternoon's session you gentlemen agree with them that the effort should be continued, then our Committee intends to try to effect some basis which might meet the approval of both agencies.

MR. WEISMAN: By what process?

MR. CAPLAN: I think ~~what~~ we are interested in at the moment is whether or not fundamentally the United Palestine Appeal is willing to enter into another UJA, subject to a satisfactory agreement being reached on the division of the funds that may be raised. Fundamentally, the question is: Is this organization willing to be a party to a reconstitution of the Appeal? The members of this Committee -- and I think also the welfare funds which met in Cleveland -- feel that it is the overwhelming desire of the Jewish community of America that there be a United Jewish Appeal. We feel that this is a year for unity. Never has the Jewish people of the world been faced with the problem they are now faced with, and every effort should be made by the responsible leaders of this country and the responsible leaders of the United Palestine Appeal and the responsible leaders of the Joint Distribution Committee to effect a common effort in raising the largest amount of money possible for the needs of the Jews of the world, whether they be in Europe or in Palestine. We realize that, even though the Jews of America will be very, very generous, they will probably not be able to give all that is needed or all that could be used. But we also feel that there should be this unity, and that the greatest sum can be raised only by unity of purpose and unity of effort. We feel that if there is a willingness on both sides -- that is, the UPA and the JDC -- to come to an agreement, then an agreement can be worked out. But the fundamental question is: Is the UPA willing to enter into a UJA upon terms satisfactory to it?

DR. HELLER: I would like as briefly as I can to answer the main question. You gentlemen realize that there is a tremendous amount involved and it is difficult to compress all of the circumstances and all of the opinions that enter into it into a short talk. First I want to say that on behalf of the committee representing the United Palestine Appeal we would be the first to recognize the good will of the Committee with which we are meeting. I know that at least two of you, with whom I have been in contact over the years, have always been interested in doing all that you could to do service on behalf of our people. We appreciate that, and we are eager to meet you in the same spirit. We come with no antagonistic feelings whatsoever. However, in justice to the effort you are making, you yourselves ought to understand the precise conditions that surround the effort which has been growing up during the past several months, because we are not meeting today as we did in November when we met with the gentlemen of the JDC to negotiate an agreement for 1945. Many things have happened since then, not only in negotiations; but certain things have happened in communities.

First, we want you to know that the United Palestine Appeal does not regard itself as being an organization so blind to the needs of the Jews in Europe that it is determined to get all the money it can for Palestine without regard to the life and welfare of the Jews in other parts of the world. That point of view is being actively propagated by the gentlemen of the JDC. I have a letter that was sent by Mr. Robert Herman on April 6th to Mr. Henry Markson of Beaver Falls, Pa., part of which reads as follows:

"What you are asking in your letter is for us to agree to a division of funds that will sentence thousands to death."

And in a letter that was signed by Jonah Wise precisely the same implication was made. We do not feel that there is any such division of interest or of concern as this appears to imply. Palestine has been saving the lives of Jews over quite a long period of time; and, as a matter of fact, as compared with the two, I think it perfectly fair to say that of the 600,000 Jews now in Palestine, probably 70 or 80% would be dead if they had not gone there. We feel that the interests of the American Jewish community can best be served in an effort to do certain things simultaneously, such as would be done by any social service organization, both as to the saving of lives and as to their establishment in a situation where they may continue their lives without constant fear and recourse to charity. I have said again and again that this whole situation has existed not just this year, but over a series of years. There is an antithesis presented between these two points of view which is thoroughly false and thoroughly wrong. The Jews in Europe themselves have certain opinions as to their future. We have been in touch with them through various agencies -- in Palestine and in various other countries. We have a pretty accurate idea of the thing; and therefore the attempt that is being made -- and I imagine has been made in your communities -- to represent this as a question of "either or" (You keep the Jews alive in Europe or you send them to Palestine) is both unreal and untrue. We are in favor of the utilization of the funds that will be available to accomplish both objectives: the saving of the lives of the people with, of course, a perfectly proper effort to call in the assistance of governments -- both the governments in which Jews live and also UNRRA; but not meaning that we won't do anything until they get in. Help them where help is needed, but simultaneously take them out of an impossible position and give them a chance to set themselves up on a firm and permanent basis.

We began, as some of you know, with a public statement that was made after Cincinnati -- that we did not intend to fight the JDC, that we would not indulge in any acrimonies, but that we wanted to work through the welfare funds. We have said this in letters. But as it takes two to make a war, it takes two to make a peace.

MR. BUTZEL: Both of you started out to make war.

DR. HELIER: That is a question of record. Despite the wish on our part, this thing is rapidly becoming very bitter through no wish of ours. We can point to one thing after another that has contributed to this situation. First, the statement that was sent out by the JDC in regard to the dissolution of the UJA, which errs by the omission of the essential facts, has caused an impression contrary to the fact. It looks as though the JDC made every effort to preserve the UJA while we made every effort to break it. Secondly, we have made various proposals to the JDC since the break, some of which were suggested by the Council of Federations, to try to establish an area of cooperation. We have tried to issue joint statements. We proposed to the JDC at the instance of the Council that we issue a joint statement. That was refused by the JDC. We proposed to set up certain agreements that would eliminate the area of conflict -- sometimes in regard to sending workers into areas. The JDC refused all cooperation and the making of any agreements. Representatives of the JDC have gone into some communities stating that there is no UJA campaign this year, but only a JDC campaign, and have taken all of the money out of those communities by nothing less than what might be termed fraud, which we shall have to meet. And in the last place, the type of statement

which the JDC has been making in regard to the UPA "sentencing thousands to death" is not calculated to keep a feeling of good will. A partnership does not depend only upon financial arrangements; it has to depend upon good will, a feeling of forbearance. All of these things have made very much more difficult the reestablishment of the United Jewish Appeal than would have been the case in November, December, January or February. These things have happened, and continue to happen.

I think that this Committee ought to have clearly before it the record of the negotiations. I think that this Committee ought to understand what our point of view is. Our point of view is that, since we began to undertake the negotiations for 1945, every proposal that was made to try to preserve the United Jewish Appeal was made by the United Palestine Appeal. And the record which we have here (we printed it for distribution over the country) is an attempt to set forth the essential facts.

After having met with the gentlemen of the JDC on three occasions, beginning on November 8th, and seeing that we were not making any progress toward agreement, I had a personal meeting with Mr. Levy at the Bankers Club early in December. I suggested that compromise was indicated. I suggested several compromises. Mr. Levy indicated that the JDC would consider no compromise. All these facts are capable of substantiation on the basis of facts. When that seemed to be the final decision, the United Palestine Appeal then made two additional propositions, suggesting that the entire matter be submitted to the neutral members of the Allotment Committee for mediation. This was contained in a letter addressed in December to Mr. Baerwald and Mr. Levy. We received a reply from Mr. Levy that the JDC would not consent, feeling that no other parties outside of itself could be entrusted with a decision with regard to its own interests. We then made a suggestion that had been offered by the Council of Federations. We suggested that a mutually agreeable committee to be selected together with them and us should be called in for mediation. That was turned down for the same reasons by the JDC. Every suggestion that was made for a possible compromise -- either as to a compromise as to money or the calling in of others for arbitration -- was refused.

At a meeting that was held with representatives of the Council of Federations in the offices of the UPA in January we advanced another proposition: that is, that a drawing account be offered each organization so that it might start on its work the early part of the year; all the rest to be turned over to an allotment committee -- to consist of disinterested persons --, they to have complete authority to divide the funds. That was turned down by the JDC. When we met in Cincinnati with the Council later on, the report on that meeting, I am sorry to say, was another instance of an attempt by the JDC to mislead the public and to place us in the worst possible light, which we resent very greatly. First, no mediation committee was appointed, and we had nothing to say in regard to the personnel, which was one of the essential conditions that we had laid down. Secondly, as the Council of Federations itself felt necessary to say in a public statement which it issued after the JDC had made a statement, there was no mediation, and therefore the statement of the JDC with regard to Cincinnati was a flagrant denial of the truth. Two propositions were made, one of which we said we would consider, but which was turned down by the JDC; and another which we said we would present to our Executive Committee; and did; and they turned it down.

The general situation is perfectly clear. The JDC in general -- except for some concessions that were made in regard to the Jewish National Fund -- never receded by a single jot from their original position; that is, the division of 60-40; and its original proposition that \$25,000,000 be divided meant that we would be worse off in 1945 than before, taking into account the Allotment Committee of 1944, which divided the amount of \$10,000,000 about 52-48. The contention of the JDC that it was merely advocating a renewal of the contract for 1944 is not so. Therefore, I think it is incumbent upon you to understand the situation. We have made all these suggestions. We have made efforts to save the UJA. The JDC has turned down all of them, and simply sat pat upon practically the original position. I think it ought to be the obligation of you gentlemen, who I think represent the interests of your communities, to try to make plain to the American Jewish community that this situation has existed, and that the general impression (which the JDC has striven to disseminate: that we are the culprits and that we have acted in flagrant disregard of the American Jewish community) is contrary to the facts.

Our point of view is: we would not say that we would not listen to a proposal, but we have no proposal to offer other than those we have made during the negotiations. If you would be interested, we could go into a much more extended analysis of the relative needs of the two organizations both on the budgets and in regard to the human situation which exists in Europe and in Palestine. We say, as responsible men (which we feel we are) that we believe that it is to the interest not merely of the American community but to the interest of the surviving Jews in Europe that the money should be divided 50-50. Half should be used for European countries, and 50% should be used for the transportation of Jews to Palestine.

MR. BUTZEL: Fifty percent for transportation?

DR. HELLER: We would be perfectly willing to say that we would take into account transportation if the funds were divided 50-50. Forty percent of the transportation costs in 1944 were borne by the agencies in Palestine, and 60% by the JDC. The impression which has gone around that the JDC has been carrying all the transportation costs does not square with the facts.

JUDGE ROTHENBERG: Mr. Kaplan made that statement last night.

MR. BUTZEL: An arrangement to charge one or the other with the transportation cost could be part of an understanding.

MR. CAPLAN: Fifty-fifty on the basis of allotment to the two organizations.

MR. WEISMAN: You haven't answered the question.

DR. HELLER: I think it is implicit in what I have said. We certainly would not say that we are opposed to the reconstitution of the United Jewish Appeal. We cannot say outright "Yes" or "No" without knowing conditions. Under conditions which we think are fair and just and right to the United Palestine Appeal we would not close the door on reconstitution.

MR. CAPLAN: I think that we have understood (and it is so stated in the printed pamphlet that the JDC distributed) that your Executive Committee in effect made the statement at Cincinnati that, weighing the advantages of a UJA and the disadvantages of a UJA, you had concluded that the disadvantages were greater than the advantages.

MR. WEISMAN: Under the conditions.

MR. CAPLAN: Does that mean it is greater in principle or in dollars?

DR. HELLER: Our position has been indicated by action and by words. Our position, which was stated at that time, was quite simply this, and it was completely distorted; and, I am sorry to say, intentionally distorted: there were certain liabilities inherent in the United Jewish Appeal. The JDC felt that way itself in certain respects. Nevertheless, we made every effort to preserve it. Even at that meeting we did not sit down and say we would not consider any offer to reconstitute. We went there perfectly willing to consider it.

JUDGE ROTHENBERG: If the proper conditions were established, we would be in favor of reconstitution.

MR. CAPLAN: We have gotten the impression -- I think you were quoted as saying that the question of the division in dollars is incidental; that you felt that it was necessary that you make your appeal alone for the reason chiefly that otherwise you lose the value of propaganda for Palestine -- in a joint appeal.

DR. HELLER: That is one of the situations that has existed in the UJA. We have never censored the material of the JDC nor ever made any suggestions as to the method of their appeal. Repeatedly the JDC has refused to publish material which we have submitted as our part of the agreement.

MR. SPIEGEL: Was there anything in the agreement which prevented you from propagandizing Palestine?

MR. MONTOR: All material had to be mutually approved. It was always under the scrutiny of the representatives of the two organizations. The UJA objected to the use of Dr. Chaim Weizmann on the platform of the United Jewish Appeal on the ground that he is a political figure. (In response to an inquiry as to whether he had not nevertheless spoken, Mr. Montor replied that he had, but under local auspices.)

MR. SPIEGEL: What sum was spent for transportation?

MR. LOWENTHAL: Let us not get into these minor problems.

MR. CAPLAN: I have been very much distressed by your statement that the JDC would go into any community and say that the UJA has not had any drive. I am very much disturbed in the common interest.

MR. BUTZEL: I can imagine any agent saying anything.

MR. GROSS: An over-enthusiastic fieldman might make that kind of a statement, and you and I might forgive him. But a letter from Jonah Wise, such as the one which Dr. Heller referred to, is completely unforgivable. It would be well if you read that letter and got the implications of it: here are a group that are saving Jewish lives; and here is another group who are recklessly slaughtering millions of Jews.

MR. CAPLAN: I don't think that anybody contends that the heads of the JDC would agree to agents' saying that the UJA is not running a campaign.

MR. MONTOR: It has happened in so many instances that the United Palestine Appeal prepared a form so that individuals could write to the Joint Distribution Committee as follows:

"When your field representative visited my community recently, I was given to understand that the United Palestine Appeal was not conducting a campaign in 1945, in view of the dissolution of the United Jewish Appeal. I therefore contributed \$ _____ exclusively for the Joint Distribution Committee.

It has come to my attention now that the information given to me was incorrect, and that the United Palestine Appeal is conducting a campaign for the needs of the Jewish Agency and the Jewish National Fund in Palestine.

Will you be good enough, therefore, to return to me, or to forward to the United Palestine Appeal the sum of \$ _____, the United Palestine Appeal's share of my contribution.

Sincerely yours,

Name _____
Address _____
City and State _____"

MR. LOWENTHAL: The JDC has written a letter to communities in the Tri-State area. Even after they have made allocations the JDC will not.....

DR. HELLER: I quoted to you the letter from Mr. Herman in which he said that we are condemning thousands to death.

MR. BUTZEL: By giving so little money to the JDC.

MR. GROSS: By insisting on parity.

DR. HELLER: Similar statements were made by Jonah Wise.

MR. GROSS: In consideration of all the facts, all of us recognize that the United Jewish Appeal was simply and solely a convenient form of organization for fund-raising purposes. Let us assume that both institutions have the highest integrity. If we proceed under any other assumption, reunion is silly to contemplate. Here were two groups of persons, both of whom were motivated by the highest considerations, who failed to agree. The United Palestine Appeal said, having reached an impasse: "Let us do on a wider scale what we do every year in an allocations committee. Let us take three or five or ten or fifteen people, mutually agreeable, and let them make the decision." Isaac Levy in his letter rejected that proposal, and rejected it on grounds that seemed to me to be completely untenable. Mr. Levy had been willing to agree to an appropriation of the first \$10,000,000, with arbitration by the Allotment Committee for the overage -- \$25,000,000. He took the position that as trustee, administering relief to the stricken populations in Europe, the JDC could not delegate to others the determination of what money it should get. By the same token the UPA cannot delegate to others those functions of trusteeship under that kind of an interpretation of facts. The fact, however, is that we know that both organizations must respond to the Jews throughout the

country. The Jews throughout the country give the funds. How can you go any further than to say what you in conscience feel: that nothing else than parity is the proper division? That is the way we feel, and that is the irreducible minimum. Let us put the matter up to an allotment committee -- to a group of Jews qualified to adjudicate the disposition of funds. That is as far as anyone can go. Dr. Heller has never indicated a retreat from that decision. Why should it be laid at our door that we are anxious to disrupt --

MR. BUTZEL: Let us assume that I do not care what anybody writes. As far as I have access to public opinion I do not think that anybody feels prejudiced to the United Palestine Appeal. I think the feeling is that the UPA has been somewhat involved in ideology; and the JDC grabbed at it and are only too willing to pass the buck. I am saying this as a sort of a proposition. The public feels that Palestine and Europe are losing out, and that is why we have been sent here with this forlorn hope of reconstitution.....

JUDGE ROTHENBERG: May I read one sentence out of a letter which Mr. Levy addressed to Dr. Heller: "We are convinced that for unnumbered thousands of Jews, the question is starkly one of life or death. We hoped that the representatives of the UPA would agree that keeping Jews alive during this critical time deserved the highest priority."

MR. BUTZEL: That isn't such a bad statement. It doesn't shock me so much. I could imagine that the keeping alive of a certain number of Jews on an extremely low level without prospects, might be a very minor matter.....

JUDGE ROTHENBERG: What is involved is a charge that we prefer to take people to Palestine rather than to save their lives.

MR. BUTZEL: The keeping of Palestine on a receptive basis is more important than leaving a lot of people living on a very low level.

MR. WEISMAN: May I inquire of you whether we have answered your questions.

MR. BUTZEL: I have a hunch that you are not anxious to reconstitute the United Jewish Appeal.

MR. WEISMAN: Is the United Palestine Appeal willing to consider a reconstitution of the United Jewish Appeal upon terms that it would find satisfactory? That was the question. The answer to that is in the affirmative. The second question related to a somewhat extraneous matter: namely, was there any justification for the statement that the Executive Committee of the United Palestine Appeal had reasons for not wishing the reconstitution of the UJA disassociated from the distribution of funds. I want to say, as one who has attended every meeting of the Executive Committee, that the UPA reached its decision that it was not possible to make a new agreement because the terms of the division of funds were not satisfactory as reported at its meeting -- and for no other reason. I do not know any other way to answer that question.

MR. SPIEGEL: It is strictly on a money basis?

JUDGE ROTHENBERG: Certainly, if the terms are satisfactory, we are willing--

MR. LOWENTHAL: In your meeting with the JDC was that as far as you got with them? All they have to offer is a statement that they are willing to reconstitute the United Jewish Appeal? Everybody is in agreement on that point. We have no basis to start working.

MR. CAPLAN: We are trying to work the thing out our way. Your statement assumes that everything that was said here is the gospel truth, and the JDC should be censured. There is a difference in the statement of facts. The three members of our Committee feel that the primary question is the one which I originally asked: Whether there was a willingness on the part of the UPA to reconstitute the UJA. And secondly, whether the failure to join in the reconstitution was due to other things. They have both been answered. We asked the same questions of the JDC. We very deliberately did not say to you that we were told differently. We are trying to see if there is some meeting ground. Is there a will to agree on both sides? If both sides are willing to settle the case, we think some basis of settlement can be found. We were somewhat in doubt that, even if financial arrangements were satisfactory to you, you felt that you were losing something by way of the value of propaganda.

MR. BUTZEL: The JDC understood this, and agreed that, if they were Zionists, they would take the long-range point of view which you needed for purposes of propaganda, and that you felt that you were so hampered in a joint campaign that it was, therefore, in the realm of ideology that the trouble was taking place. They came to the conclusion that you needed a separate campaign for that reason.

MR. LOWENTHAL: Why were they stating our case?

DR. HELIER: They said the same thing to us. Though we would like to have the good opinion of the gentlemen of the Joint Distribution Committee, we judge it by the total picture, and not by single statements. I think we ought to be permitted to state our own point of view. I think I represent in this the general feeling of the Zionist groups: you must be careful not to over-simplify the question by saying that it has to be either ideology or money. It can easily be both. Taking the total picture, there have been some advantages. There are some ways in which the UJA has inhibited the people that were in it. But there were benefits that counterbalanced; and therefore, if conditions could be satisfactory, we would be willing to reconstitute. If we had not wanted the reconstitution of the UJA; if it was only a question of ideology, then we would have made no proposals. We would have said we did not want any United Jewish Appeal for ideological reasons. We said there are a lot of things, and that is one of them. Nevertheless, we are willing to submit to arbitration. We are willing to make compromises. I said to Mr. Levy: "Let us agree to strike a mechanical balance on 50-50." Mr. Levy said, no, they would not compromise on the issue of 60-40; and that has been the consistent point of view of the JDC.

MR. BUTZEL: I am satisfied with your statements completely. I just want to say that that is not evidence. That you made the offers would not necessarily be evidence. I can make an offer for strategic reasons.

DR. HELLER: If you make an offer for strategic purposes, you also take a

chance that the offer might be accepted. Therefore, the JDC, in order to prove its contention, could have accepted.

MR. GROSS: Whatever may have been the history of the past, it can very easily now be determined. Arbitration, which Dr. Heller has indicated, is something that has been rejected. If the JDC wants to test us, all they have to say is that we arbitrate, and the United Jewish Appeal would be reconstituted. We suggested a voluntary agreement to bind ourselves by arbitration. If there is any charge of playing strategic tricks, this is the time to prove the issue.

MR. WEISMAN: What do we do now?

MR. BUTZEL: The ten cities asked us to come here.

MR. CAPLAN: Who is responsible for the United Palestine Appeal?

DR. HELLER: The Executive Committee.

MR. GROSS: Do you think that you three gentlemen should permit yourselves, in view of the fact that you have undertaken this, to labor under a doubt as to the facts? Why don't you ask us to make available to you all the data that you want to substantiate the statements that we make? There should not be any doubt in your mind.

MR. CAPLAN: Where are you going to get? Here is what we want: if we are able to reach an agreement, then it is just as well for us to forget what you have said. If we cannot reach an agreement, why stir up very controversial questions?

MR. GROSS: As far as I am concerned, we are not sitting here with you because you are designated from some organization that met in Cleveland. That thing in Cleveland, as far as I am concerned, is nil. I am speaking to you because of your status in Jewish life; because you are a very important person in Pittsburgh, you in ~~Philadelphia~~ ^{Atlanta}, you in Newark. You are all three of you extremely important on the American Jewish scene. I am very much concerned with any doubt with respect to the facts which may exist in your minds. I think, having undertaken this assignment and having talked to the JDC and the UPA, if there is a misrepresentation of the facts, I want to know it. When I sit here I am away from my office. I want to know whether I am dealing with facts. Dr. Heller has stated absolutely the facts. If you harbor any doubts, you have only to verify the facts so that when you react to the situation, you are going to react on the basis of fact and not on the basis of conjecture as to whether Dr. Heller was scheming for strategic reasons, or whether Mr. Levy..... On the basis of the available facts, certainly you should ascertain it.

MR. WEISMAN: I would regard what Joel said as very relevant if the Committee is not satisfied that the onus for breaking the UJA does not rest on the UPA. If we have satisfied the Committee that the onus does not rest on the UPA.....

MR. BUTZEL: I haven't for a moment believed that. On the other hand, that does not indicate that I believe it rests with the JDC. I believe that the

situations are more complicated. Because they are so complicated, and because the American Jewish people will not.....

DR. HELLER: We did not jump into print to accuse the JDC. It was the JDC which issued a statement accusing us of having refused mediation at Cincinnati.

MR. BUTZEL: I do not accept that.

DR. HELLER: The accusations against us were not made by us against the JDC, but by the JDC against us.

MR. BUTZEL: It is very unfortunate, and the danger of that happening either way is one of the disturbing questions in the scene. I could have told you that, as soon as there is no United Jewish Appeal, that was bound to occur. If it had not come from the JDC, it would have come from the UPA.

DR. HELLER: If you will look at the first letter which we issued, which we have here, you will see that at ^{the} first opportunity that we had we issued a statement that was utterly different.

MR. BUTZEL: I give you credit for it.

MR. GROSS: Mr. Hollander gives him credit for the tremendous restraint he showed.....Each person gives him a great deal of credit. Publicly the United Palestine Appeal has been damned.

MR. BUTZEL: As far as my own community is concerned, we consider these documents as political propaganda and we don't pay much attention to them.

DR. HELLER: I have been in ten or twelve communities recently, and the general impression has been that the UPA is the culprit in the case.

MR. CAPLAN: I think it can be said on both sides insofar as this sort of thing is concerned. I remember, Alex, that you stated that the JDC was to blame for the breakup, and I stopped you and said to you that I thought it was not proper to blame either one wholly for what had occurred. You then referred to Mr. Levy's letter, which I said was not the whole story. I did not come here and I would not have come here if I had thought that I was to decide who was right. Many things are said in the heat of controversy. I think Dr. Heller showed a great deal of restraint and forbearance. But that is not our function. I think that is something for the Jewish community of America to judge. If your case is just and you are being maligned and unjustly attacked, the Jewish community of America will see the light.

I do not want Mr. Weisman's statement to go into the record as being unanswered. He said that, unless we accept Joel Gross' suggestion that we examine into the facts, it may be taken for granted that the United Palestine Appeal is not the guilty party. I do not want to be put in that position. I do not want to judge guilt or innocence.

MR. BUTZEL: Unless they are together, certainly I would not do that.

DR. HELLER: I do not feel that you came here to judge. I presented a statement.

MR. SPIEGEL: You have a perfect right to say what you did, because the JDC started this morning by giving us their point of view.

JUDGE ROTHENBERG: Having heard our answer to your question, which was that we are perfectly ready to reconstitute the United Jewish Appeal upon terms agreeable to us -- where are we?

MR. GROSS: Speaking for myself, a proposal percentagewise would not get me to leave my desk to come here. That is ancient history. Everything that could be tried has been tried. The only proposal which would interest me would be a proposal which would obligate the parties to arbitrate all questions regarding the UJA -- whether the NRS should participate and to what extent; whether there should be a drawing account; what the percentages should be; whether there should be an allotment committee. All must be arbitrated to satisfy me.

MR. CAPLAN: The first step was to find out whether there was a willingness to reconstitute the UJA if a satisfactory agreement could be reached. Both sides have said yes. As I understand from Joel, the making of a satisfactory agreement does not involve any further discussion of percentages or formula. But when you say you are willing to reconstitute the United Jewish Appeal, you mean that you are willing to reconstitute it on the basis of arbitration on all matters involved in the UJA -- the division of funds; (the settlement -- it seems rather strange to say the question of censorship).

MR. GROSS: Whether there should be arbitration of censorship?

MR. CAPLAN: They may say that there should be a Board of Directors of the UJA which is not constituted exclusively of mere representation of each side. The next step will be how the other folks feel about it.

MR. GROSS: No proposal which does not bind the parties to arbitrate every single matter of difference in the preparation of the agreement will interest us.

DR. HELLER: First of all you must realize that the very thing Mr. Gross is talking about we offered before; repeatedly before the dissolution of the UJA. Again in documents on record we suggested the broadening of the scope of the UJA so as to include many more joint activities than it did: the holding of a joint meeting, the issuance of joint campaign literature of various kinds. All of these suggestions were refused. When we say we have been in favor of a community of interest, the record will bear that out.

MR. GROSS: I think you have a great deal to do in the hours you are going to be here. If there are any questions on which you want clarification, we are here to give it.

MR. WEISMAN: Is the procedure that the next meeting is to be together with the representatives of the JDC?

MR. BUTZEL: We will convey your offer, and if they accept it, we are going ahead. Otherwise no.

MR. GROSS: As we are sitting here, campaigns are progressing; acrimony is

being born where it isn't already. You cannot go along interminably. Action should be taken before you gentlemen go back.

MR. BUTZEL: I do not think it will be accepted, but I will present it. We are willing to let the representatives of the Jewish communities make the determinations.

MR. SONNEBORN: How will this proposition be distorted so that it will be seen in a bad light?

MR. CAPLAN: This morning we were very informal. I think we could talk with a great deal less restraint if we were not burdened with the record. If there is any attempt at distortion, the record will show it.

JUDGE ROTHENBERG: You said you did not ~~think~~ they will accept the offer. If they do not, you do not think there is anything further to do. Are you to get an offer from us?

MR. BUTZEL: I do not accept this offer from you.

MR. GROSS: You saw the JDC this morning. We have reiterated a proposal which we have been making for months. What is your reaction?

MR. BUTZEL: I think it is alright. If the.....

(balance ordered off the
record by the three com-
munity representatives)

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SPECIAL NOTICE

United Palestine Appeal Proposes Unconditional Arbitration for Reconstitution of United Jewish Appeal

The following statement was issued today by the United Palestine Appeal:

"On April 17th the United Palestine Appeal, responding to the expressed wish of many communities for the reconstitution of the United Jewish Appeal, offered to submit to unconditional arbitration with regard to the terms and provisions of an agreement reconstituting the United Jewish Appeal and with regard to all aspects of performance thereunder, such arbitration to be administered by impartial persons chosen jointly by the J.D.C. and the U.P.A.

"This proposal, containing no reservation, was rejected by the Joint Distribution Committee.

"The occasion for the proposal was a meeting in New York City held at the invitation of three prominent members of as many Jewish communities. They were Messrs. Fred Butzel, Detroit, Louis Caplan, Pittsburgh and Irwin Spiegel, Newark.

"They met at the Hotel Commodore, on the afternoon of April 17th, with representatives of the United Palestine Appeal, including Rabbi James G. Heller, Cincinnati, and Messrs. Joel Gross, Newark, Harold J. Goldenberg, Minneapolis, Alex Lowenthal, Pittsburgh, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Rudolf G. Sonneborn and Herman L. Weisman, New York.

"The three community leaders asked whether the United Palestine Appeal would consider favorably the reconstitution of the United Jewish Appeal. The answer of the United Palestine Appeal was

immediately and unequivocally in the affirmative.

"The United Palestine Appeal was then asked under what conditions it was prepared to see a reconstitution of the United Jewish Appeal. The reply of the United Palestine Appeal was that it was prepared to submit all questions pertaining to a United Jewish Appeal to unrestricted arbitration. Such arbitration would be applied to all aspects of the relationship involved in a United Jewish Appeal.

"The United Palestine Appeal was subsequently informed that the Joint Distribution Committee, with whom the three community leaders also met, was not prepared to agree to arbitration.

"In making this record public, the United Palestine Appeal calls attention to the fact that the latest attempt it made to bring about a United Jewish Appeal is in keeping with its consistent efforts since last December to bring in neutral and disinterested members of the American Jewish public in order to arbitrate all questions pertaining to the reconstitution of the United Jewish Appeal.

"The United Palestine Appeal respects the autonomous right of the Joint Distribution Committee to make such decisions as it chooses. But it believes it equally essential that the American Jewish community understand that the United Palestine Appeal permitted nothing to stand in the way of a reconstitution of the United Jewish Appeal, in accordance with the expressed wishes of the community."

Issued by UNITED PALESTINE APPEAL

41 East 42nd St. — New York 17

From: Meyer F. Steinglass
Director of Publicity
UNITED PALESTINE APPEAL
41 East 42nd Street
New York City

FOR RELEASE ON RECEIPT

U.P.A. SAYS J.D.C. HAS REJECTED ARBITRATION

- - - -

Declares J.D.C.'s Attitude Made Agreement on 1945 U.J.A. Impossible; Asserts
Record of Negotiations demonstrates Unwillingness of J.D.C. to
Accept Any Reasonable Compromise

* * * * *

Replying to a telegram from Mr. Sidney Hollander, President of the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, the United Palestine Appeal declared yesterday that "the belated 'acceptance' by the Joint Distribution Committee of your proposal has attached to it a condition which is tantamount to another rejection of arbitration by the J.D.C."

In a letter addressed to Mr. Hollander, Rudolf G. Sonneborn, Chairman of the National Council of the U.P.A., said that the J.D.C. has repeatedly rejected proposals for arbitration and that it was the attitude of the J.D.C. which made impossible an agreement with regard to the continuation of the United Jewish Appeal in 1945.

"The conditions stated in the J.D.C.'s reply to your telegram limits the question to be arbitrated merely to the degree to which the U.P.A. and the interests of Palestine shall be subordinated in joint fund-raising appeals," Mr. Sonneborn said. He added that after ten weeks of negotiation, the U.P.A. had reluctantly come to a decision with respect to its 1945 campaign as a result of the unwillingness of the J.D.C. to modify its position.

"The insistence by the J.D.C. that Palestine in 1945 remain in a subordinate position reflected an unyielding refusal to understand the importance of Palestine even in the terms of pure saving of life, to say nothing of the dynamics of rehabilitation in Palestine, which has given security to over 300,000 refugees since 1933 -- virtually as many as the rest of the world combined," the U.P.A. stated.

Asserting that it was unable to persuade the J.D.C. to accept any reasonable compromise, the U.P.A. said that its suggestions for the continuation of the United Jewish Appeal on an equitable basis did not materialize because of the attitude / ^{from} the very beginning of the J.D.C. against the submission of the differences between the two organizations to impartial outside persons.

Mr. Sonneborn pointed out that the U.P.A. proposed arbitration as early as December 29, 1944, when Dr. James G. Heller, its National Chairman, made this proposal to Mr. Paul Baerwald, Chairman of the J.D.C. This proposal for arbitration was rejected by the J.D.C. in a reply in which it stated, "We can't delegate to others the responsibility that we owe to the work entrusted to us." On January 11th, Dr. Heller wrote to Mr. Hollander suggesting mediation. At that time the J.D.C. again rejected this proposal, declaring that "mediation must not become arbitration in any aspect, but should at all stages remain friendly intervention. If final agreement does not result, mediation should not eventuate into any judgment or decision."

In its reply to Mr. Hollander's telegram of February 23rd, the U.P.A. said: "In order that justice be done in meeting the needs of the J.D.C. and the U.P.A., the U.P.A. believes that it is eminently desirable that American Jewry, through its various communities, examine the requirements of Jewish life and act on them through the distribution of funds in accordance with procedures determined locally."

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2/28/45
#35

From: Meyer F. Steinglass
Director of Publicity
UNITED PALESTINE APPEAL
41 East 42nd Street
New York City

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE.

UNITED PALESTINE APPEAL PROPOSAL FOR UNCONDITIONAL ARBITRATION FOR RECONSTITUTION
OF UNITED JEWISH APPEAL IS REJECTED BY JOINT DISTRIBUTION COMMITTEE

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The United Palestine Appeal announced today that a proposal made by the U.P.A. on Tuesday, April 17th for unconditional arbitration by impartial persons chosen jointly by the J.D.C. and the U.P.A. for the reconstitution of the United Jewish Appeal had been rejected by the Joint Distribution Committee.

Responding to the expressed desire of many communities for the reconstitution of the United Jewish Appeal, the United Palestine Appeal suggested that all aspects of a United Jewish Appeal agreement be submitted to unrestricted arbitration by a mutually acceptable committee.

The occasion for the proposal was a meeting at the Hotel Commodore, New York, held at the invitation of three prominent members of as many Jewish communities. They were: Fred Butzel of Detroit, Louis Caplan of Pittsburgh and Irwin Spiegel of Newark. The meeting was held on Tuesday afternoon, April 17th, with representatives of the United Palestine Appeal, including Rabbi James G. Heller of Cincinnati and Joel Gross of Newark, Harold J. Goldenberg of Minneapolis, Alex Lowenthal of Pittsburgh, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Rudolf G. Sonneborn and Herman L. Weisman of New York.

The United Palestine Appeal informed the community leaders that it was prepared to submit all questions pertaining to a United Jewish Appeal to unrestricted arbitration.

"Such arbitration would be applied to all aspects of the relationship involved in a United Jewish Appeal," the U.P.A. said.

The following is the text of the statement issued today by the United Palestine Appeal:

"On April 17th, the United Palestine Appeal, responding to the expressed wish of many communities for the reconstitution of the United Jewish Appeal, offered to submit to unconditional arbitration with regard to the terms and provisions of an agreement reconstituting the United Jewish Appeal and with regard to all aspects of performance thereunder, such arbitration to be administered by impartial persons chosen jointly by the J.D.C. and U.P.A.

"This proposal, containing no reservation, was rejected by the Joint Distribution Committee.

"The occasion for the proposal was a meeting in New York City held at the invitation of three prominent members of as many Jewish communities. They were Messrs. Fred Butzel, Detroit, Louis Caplan, Pittsburgh and Irwin Spiegel, Newark.

"They met at the Hotel Commodore, on the afternoon of April 17th, with representatives of the United Palestine Appeal, including Rabbi James G. Heller, Cincinnati, and Messrs. Joel Gross, Newark, Harold Goldenberg, Minneapolis, Alex Lowenthal, Pittsburgh, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Rudolf G. Sonneborn and Herman L. Weisman, New York.

"The three community leaders asked whether the United Palestine Appeal would consider favorably the reconstitution of the United Jewish Appeal. The answer of the United Palestine Appeal was immediately and unequivocally in the affirmative.

"The United Palestine Appeal was then asked under what conditions it was prepared to see a reconstitution of the United Jewish Appeal. The reply of the United Palestine Appeal was that it was prepared to submit all questions pertaining to a United Jewish Appeal to unrestricted arbitration. Such arbitration would be applied to all aspects of the relationship involved in a United Jewish Appeal.

"The United Palestine Appeal was subsequently informed that the Joint Distribution Committee, with whom the three community leaders also met, was not prepared to agree to arbitration.

"In making this record public, the United Palestine Appeal calls attention to the fact that the latest attempt it made to bring about a United Jewish Appeal is in keeping with its consistent efforts since last December to bring in neutral and disinterested members of the American Jewish public in order to arbitrate all questions pertaining to the reconstitution of the United Jewish Appeal.

"The United Palestine Appeal respects the autonomous right of the Joint Distribution Committee to make such decisions as it chooses. But it believes it equally essential that the American Jewish community understand that the United Palestine Appeal permitted nothing to stand in the way of a reconstitution of the United Jewish Appeal, in accordance with the expressed wishes of the community."

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4/18/45

JDC EXPRESSES WILLINGNESS TO RENEW UJA; OFFERS FOUR ALTERNATIVE PROPOSALS

NEW YORK, April 20. (JTA) -- The Joint Distribution Committee, in a statement issued here today, announced that it is prepared at any time to renew the United Jewish Appeal for 1945, and disclosed that it has offered four alternative proposals as a basis for reconstitution of the UJA. The statement, which was issued by Joseph C. Hyman, JDC executive vice-chairman, reads as follows:

"On Tuesday, April 17th, a special committee representing the Inter-City Welfare Fund Committee to try to reconstitute the United Jewish Appeal, met with representatives of the JDC and separately with the representatives of the UJA, in order to facilitate the reconstitution of the United Jewish Appeal. The representatives of the JDC made four, alternative, specific proposals. We are officially advised that when these proposals of the JDC, made to the Reconstitution Committee of the Inter-City Welfare Fund group, were about to be presented to the United Palestine Appeal for consideration, the representatives of that organization refused to permit these proposals to be submitted in detail to them, but stated that they were interested only in whether the JDC accepted or rejected their proposal.

"The JDC has felt all along that the negotiations conducted since last November, have been carried on by both sides with seriousness and with an honest conviction that each party was representing the fundamental interest of Jewry both here and abroad. It is the firm belief of the JDC that no advantage is served by further attempts by one party to place blame upon the other for the failure of any of the negotiations. That question has nothing whatsoever to do with the essential, crucial problems that confront the communities and the various allocation committees. These are how to raise the maximum sum of money for all of the causes; to determine what moneys are needed now for the immediate rescue, relief and rehabilitation of the surviving Jews in war-torn Europe; and what sums are needed now for the upbuilding of Palestine.

"However, since publicity has been given to the UJA proposal for 'full arbitration' at the meeting held on Tuesday with the Inter-City Welfare Fund group, the JDC finds it necessary to inform the Jewish communities of its actual present offers for the immediate reconstitution of the United Jewish Appeal.

Offered to Arbitrate All Outstanding Problems

"The JDC has consistently offered to arbitrate the problems that remained outstanding and unresolved between the JDC and the UJA. In doing so, however, it insisted that there be taken into account the whole history of the negotiations, the agreements tentatively reached, and the action taken by various important Jewish bodies which had a definite bearing on the problem. That is what has been meant at all times by the JDC by its willingness to arbitrate the 'unresolved issues'.

"The proposals of the JDC, to which no reference is made in the statement of the United Palestine Appeal, were based on the proposition that the differences between the two agencies had in effect been both mediated and arbitrated; first mediated in Cincinnati and then arbitrated before the Allocations Committee of the New York United Jewish Appeal for that community. On the basis of the entire record of negotiations, mediation and arbitration, and against the background of all that had taken place since last Fall, the JDC now, in discussing these matters with Messrs. Fred Butzel, Louis Caplan and Irwin Spiegel of the Inter-City Welfare Fund group, stated that it was ready to accept any one of four formulae. The acceptance of any of these would mean

an immediate settlement of the long debated issues, instead of the inevitable delays, involvements and complications inherent in the UJA proposal. These were the four alternative offers made by the JDC:

"1. To reconstitute the 1945 United Jewish Appeal on exactly the same terms as the 1944 agreement, despite the obviously greater and more cruel need in Europe in 1945.

"2. To accept the recommendations of the Committee on Mediation appointed by the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds Board of Directors in Cincinnati, on February 11th, 1945. These were: (a) The first division of funds to be on seventeen and a half million dollars in the ratio of 60% to the JDC and 40% to the UJA; thereafter, all sums to be subject to the action of the UJA Allotment Committee; (b). The ceiling for the Jewish National Fund traditional collections to be \$1,000,000. (The JDC voluntarily agreed to raise this sum to \$1,100,000.) (c). The JDC to forego the special countervailing amount of \$600,000.

"3. To extend to the whole country and pro-rate on a national scale a formula equivalent to the findings of the Allocations Committee of the Greater New York United Jewish Appeal, viz., 57% to be turned over to the JDC and 43% to the UJA; a roof of \$300,000 to be placed over Jewish National Fund collections in that area; and the JDC to have the right to receive \$275,000 in earmarked contributions from Landsmanschaften.

"4. To accept the offer made by UJA representatives themselves, Dr. James G. Heller, Messrs. Rudolf G. Sonneborn and Henry Montor on various occasions, to divide the first \$25,000,000 raised in the UJA on the basis of 58% to the JDC and 42% to the UJA, with the JDC giving up the \$600,000 which it had received as an offset sum in view of the traditional collections of the Jewish National Fund. These are to be treated in all other respects as provided for in the 1944 Agreement.

"The JDC offered these proposals to the Reconstitution Committee in an endeavor to reach an immediate settlement and reorganization of the UJA without further delay in long drawn-out arbitration proceedings. This we believed would meet the strongly expressed wishes of the Jewish communities of this country.

"In view of these offers on the part of the JDC and in view of the statement issued by the UJA that 'the American Jewish community understands that the UJA permitted nothing to stand in the way of the UJA,' the JDC announces that it is prepared at any time to renew the United Jewish Appeal for 1945 upon the basis of any one of the foregoing proposals."

Mr. Hyman also stated that the JDC had agreed whole-heartedly to put at the disposal of the fact-finding committee of the Inter-City Welfare Fund group, all records, data and material of the JDC that might be requested by that Committee, which has been set up to determine the facts and needs of the various overseas agencies. A preliminary meeting has already been held with the fact-finding committee to work out the most effective procedures.

HOUSE COMMITTEE WILL OPEN HEARINGS ON POST-WAR IMMIGRATION NEXT WEEK

WASHINGTON, April 20. (JTA) -- The full House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization will hold its first public hearing Tuesday, April 24 on Rep. Samuel Dickstein's bill to study problems affecting post-war immigration into the United States.

Attorney General Francis Biddle and Immigration Commissioner Ugo Carusi will be the first witnesses to appear before the committee, it was announced today.

1945

NOT FOR PUBLICATION

THE DISSOLUTION of the **NATIONAL** **UNITED JEWISH APPEAL**

**STATEMENT SETTING FORTH REASONS
FOR DISSOLUTION**

On February 13, 1945, the Joint Distribution Committee was informed by the United Palestine Appeal that at a meeting of the UPA Executive Committee held February 12, it was voted not to renew the United Jewish Appeal for 1945

**THE AMERICAN JEWISH
JOINT DISTRIBUTION COMMITTEE, Inc.**

**270 Madison Avenue
New York 16, New York**

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THE AMERICAN JEWISH
JOINT DISTRIBUTION COMMITTEE, Inc.

270 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N.Y.

February 26, 1945

Dear Friend:

I enclose for your information a statement setting forth the reasons for the dissolution of the National United Jewish Appeal, together with the stenographic notes of the report of the committee of mediation of the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, held in Cincinnati, Ohio, February 10-11, 1945. You like all other thoughtful and generous friends must have been greatly disturbed by this dissolution. So, indeed, are we all troubled. Fortunately, in most Jewish communities and in Greater New York, fund-raising will continue as heretofore on a centralized local basis.

The JDC, UPA and NRS will now make application to the Allotment Committee of each Welfare Fund and to the United Jewish Appeal of Greater New York for such allocations as will enable them to continue their sacred tasks.

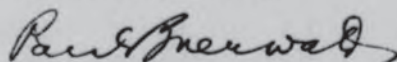
For thirty years American Jewry has supported the vital program of the JDC. Today ours is a responsibility unequalled in the whole history of our people. No possible effort on our part will be left undone to do justice to the distressing situation abroad and for which we now ask your support.

This is the immediate, important, practical situation.

Despite his many other community obligations, we have urged Rabbi Jonah B. Wise to serve as National Chairman of the JDC Campaign. I am happy to inform you that he has consented to assume this great responsibility. He will shortly announce the plans for the JDC national campaign.

The activities of the JDC are well known to all. It is grateful for the confidence and generosity demonstrated by its supporters—the Jews of America. We shall make every effort to continue to deserve that confidence and loyalty so vital to the survival of the lives of Jews and Jewish life overseas.

Sincerely yours,



Paul Baerwald
Chairman

PB:se

STATEMENT OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH JOINT DISTRIBUTION COMMITTEE

Re: Negotiations for 1945 National United Jewish Appeal

Dissolution United Jewish Appeal

On February 13, 1945, the Joint Distribution Committee was informed by the United Palestine Appeal that at a meeting of the UPA Executive Committee held February 12, it was voted not to renew the United Jewish Appeal for 1945. This dissolution of the United Jewish Appeal will be universally deplored, and leaves the JDC with no alternative other than to organize its own campaign and proceed immediately and vigorously with the task of mobilizing the Jews of America for the rescue and relief of our brethren in the war-torn countries.

JDC and Its Ever Increasing European Relief Problems



When the negotiations with the United Palestine Appeal started in November 1944 for the renewal of the United Jewish Appeal for 1945, the JDC carefully considered the position that it should take. With the liberation of many parts of Europe, hundreds of thousands of Jews came out of hiding; they came out of forced labor and death camps to find their homes occupied by others, their businesses looted, their jobs gone; without the means to buy their daily bread, without tools to work. Forced to live six and eight in a single room, they are becoming ravaged by disease.

Despairing appeals for immediate and large-scale aid came to the JDC in the last months of 1944 from the Jews of Poland, Roumania, France, Belgium, Greece, Bulgaria and other countries. Unprecedented sums are required to rescue the Jews still alive in the occupied countries. The appeals for help from the JDC aggregated over \$46,000,000, and every day brings a new cable from ruined Jewish communities pleading for aid to keep body and soul together.

Neither UNRRA nor governments have thus far responded in any substantial measure to these desperate calls, and it is obvious

that it will take many weary months before such public assistance will be made available. Furthermore, many tens of thousands of Jews will not be eligible for aid under the UNRRA agreement, and therefore must rely on the JDC. Thus, at the supreme moment of their liberation, the Jews who survived the murderous fury of Nazis and Fascists find themselves doomed to starvation, illness and death, unless help comes quickly and substantially from the Jews of America.

JDC Accepts Same Basis as 1944

These and other facts, headlined daily in the press and too numerous to recite at this time, made it obvious that in the year 1945, the JDC had every reason to request a substantially larger share of the UJA than it received in 1944 for this life-saving work; and that the percentage division of the first distribution of the funds made available to the UJA by the Jews of America should be modified in favor of the larger, immediate needs of the suffering Jews of Europe. At the same time, however, we realized that any request on our part for a substantially larger share than last year would only prolong negotiations to the detriment of an effective campaign. We did not propose to protract these discussions by coming into the negotiations with any bargaining offer.

Further, because we were convinced that the country desired a United Jewish Appeal on an enlarged scale of giving and with a maximum quota to meet the increased needs of both organizations, we agreed to present our concessions immediately and so stated at the first meeting with the UPA, indicating that we were ready to accept the same basis as in 1944, viz., a 60% to 40% arrangement on the initial distribution.

"Traditional" Collections of The Jewish National Fund

With reference to the "traditional" collections of the Jewish National Fund, we pointed to the long history of complaints and dissatisfaction existing throughout the country as a result of the separate and competitive campaign activities of the JNF. We felt that a partner in the UJA had no right to undertake and maintain any such competitive fund-raising. We were prepared to have the

JNF continue the truly "traditional" collections on which it had been engaged for many years, but we objected to the fund-raising apparatus which cost \$200,000 to maintain and to such extensive campaign devices as dinners, special contributions for the purchase of land and the like, which under no circumstances could be considered as "traditional" with the JNF. We therefore took the position that the effort, zeal and enthusiasm of the JNF should be placed behind a truly concerted UJA and all the proceeds of the JNF should become a part of the income of the UJA. The logic in this position was evidenced by the fact that the two major partners in the United Palestine Appeal shared equally in the proceeds of the special fund-raising activities of the JNF, so that in fact the contributions made by individuals and groups to these "traditional" collections were divided between Keren Kayemeth and Keren Hayesod.

UPA Proposal

The UPA presented the following proposals: that the division of the initial funds be on a 50/50 basis; and that the JNF be permitted to raise funds in separate campaigns without any ceiling on their collections. Further, that the JDC forego the \$600,000 which in 1944 had been given to the JDC as a countervailing amount for the JNF collections. We stated that these proposals were not acceptable to the JDC; that their net effect would be to diminish the sums available to meet the vastly increased needs of suffering Jewry in war-torn Europe. Thereafter, no real progress was made for a number of weeks.

Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds Prepared to Mediate

Thereupon, the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds suggested that it would be prepared to mediate the differences between the JDC and UPA. This offer of mediation was accepted by both the JDC and UPA. At a meeting of the mediators, the JDC and the UPA, held on January 25, 1945, the JDC stated that it was prepared to proceed on the exact terms of the agreement of 1944. This offer was rejected by the UPA. Unfortunately, the efforts of this Committee on Mediation met with no success.

Subsequently, at the request of the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, representatives of the JDC and UPA met again. At this meeting, held on January 30, 1945, the UPA presented the following proposals:

1. That there be an initial allotment of \$10,000,000, distributed 60% to the JDC and 40% to the UPA; the balance to be distributed by an allotment committee.
2. That the JNF be permitted to raise funds with a limit placed at \$1,100,000, the JDC to forego the \$600,000; or
3. Alternatively, that the first \$25,000,000 be distributed on the basis of 58% to the JDC and 42% to the UPA, with the same provision for the JNF as in #2 above.

The JDC pointed out that these proposals were inadequate to meet the requirements for 1945—the year of greatest need—and that, under any circumstances, the JDC required at least the same distribution in 1945 as had obtained in 1944. Thereafter, the JDC proposed that there be an initial distribution of \$25,000,000 on the basis of 60% to 40%; that the ceiling of the JNF be \$900,000; and that the JDC forego the initial countervailing allotment of \$600,000.

This proposal of the JDC was considered at a meeting of the Executive Committee of the UPA on Monday, February 5th. At the close of the meeting, the UPA informed the JDC by telephone that the UPA had rejected the JDC proposals and had decided to launch a separate campaign.

Representatives of UPA and JDC Asked to Meet With Council in Cincinnati

When the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds was informed of the UPA decision, it requested both organizations to refrain from making any public announcement and asked that representatives of the JDC and UPA meet with a committee of the Council in Cincinnati on the week-end of February 10th and 11th at the regular annual Board meeting of the Council.

Recommendations of the Committee of the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds

In Cincinnati, a Committee of Mediation appointed by the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds presented to the representatives of the JDC and UPA the following compromise proposal:

1. The first division of funds to be \$17,500,000 in the ratio of 60% to the JDC and 40% to the UPA: thereafter all sums subject to the action of the UJA Allotment Committee;
2. The ceiling for the JNF traditional collections to be \$1,000,000;
3. The JDC to forego the countervailing amount of \$600,000.

JDC Accepts Recommendations of Council

The representatives of the JDC stated that they were empowered to act and therefore accepted this proposal for the JDC. And also, solely as an indication of their desire to remove anything that might jeopardize the continuation of the UJA, the JDC was prepared to permit the ceiling on the traditional funds of the JNF to be raised to \$1,100,000.

UPA Rejects Proposal of the Committee of Mediation Appointed by the Council

The representatives of the UPA throughout the discussion stated that they were not empowered to accept or reject these or any other proposals but that they would transmit them to a meeting of the Executive Committee of the UPA to be called on February 12th. The chairman of the Committee on Mediation of the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds submitted the above report on behalf of that committee to the Board of Directors of the Council on Sunday, February 11th. He stated that the Chairman of the UPA, in presenting the reasons for the decision of the UPA to conduct an independent campaign, had considered the advantages and disadvantages in a United Jewish Appeal; that it was increasingly felt by the UPA that the disadvantages outweighed the advantages; that in this respect the main consideration was that speakers in behalf of Palestine were prevented by the nature of the UJA from pre-

senting the case for Palestine on a 100% basis; and that while the matter of percentages was important, the difference in relative percentages involved was of lesser importance. (See Stenographic Report of William J. Shroder on behalf of the Committee of Mediation, in the pages following.)

On February 13th, the UPA informed the JDC that the Executive Committee of the UPA had rejected the proposal of the Committee of Mediation appointed by the Council and the UPA announced to the country its decision to conduct a separate campaign.

JDC and the American Jewish Communities

The JDC has made every reasonable effort to continue the fund-raising activities of the United Jewish Appeal. In view of the unparalleled tragedy engulfing the Jews of Europe, we could certainly go no further than to suggest a renewal of the exact agreement of last year—a "same as" arrangement in a "more than" year for the emergency tasks of rescue and relief for devastated Jewish life in Europe.

In view of the dissolution of the national United Jewish Appeal which has served so long and so well, the communities of the United States as a national fund-raising medium, and which has enabled the constituent agencies to bring so large a measure of help to our brethren overseas and to refugees here, the JDC must now go forward itself in a national appeal to the American Jewish communities to raise the sums necessary to meet the needs of suffering Jewry in Europe. In this process the JDC will rely now, as in the past, on the Welfare Funds in organized communities and on the United Jewish Appeal of Greater New York, as well as on central local fund-raising campaigns in other communities. We can only hope that the Jews of this country will continue to contribute as liberally as possible to the organizations which until now constituted the national United Jewish Appeal.

The time grows short; the misery overseas mounts; the immediate, generous response of American Jewry is vital and imperative. The Jews of Europe first must be rescued, fed, clothed, housed, healed, while plans for their readjustment, rehabilitation or resettlement are developed. The immediate central factor in Jewish life today is Jewish survival. To this the JDC is dedicated with all its energies and devotion.

STENOGRAPHIC REPORT OF WILLIAM J. SHRODER ON BEHALF OF THE COMMITTEE OF MEDIATION

(to mediate differences between JDC and UPA)

APPOINTED BY THE COUNCIL OF JEWISH FEDERATIONS AND WELFARE FUNDS HELD IN CINCINNATI, OHIO, FEBRUARY 10-11, 1945

MR. SHRODER: It has been suggested at this time that I report to you on the negotiations of the United Palestine Appeal and the Joint Distribution Committee and their results.

Your Committee consisting of the Chairman, Mr. Shiman and Mr. Bettmann, together with the President of your organization and our Executive Director, Mr. Lurie, met with representatives of the two organizations at luncheon yesterday and for a period after luncheon, and met again for dinner yesterday evening and until half past eleven last night. The result of the negotiations is apparently an impasse.

Your Committee recommended consideration by the two agencies of what we considered a fair compromise. The terms were—\$17,500,000 for the original allotment, to be divided on a 60-40 basis; the balance to be subject to allotment by the Allotment Committee; the \$600,000 drawback from the JNF to be abandoned—no drawback; and the ceiling on JNF at \$1,100,000.

These terms are acceptable to the Joint Distribution Committee, but were not acceptable to the United Palestine Appeal.

MR. SHIMAN: Out of the first sums allocated \$600,000 went to JDC in 1944, without any comparable sum going to UPA.

MR. SHRODER: It is a bookkeeping item. At any rate JDC was to get \$600,000. That is what we call a drawback. It is entirely outside the 60-40 division. There is no compensating amount for that \$600,000. It was the recommendation of your Committee that that should be abandoned. In other words, it was going to cost on a differential \$240,000.

The United Palestine Appeal representatives, while they had very little hope of it being accepted, said they would submit these terms to the Executive Committee without recommendation for consideration by the Executive Committee of the UPA.

There is considerable background discussion which I think the Board ought to know, because I think they ought to know some of the influences that entered into the picture.

The United Palestine Appeal representatives, who of course were speaking for themselves and not for their organization, felt that the monetary considerations were not the most important considerations to them. They felt that the present set-up, because of the necessity in a United Jewish Appeal of compelling speakers for the Appeal to stay on neutral ground, as far as comparative values within the Appeal were concerned—if I am not stating it correctly—

MR. MONTOR: It was an affirmative statement of the position. I don't want to introduce the elements of invidious comparisons which I thought might be drawn from your observations.

MR. SHRODER: I did not mean to imply that the United Palestine Appeal wanted to make invidious comparisons. I wanted the meeting to know of the thinking of the United Palestine Appeal, which was that this arrangement prevented them from, because of the restrictions due to the fact that it was a united appeal, prevented them from making 100 percent use of their campaign in an educational process on the values and comparative values of the Palestine development in the entire world Jewish picture. And for that reason they felt they would be happier in an independent campaign where there were no restrictions whatsoever on their complete exposition of the world situation and its effect on Palestine. So that to them the dollars and cents provision was not the matter of extreme importance, although they might be governed by it and it would have an influence.

It was the opinion that the past relationship had not been a happy one. I think that opinion was shared more or less by both organizations. There were several years in which it was abandoned, since it was begun in 1930. And each year, by the protracted negotiations and the situations that developed, it was apparent that the marriage was not one of complete happiness but rather one of mutual concession and some irritation. And they felt that they would be happier outside of this united campaign.

That is the substance. I think that each side is sincere in its position. I think the JDC, in its acceptance of the Committee's proposition—in fact, they did a little more than accept the Committee's proposition, because the original Committee's proposition is for a million-dollar ceiling and JDC volunteered to make it what it was before, a \$1,100,000. I think JDC felt that it would go as far as it could to keep the thing alive, but it couldn't go as far as the United Palestine Appeal wished them to go, to make the proposition in any way desirable to the United Jewish Appeal.

The United Palestine Appeal stated that they had given consideration and had weighed very carefully the effect of the independent campaigns, the effect on the welfare funds, the effect on their own situation, and that they had felt, in balancing the evils involved in the situation, that they were compelled to discontinue in the United Jewish Appeal.

[1945]

THE DIVISION OF FUNDS
BETWEEN U.P.A. AND J.D.C.
IN 1945



Introduction

Between 1939 and 1944 the United Palestine Appeal and Joint Distribution Committee derived their support through the United Jewish Appeal for Refugees, Overseas Needs and Palestine. Agreements for one-year periods were concluded to provide a formula for apportioning the proceeds of the national combined appeal.

In the absence of such an agreement for 1945, each Jewish community in the United States needs to devise its own pattern of distribution.

I. Experience Has Shown That Unequal Initial Allocations to J.D.C. and U.P.A. are Impracticable and Unfair.

A. Each year since 1939 an Allocations Committee held U.P.A. entitled to more than the percentage originally fixed by agreement.

Palestine's record is clear. It has saved more Jewish lives than any other country in the world. Despite great differences in the scope and purpose of the work conducted by U.P.A. and J.D.C. their operations are in a great sense complementary. We will comment elsewhere on the lack of reality to the process of a percentage evaluation of the needs of these agencies on the basis of papers, figures, budgets and contentions concerning conditions and opportunities for helping Jews in Europe and in Palestine. This section will be confined to a description of the effects of this rather mechanical percentage approach.

Since the formation of the U.J.A. in 1939 there was a series of yearly agreements assigning specific percentages to the J.D.C. and U.P.A. respectively, of a stated portion of the current campaign with an agreement that an Allocations Committee would have it in its sole discretion to decide how to divide the balance. Each year the original percentage assigned to U.P.A. was junior to that of J.D.C. Each year in this period, and to an increasing degree as years went by, the net result of the Allocations Committee deliberations and conclusions increased the percentage of the U.P.A.

The theory of these agreements—which made it mandatory for a machinery equivalent to arbitration to come into operation each

year—was that an Allocations Committee is needed to correct the inequity of the unequal percentage first agreed upon. In short the tension and friction involved in any arbitration was crystallized as an inevitable feature, a characteristic, of agreements between the J.D.C. and U.P.A. This happened because it was never possible to have a meeting of the minds in the first instance concerning the just share of each agency. We will comment subsequently upon the effects of this habitual and litigious arbitration. Here it will suffice to point out that even against the inertia which such process builds and notwithstanding the greater burden of proof which such circumstances throw upon the agency agreeing in the earlier part of the same year to the smaller percentage, the U.P.A. has been deemed entitled to an increasing overall percentage, which grew from 33 1/3% in 1939 to 42.2% in 1944.

There can be no doubt that this result was primarily due to the influence of these yearly arbitrations in favor of the U.P.A.

B. The initial unequal percentage artificially circumscribed the independent judgment of the Allocations Committee in the period between 1939-1944.

The yearly agreements under discussion reflected an effort in the clauses defining the powers of the Allocations Committee to make it as plain as possible that this Committee was to have "sole and exclusive discretion", that it was to exercise independent judgment, that the original disparity in percentage was not to be given evidentiary weight. Nevertheless it is a matter of record that year in and year out J.D.C. considered it right to urge that the Allocations Committee should take into account the fact that the U.P.A. had agreed to a stated percentage less than that of J.D.C. and that this consent must stand as a measure of self-appraisal by U.P.A. of its needs for that year.

It is, of course, not possible to gauge the practical weight which the Allocations Committee in any given year gave to this contention. In the earlier years the decisions show only a slight percentage increase to U.P.A. while in recent years the Allocations Committee granted more substantial increases. Thus, in 1942 the Allocations Committee divided an additional sum in excess of \$4,000,000 on the basis of 38% to U.P.A. and 62% to J.D.C., while in 1943 the sum of \$6,400,000 was divided on the basis of 45% to U.P.A. and 55% to J.D.C. *In 1944 the Allocations Committee, in dividing \$10,000,000, granted 47.67% to U.P.A. and 52.33% to J.D.C.*

For all intents and purposes such decisions in recent years constitute unmistakable proof that U.P.A. was overly conservative, overly anxious to preserve contractual relations with the J.D.C. in agreeing to an original unequal percentage which the Allocations Committee was compelled, as a matter of justice, to correct in a substantial manner. Indeed it seems valid to infer concerning 1943 and 1944 that but for the shadow cast by the disparate formula upon the deliberations of the Allocations Committee their quasi-judicial finding would have been parity or better so far as the U.P.A. is concerned.

C. Despite the upward curve towards parity in terms of increased percentage, J.D.C. maintained its advantage to a substantial degree.

It is misleading to refer merely to increased percentage without taking other variables into account. The most important variable is the steady and noteworthy increase year after year of the total proceeds of the national United Jewish Appeal available to both agencies. For example, the total in round figures for 1941 was \$9,780,000; this increased in 1942 to \$11,200,000, to \$16,000,000 in 1943 and in 1944 the amount thus far divided between them is \$24,000,000.

Another variable is the changing base on which the original unequal percentages are computed. Without going into many statistical details, it is a fact that decisions by annual Allocations Committees increasing the share of U.P.A. over its percentage in the original distribution had a much lesser effect upon its share on an overall basis. Thus:

	<i>Original U.P.A. Percentage Increased</i>	
	<i>In Allocations</i>	
	<i>Committee</i>	<i>In Overall</i>
	<i>Distribution by:</i>	<i>Distribution by:</i>
1941	1.42	.34
1942	1.73	.63
1943	8.68	5.05
1944	7.67	2.20

This comparison is in relative terms but is nonetheless meaningful without disregarding the fact that the U.P.A. and J.D.C. have in recent years benefitted in a magnificent way from the increased generosity of American Jewry,—magnificently and yet unfortunately not quite in proportion to the increased needs for relief and for the rehabilitation program represented by the single word Palestine.

D. The unequal initial allocations between J.D.C. and U.P.A. place an undesirable strain upon the American Jewish community.

Each year the Allocations Committee made an attempt to correct the inequity of the original percentage. This yearly arbitration was not the unanticipated result of unforeseeable developments during the year. On the contrary, the annual controversy about allocations was not only foreseeable but invited by the very terms of the so-called agreement. Under this system it was inevitable that the greater recipient should strive for *status quo* while the other partner should endeavor to rectify this demonstrated inequity by equalizing the percentages named in the agreement in the first instance. This is well known throughout the American community. There was annual strain and anxiety for a period of months concerning the status of a united campaign. This unhealthy condition stems directly from an obstinate failure to recognize that Palestine as a cause for rescue, relief and rehabilitation and the upbuilding of the homeland of the Jewish people cannot be subordinated to any other Jewish cause in the world.

II. Parity Between U.P.A. and J.D.C. in 1945 Is Sound and Equitable Policy on the Basis of Known Needs and Opportunities.

A. Preliminary note: The Yishuv already integrated within the economic structure of Palestine is not dependent on outside financial assistance.

Palestine's desperate need for our assistance arises from the dynamics of rehabilitation and permanent settlement of the greatest possible number of Jews within its borders; from the need to maintain an agriculture in economic balance with industrial and urban development in a society which is constantly expanding; from the need to strengthen and extend the instruments for the attainment of economic self-sufficiency, security and freedom so that all the Jews who come may as quickly as possible become part of this Yishuv which stands on its own resources and achievements. If American Jewry's help has contributed to the emergence of such a Yishuv—as it most certainly has—then American Jewry may indeed well be proud of having a share in the creation of a Palestinian Jewry which has learned

"To look up and not down
 To look forward and not back
 To look out and not in—and
 To lend a hand."

B. Denial of parity to U.P.A. would severely prejudice the conservatively formulated budget for Palestine needs.

(1) The net budgetary requirements of Palestine in the year 5705.

Schedule 2 attached to this memorandum, reveals the net budgetary requirements of Palestine for the year 5705. It will be noted that this tabulation shows reliance upon American Jewry to provide a total sum for this year (including Jewish National Fund traditional collections) of some \$27,000,000. This is a figure reached after eliminating revenues from sources outside the United States.

From still another point of view the budget as presented is so conservative as to become unrealistic in the light of virtually the same probabilities which justify belief that ordinary relief work in Europe will be possible on a larger scale than at any previous time during the war.

Since the war Palestine has received a total of 60,000 Jews of which some 8,000 were children and youths. During the period when the greatest transportation difficulties exist *Palestine is still receiving more Jews than any other country.*

The budget for the current year *does not reflect the very likely and probable acceleration of immigration in Palestine during the course of the year.* Without going into all the ramifications of this aspect of the problem it will suffice to focus attention upon the plans relating to refugee children in Europe.

The Jewish Agency has plans, not reflected in the budget, which will become operative when any significant fraction of Jewish orphans is permitted to come to Palestine. In France alone there are 15,000 Jewish orphans. To provide for 20,000 additional children and youths, as Palestine may well be called upon to do in the year 1945, will require an additional \$12,000,000 not reflected in the budget. Without going further it should be realized that the budget was not prepared in the mood of projecting every conceivable development and expenditure. If this were done even in relation to probabilities as evaluated by trained observers and men of good

judgment, the figure would be too staggering, altogether beyond goals contemplated for this year's campaigns.

Our appeal for parity as the soundest policy possible is not derived from any attempt to match estimates with anybody; it has its foundations in measured actual needs of 26 million dollars in relation to a reasonable expectancy that total U. S. collections in 1945 may reach some \$45,000,000.

The 1945 Campaign of the United Palestine Appeal, which receives its support through local community drives, places a historic challenge squarely before the Jews of America. The great opportunity for salvaging the remnants of our people is at hand. *To us in this year of decision has been given the grave responsibility of determining whether the surviving Jews shall continue to live in fear and pauperization in the shambles of Europe or whether they shall have an opportunity of sharing in the realization of the ideals of peace and security in the Jewish National Home in Palestine.*

Vanguard of Rescue and Relief

Throughout the years of destruction the Jews of Palestine were in the vanguard of rescue and relief action in behalf of their brothers in Hitler Europe. Their daring and courage in the conception and execution of rescue plans brought about the escape of large numbers from enemy-occupied territory. With the help of a network of underground emissaries, some of whom parachuted to Nazi-held countries, the Jewish Agency for Palestine carried on wide relief and rescue activities that saved many thousands from mass execution. It was through the instrumentality of the Jewish Agency for Palestine that assistance was brought to Jews under Nazi domination in the Balkans. Because it was so close to the tragedy, because it represented a strong and fearless spirit, Palestine Jewry was a primary force in the salvation of large sections of the Jewish people. Those who could be gotten out were guided to Palestine. Those who failed to escape were provided with hiding centers, food, clothing, and identity papers. Others were helped to cross borders into more sympathetic countries.

There is an alarming residue of anti-Semitism in the liberated countries even in such traditionally enlightened lands as France and Belgium. The Jews of Europe must regain their rights and proper safeguards must be established by the United Nations to make possible their reintegration into European life on a level of equality with all other citizens. *But we must not have any share in a forced return. We cannot ask Jews to go back unless they are prepared to do so willingly.*

And thousands and hundreds of thousands do not want to go back. For them the road back is the road to continued anxiety, hatred, and insecurity. They must be gotten out of the ruins of a blood-soaked continent. It is an emergent problem fraught with many dangers for the survival of Judaism as well as individual Jews. Alarming reports have come out of Italy, the Balkans, and France. There have been too many examples of the use of the "back door" to safety. Many Jews who lived as Christians to escape the Nazis have refused to return to the fold after liberation. They have gone into permanent hiding to shield their children from the upheavals of the future. That is why the Jewish National Home in Palestine, which saved more Jews than the rest of the world combined during the years of the Hitler scourge, now stands as the only rock of hope for the vast majority of the surviving Jews of Europe.

Fighting for the Future

Every Jew in Europe is fighting for the future. The fight for survival goes on even after liberation. And in that fight the Jews of Palestine are in the forefront, carrying aloft the banner of courage, of hope, of rescue and revival. They are fighting for a future that will shut out for all time the horrible memories of the tragic past, of the mass graves of Maidanek, Tremblinka and Krakow that contain the mangled bodies of our martyred millions. They're fighting for a future that will be new—new and free from misery—new and free from homelessness—new and free from the poisons of anti-Semitism that no armistice and no peace treaty can root out of the hate-ridden continent of Europe.

American Jews are called upon to support every phase of up-building in the Jewish National Home through the instrumentality of the United Palestine Appeal.

The more than 600,000 Jews of Palestine represent the second largest free Jewish community in the world. All their sacrifices, all their labors are bound up with the paramount desire to bring about the salvation of their brothers in Europe. *The world recognizes that the pioneers of Palestine have built well, that they have laid the foundation for the Jewish National Home, that they have given new dignity, new pride to Jews everywhere, that they have revived the great creative forces in Jewish life. Today as the Jewish people, sadly reduced in numbers by unparalleled oppression, stand on the threshold of the new world, Palestine holds the key to their future destiny. We in America have the momentous responsibility of building that future so that Jews shall never be homeless again. The reconstruction of the people of Israel in the Land of Israel is the task of the United Palestine Appeal.*

(2) Land as the Foundation for Settlement.

It will serve no useful purpose in this memorandum to attempt a condensation of the budgetary analysis, provided in another volume issued by the U.P.A. The full gamut—the planning, building and purposes—of the Palestine enterprise is there described.

It is perhaps especially pertinent briefly to set forth here some underlying consideration of the Jewish National Fund budget for 5705.

The J.N.F. budget for 5705 (Schedule 1 of the attached Appendix) sets up \$12,332,250 for land purchase which constitutes 2/3 of its entire budget but it is of special interest that land to the account of the \$3,215,700 or over 27% of this amount is required for housing purposes on rural and urban land. This huge housing project of J.N.F. is directly related to current needs of caring for recent arrivals.

It is an historic truth, not often appreciated even in Jewish circles, that the back-to-the-land movement of the Jewish people through the J.N.F. involves a burden which no other people on earth ever carried, namely to purchase every foot of the land to which they return, to which they are deemed entitled to return as a matter of international law. And yet even after some forty years of effort, the Jews, now constituting over one-third of the population, possess only 7% of the land. And this land-poverty, if permitted to continue, will have very dire consequences in relation to future settlement of Jewish entrants into Palestine.

Land acquisition is now beset with legal as well as economic difficulties. Without additional land it will be impossible to build agricultural settlements at the required pace. Without additional land in the urban regions it will be impossible to provide the housing for the returning soldiers, the workers, the small farmers and merchants. In effect the function of the J.N.F. is to translate blueprints into actualities through land purchases.

It is not too much to say that by the extent to which the J.N.F. is allowed to operate now on a maximum basis, the future of the Jewish National Home in the post-war era is being determined.

III. Parity in 1945 Is Consistent With Achieving Maximum Help for the Jewish People.

A. By putting relief needed today in Europe on a plane of equality with rehabilitation in Palestine, no injury to Jewish interests results.

Most sensible people will agree that the needs of the European remnant of Jewry are so comprehensive that no private charitable organization could marshal resources on the vast scale required to meet unprecedented privation and actual pauperism. It must be obvious to all familiar with the situation that the laboring oar for relief in Europe must soon be assumed by governments, provisional governments and inter-governmental agencies.

Even so, most sensible people will also agree, as does indeed the U.P.A., that J.D.C. must be enabled to carry on under present conditions to a degree greater than ever before. The record of American Jewry and Jews the world over to organize and administer self-help is well known and must be extended and deepened in the present emergency. If J.D.C. is enabled to continue this record by putting at its disposal funds greater than in previous years, this record of Jews for responsiveness to the needs of their own people will be preserved.

A 50-50 division of 1945 proceeds between J.D.C. and U.P.A. will not in the least impair Jewry's record to help its own in time of dire need and will not in the least prevent J.D.C. from administering funds greater than those ever before at its disposal.

B. If U.P.A. is denied adequate financial support in 1945 the cause of Palestine is definitely in danger of being seriously prejudiced.

At this late and crucial hour in the history of Jewish survival it is not too much to ask that American Jewry place Palestine before the general American public in terms of the widest possible moral and financial support. Even more important is it for American Jewry to impress and convince—by conduct and practical policy as distinguished from pleas and dialectics—the governments of the U. S., Great Britain and the other allied nations, the heads of governments and governmental officials, that loyalty to the permanent rehabilitation and security of Jews in Palestine is a predominant factor in American Jewish life.

What group of Jews—surely none who can influence the policy of distributing local funds—will take it upon their conscience to hinder, interfere or prejudice such development by depriving U.P.A. of adequate funds? Why should anyone wish to furnish fuel to Jewish foes to argue that Palestine has not been deemed important enough by American Jewry to be given the full support it needs in the crucial year of 1945?

This is the fateful year. The shackles of oppression have been broken. The avalanche of destruction has been almost completely halted. The battlegrounds of Europe are soaked with the blood of our brothers and their bones are mingled with the ashes and rubble of a devastated continent. Reports from the liberated areas in the Balkans—in Rumania, Hungary, and Bulgaria—indicate that 80% of the Jews who remain in that territory regard immediate settlement in Palestine as their only hope for the future. In Western Europe too—in France, Belgium, and Holland—a large proportion of the survivors are pleading for reconstruction through emigration to and settlement in Palestine. Our major concern at this crucial time is the fate of 100,000 Jewish children. Most of them are orphans of the Nazi death camps. They represent the future destiny of the people of Israel.

What do the Jews of Europe ask of us? What is our share of the responsibility in their fight for a future? *The overwhelming majority of those who survive ask that we help them find a permanent home in Palestine. They ask that we see to it that they shall never be homeless again. The enemy is gone. But the residue of his destruction and hate remains. For most of them there is no road back. Only Palestine holds out the hope for their restoration to normal life and freedom.*

That is why the campaign of the United Palestine Appeal this year represents a major challenge to the Jews of the United States. American Jewry's generosity must reach new heights in order to enable Palestine to fulfill its destiny.

Respectfully submitted,

UNITED PALESTINE APPEAL

By: HERMAN L. WEISMAN,
Chairman, National Campaign Committee.

APPENDIX

SHOWING BUDGETARY REQUIREMENTS OF UNITED PALESTINE APPEAL AGENCIES

Schedule I

5705 BUDGET

I.

JEWISH AGENCY AND PALESTINE FOUNDATION FUND (KEREN HAYESOD)—JERUSALEM

Immigration, Housing of and Relief to Refugees	\$ 4,718,250
Agricultural Settlement	5,580,900
Labor Department	546,750
Aid to Trade and Industry and Investments	1,786,050
Education and Culture	526,500
National Organization and Security	2,025,000
Religious Affairs and Grants to Institutions	247,050
Interest	100,000
Loan Service	467,000
Administrative Expense	279,450
Reserve	307,800
	\$16,584,750
	\$16,584,750

II.

JEWISH NATIONAL FUND (KEREN KAYEMETH)—JERUSALEM

Land Purchase	\$12,332,250
Development, Maintenance, etc.	1,085,400
Afforestation	115,830
Interest	522,450
Loan Service	3,248,812
Administrative Expenses	424,942
	\$17,729,684
	\$17,729,684

Schedule 2

UNITED PALESTINE APPEAL, INC. AND CONSTITUENT AGENCIES BUDGET 5705

United Palestine Appeal and constituent agencies in New York (per Schedule 3)	\$ 1,048,362*
Jewish Agency and Keren Hayesod, Jerusalem (per Schedule 1)	16,584,750
Keren Kayemeth, Jerusalem (per Schedule 1)	17,729,684
	<hr/>
Total Budget United Palestine Appeal and Constituent Agencies	\$35,362,796
	<hr/> <hr/>

ESTIMATE OF INCOME

Jewish Agency and Keren Hayesod (Jerusalem) from sources outside of U.S.A. (Based on 5704 figures)	\$ 5,947,000
Keren Kayemeth (Jerusalem) from sources outside of U.S.A. (Based on 5704 figures)	3,003,000
	<hr/>
Total from sources outside of U.S.A.	8,950,000
Required from U.S.A.	26,412,800
	<hr/>
	\$35,362,800
	<hr/> <hr/>

* Represents 1944 Expenditures, during which year there was a joint campaign.

Schedule 3

UNITED PALESTINE APPEAL AND CONSTITUENT AGENCIES (Expenses in U. S. A. in 1944)

The U.P.A. spent in 1944 for

Administrative Expenses	\$ 86,048
Community Service Expenses	80,437

GRANTS IN 1944:

Mizrachi Palestine Fund	250,000*
American Friends of Hebrew University	30,000

APPROPRIATIONS TO OTHER ORGANIZATIONS:

Zionist Organization of America	54,000
Mizrachi Organization of America	9,800
Poale Zion—Zeire Zion of America	9,800
Hashomer Hatzair of America	1,200

In addition, the constituent agencies of the U.P.A., namely, the Palestine Foundation Fund, Inc., N. Y., and the Jewish National Fund, Inc., N. Y., paid in 1944 for expenses incurred on behalf of Palestine agencies 126,722

THE FOLLOWING EXPENDITURES ARE TO BE ADDED:

(a) Administrative Expenses of the Palestine Foundation Fund, Inc., N. Y.**	13,355
(b) Appropriation of Palestine Foundation Fund, Inc., N. Y. to the Commission on Palestine Survey	25,000
(c) Payments by Palestine Foundation Fund and Jewish National Fund on account of appropriation to the American Zionist Emergency Council	362,000

Total	<u>\$1,048,362</u>
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While the budgets for 1945 of the U.P.A. and its constituent agencies in New York are at present under consideration, there is no doubt that their total for 1945 will not fall short of the amount spent in 1944.

* The grant to the Mizrachi Organization has been increased to \$400,000 for 1945.

** The administrative expense in 1944 of the Jewish National Fund, Inc., N. Y., is not covered by U.P.A. funds, but from the traditional collections of the J.N.F.

[1945]

WHAT REALLY HAPPENED

WRHS



WHAT REALLY HAPPENED

The Story Behind the Dissolution of the United Jewish Appeal

BECAUSE of misunderstanding and misrepresentation of the position of the United Palestine Appeal in regard to the dissolution of the United Jewish Appeal, it finds itself compelled to open the record of the actual facts. From the very beginning the U.P.A. took the position that acrimonious exchanges as to responsibility for the dissolution would benefit no organization but would, on the contrary, divert attention from the basic and urgent requirements of our people, to whom the United Palestine Appeal and Joint Distribution Committee are ministering.

On February 15, 1945, Rabbi James G. Heller, National Chairman of the United Palestine Appeal, issued a brief statement announcing that the U.P.A. was to conduct a separate campaign. He said: "Statements concerning the reasons for the dissolution of the United Jewish Appeal can serve no useful purpose in this period of high destiny for the Jewish people."

It was taken for granted that the American Jewish public would understand that Rabbi Heller was animated by the desire to avoid controversy and to accentuate the needs of the Jewish people. The U.P.A. then found that Rabbi Heller's statement, intended to be conciliatory, had been misunderstood or deliberately misconstrued as a confession of culpability for the dissolution of the United Jewish Appeal. There was a feeling among some that the U.P.A. had a responsibility to the Jewish public to announce all the facts that entered into the decision it was forced to make. Failure to do so was regarded by some as an unfair avoidance of responsibility to the contributing public.

If the U.P.A. on February 15 issued a statement of its own and kept it to a bare announcement, it was because the Joint Distribution Committee had declined to share in a joint statement with the U.P.A. That suggestion had come from Daniel Shiman, of Newark, in the thought that a joint statement would at least reduce the elements of acrimony, even though it would not allay the widespread regret at the dissolution of the United Jewish Appeal. The J.D.C. issued its own statement and explanation, placing responsibility for the dissolution at the doors of the U.P.A.

Subsequently the U.P.A. issued a statement on its campaign. It did not make counter-charges. It felt that the cause of the United Palestine Appeal—the rebuilding of the Jewish National Home in Palestine and the assurance of the survival of the Jewish people of Europe—was too sacred to be submitted to the cross-fire of campaign recriminations. Later the Joint Distribution Committee issued a pamphlet, entitled "The Dissolution of the National United Jewish Appeal." It purported to "set forth reasons for dissolution." It was given the widest possible circulation.

And still the U.P.A. did not enter into any controversial exchanges. It adhered to an affirmative presentation of the needs, the prospects, the achievements in saving the life of the Jewish people through preparing Palestine for the remnants who survived Hitlerism. But in the past few weeks evidence has indicated that the high-minded attitude of the United Palestine Appeal has not been understood by its friends, who felt that the dissolution of the United Jewish Appeal has caused anxiety among American Jews and who believed that the United Palestine Appeal ought to make it clear, through quotations from the actual records and not from garbled partisan explanations, that its attitude from the very beginning has been one of which American Jewry has every right to know.

It is inevitable that with the dissolution of the United Jewish Appeal its former constituents should endeavor to retain the generous support of American Jewry. This has resulted in the issuance of a substantial volume of literature. The U.P.A. is thoroughly aware of the feeling of contributors that their funds should be reserved to the maximum degree for the purposes intended by their generosity. But the U.P.A. would be unfair in injurious degree to the historic cause which it represents and to its millions of supporters if it failed, through this medium, to cite the facts. Beyond this it does not intend again to refer to the subject—as it has not in any way referred to it until this time. Let the American Jewish public, in whose intelligence and sympathy we have full confidence, decide whether the U.P.A. has not been correct in its conviction

that the constructive presentation of a fund-raising agency's story is the only one in which the public is interested.

What did the United Palestine Appeal do as its contribution toward keeping the United Jewish Appeal in existence?

(1) It proposed on December 29, 1944, that since direct negotiations between the U.P.A. and J.D.C. had failed, the differences be left to the friendly mediation of the three neutral members of the Allotment Committee of the 1944 United Jewish Appeal (David Watchmaker, Boston; Stanley C. Myers, Miami; Herbert Bloch, Cincinnati). All three are members of the Board of Directors of the Joint Distribution Committee. They are not officers of the United Palestine Appeal. These three neutrals, chosen by mutual consent of the J.D.C. and U.P.A., were entrusted with the task of distributing some \$13,000,000 of U.J.A. money in 1944. The U.P.A. felt they were sympathetic to both causes; had shown complete objectivity and had acquired more intimate knowledge of the financial experience of the two agencies than any three other men in the country.

This proposal was rejected by the Joint Distribution Committee in writing.

(2) The United Palestine Appeal suggested to the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds that inasmuch as an impasse had been reached the Council help in selecting "any panel of mediators mutually agreeable to the J.D.C. and U.P.A."

This proposal was rejected by the Joint Distribution Committee in writing.

(3) The Council of Federations and Welfare Funds, acting on the insistence of the J.D.C. that it would not join in selecting such a mediation committee, did, however, appoint a small committee to meet for exploratory purposes with the J.D.C. and U.P.A. To this committee and to the J.D.C. the United Palestine Appeal proposed that no ratios of distribution whatever be fixed for 1945, but that all funds raised in 1945 by a United Jewish Appeal be entrusted to an Allotment Committee with full powers to act within its own judgment and analysis as needs of the agencies justified. It further suggested that, until the Allotment Committee begin functioning, a drawing account of equal sums be established for each, so that no influence would be exerted on the Allotment Committee by virtue of initially agreed upon ratios.

This proposal was rejected by the Joint Distribution Committee at this meeting.

On February 5, 1945, the Executive Committee of the United Palestine Appeal met in New York. It gave the most earnest consideration to the facts of the 1945 negotiations and reviewed the history of U.P.A. participation in the United Jewish Appeal, with its minimization of Palestine and its failure to utilize the most tragic years in Jewish history to familiarize American Jewry with the basic truth that the homelessness of the Jewish people in Europe cannot be satisfactorily, permanently ended until the Jewish National Home is fully established in Palestine. Regarding 1945 as a year of crucial decision for the destiny of the Jewish people in relation to Palestine, it felt that any unfavorable decision on Palestine within the United Jewish Appeal could only be regarded as harmful to the effort of the whole Jewish people to persuade the governments of the world that Palestine has a pre-eminent place in the hopes of the Jewish people for the survival of their homeless. Since the Joint Distribution Committee rejected every reasonable proposal, including one for the distribution of the first \$10,000,000 of 1945 on a 60-40 basis, the entire balance to go to an Allotment Committee (thereby making possible rectification of inequity to the United Palestine Appeal), the United Palestine Appeal felt that the continuation of its place in the United Jewish Appeal was injurious to the best interests of the Jews of Europe whose hope for survival in freedom and security is centered in the Jewish National Home in Palestine.

The United Palestine Appeal did not seek the dissolution of the United Jewish Appeal. It cannot but regard it as having been inevitable, however, in view of the fact that after six years of joint effort in fund-raising the Joint Distribution Committee did not feel that flexibility in negotiations and submission of differences to adjudication were desirable or possible.

Judgment upon the dissolution should take into account all factors. The first of these is that the beneficiaries of the Joint Distribution Committee and United Palestine Appeal—the Jews of Europe—require our first consideration. Their needs continue urgent and inescapable. The second of these is that in the past, union of fund-raising effort between the Joint Distribution Committee and the agencies of the United Palestine Appeal has existed and been interrupted. In 1930 there was a joint campaign between the J.D.C. and Palestine Foundation Fund. Then again in 1934 and 1935 there was a United Jewish Appeal, embracing the J.D.C. and Palestine Foundation Fund. The union seemed to break upon differences that constantly recurred.

* * *

What follows is the record of which the foregoing was the bare outline:

J.D.C. Rejects Parity

The first meeting between J.D.C. and U.P.A. to discuss the formulation of an agreement for a 1945 United Jewish Appeal was held on November 8, 1944. There were present: For the U.P.A.: Dr. James G. Heller, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Rudolf G. Sonneborn, Henry Montor. For the J.D.C.: Isaac H. Levy, I. Edwin Goldwasser, Louis Broido, Joseph M. Berne, Joseph C. Hyman.

DR. HELLER emphasized the increased responsibility of American Jewry for the maintenance and the growth of the Jewish National Home in Palestine, which had played and is continuing to play a predominant role in Jewish rescue work. He thought that both from a financial as well as a moral point of view, it was justified that equal amounts should be granted to the J.D.C. and the U.P.A. in the initial distribution, the balance, as usual, to be disposed of by an Allotment Committee consisting of representatives of the agencies and of mutually agreed members representing the Jewish communities at large. As to the J.N.F. traditional collections, there should be no ceiling, but the Mediation Committee set up in 1944 to deal with complaints should have full power in 1945 to take disciplinary action if required.

MR. LEVY described the position of the J.D.C. as regards 1945. No matter what could be said about the needs of Palestine, first consideration must be given to the destitute Jews of Europe. As a concession, the J.D.C. is prepared to accept the same initial division of funds as in 1944, *i.e.*, 60 per cent to the J.D.C. and 40 per cent to the U.P.A., this division to be valid for the first \$25,000,000, the balance to be distributed by an Allotment Committee.

MR. LEVY suggested that the U.J.A. goal for 1945 should be \$42,000,000 and that all J.N.F. collections should be included in the U.J.A. funds for distribution among its constituent agencies.

(Let us for a moment examine the implications of Mr. Levy's suggestion that the goal for the U.J.A. in 1945 should be \$42,000,000. When the representatives of the J.D.C. and the U.P.A. held their third meeting on November 28, the J.D.C. had already elaborated "an estimate of budgetary requirements" of \$46,000,000 for 1945. This occurred ten days after the Palestine budgets amounting to some \$35,300,000 had been publicly announced at the annual U.P.A. Conference at Chicago on November 18, and in spite of the fact that on November 8, Mr. Levy, Chairman of the Negotiation Committee of the J.D.C. had proposed to the U.P.A. that the combined goal for both agencies should be \$42,000,000.)

A second meeting took place on November 10, but no progress was made.

MR. LEVY repeated: The J.D.C. proposes the distribution of the first \$25,000,000 (inclusive of any amount to be voted to the N.R.S.) on the basis of 60 per cent to the J.D.C. and 40 per cent to the U.P.A., and that the J.N.F. income be included in the U.J.A. pool.

DR. HELLER stated that, in fact, the J.D.C. gets the full benefit of the J.N.F. collections through the Allotment Committee. Whenever the U.P.A. presents its financial statement to the Allotment Committee, indicating excess of expenditure over income, it makes a full report of the income accruing to the U.P.A. from the J.N.F. traditional collections, and thus decreases its request for additional funds which it submits to the Allotment Committee.

A third meeting took place on November 28. The U.P.A. was represented by Dr. James G. Heller, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Rudolf G. Sonneborn, Henry Montor; J.D.C. was represented by Isaac H. Levy, Louis Broido, Joseph M. Berne, I. Edwin Goldwasser, Joseph C. Hyman, Moses A. Leavitt.

DR. HELLER referred to the recent decision of the 1944 U.J.A. Allotment Committee, which had divided an amount of \$10,000,000 in the ratio of 52.33 per cent to the J.D.C. and 47.67 per cent to the U.P.A. This certainly did not indicate an opinion by that body that the relation between the J.D.C. and the U.P.A. was to be a 60-40 relation.

After a prolonged discussion, MR. LEVY said that no further progress could be made and again stated the J.D.C. position that the division should be 60-40 with an initial distribution of no less than \$15,000,000, with the J.N.F. included in the 40 per cent for the U.P.A.

DR. HELLER stated again the U.P.A. position: that the funds in 1945 should be distributed on a 50-50 basis, with an initial distribution of any amount beginning with \$15,000,000.

MR. HYMAN stated that there was nothing further to discuss.

J.D.C. Rejects Arbitration

On December 29, Dr. Heller, addressing himself to Mr. Paul Baerwald, Chairman of the J.D.C., expressed regret that no agreement had yet been reached and proposed arbitration.

DR. HELLER WROTE: "We have kept in mind the fact that Palestine has played an incomparable role during the past year in meeting the needs of our people. We know that in the year ahead Palestine will be even more a source of hope and salvation. To meet these requirements the United Palestine Appeal has made various proposals that

would ensure the continuation of the United Jewish Appeal on an equitable basis adjusted to the urgent requirements. But each of these proposals has met with a firm refusal to consider the total situation. Each of the proposals which we have made has been rejected.

"It is my proposal to the Joint Distribution Committee that the U.P.A. and J.D.C. accept the services of the three outside persons, who, because of their objectivity and their acquaintance with the facts of both organizations, are in the best position to serve as friendly mediators. I have in mind the three representatives of Welfare Fund communities who are serving on the Allotment Committee of the 1944 United Jewish Appeal."

On January 8, Mr. Levy replied for the J.D.C. He referred to Dr. Heller's proposal "that our differences be submitted to the community representatives of the Allotment Committee. There are various reasons why we are unable to accept this proposal. We cannot delegate to others the responsibility that we owe to the work entrusted to us. No one who has not had to do with the day to day emergencies that have confronted the J.D.C. can possibly be put in a position to evaluate our needs and our obligations. In the negotiation of the Agreement we must assume full responsibility."

On January 11, Dr. Heller wrote to Mr. Sidney Hollander, President of the Council of Federations, asking for "any panel of mediators mutually agreeable to the J.D.C. and U.P.A." This crossed a letter, dated January 12, from Mr. Hollander, suggesting such mediation to the J.D.C. and U.P.A. The J.D.C., while accepting some kind of limited mediation, once more rejected arbitration. In a letter to Mr. Hollander, Mr. Baerwald wrote: "No doubt you can find one or more objective and impartial individuals ready to sit in as friendly mediators with a view to assisting the parties to mutual understanding. . . . It is our view, however, that mediation must not become arbitration in any aspect but should at all stages remain friendly intervention. If final agreement does not result, **mediation should not eventuate into any judgment or decision.**

With the consent of the U.P.A., the Council named a committee to explore with the U.P.A. and J.D.C. possibilities for agreement.

Allotment Plan Rejected by J.D.C.

The meetings with the Committee set up by the Council took place on January 25. The Committee consisted of

Mr. Leon Sunstein of Philadelphia, Mr. Isidore Sobeloff of Detroit, Mr. Sidney Hollander, President of the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, Mr. Harry L. Lurie, its Executive Director, and Mr. Philip Bernstein, its Assistant Director. They met with representatives of the U.P.A. (Dr. Heller, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Rudolf G. Sonneborn, Herman L. Weisman, and Henry Montor) in the afternoon. Mr. Sunstein presided and reported that they had met with the J.D.C. beginning at 11 o'clock in the morning but had not gotten very far, since the J.D.C. had taken an adamant position against any change in the ratio of 1944 for the initial agreement. After full discussion of all issues involved, a proposal emanated therefrom that there should be no initial distribution of money at all in 1945, but that there should be equal drawing accounts to both agencies—these sums to be taken into account by the Allotment Committee which was to be set up in the usual way and would have full discretion to distribute the total proceeds of the 1945 campaign.

It was emphasized by Mr. Herman L. Weisman of the U.P.A., who made this proposal, that in this way there would be no invidious distinctions between the two agencies and no influence by a fixed initial ratio on the later decision of the Allotment Committee.

Mr. Hollander and the mediators in general indicated that they were in sympathy with this proposal. However, it was of no avail. When, at the subsequent joint meeting together with the representatives of the J.D.C., Mr. Sunstein reported this proposal, it was rejected by Mr. Levy on behalf of the J.D.C. Mr. Levy once again insisted that the initial division must be 60-40.

U.P.A. Makes Further Attempts to Prevent Dissolution

On the following day (January 26) Dr. Heller had another meeting with Mr. Levy. He made many exploratory proposals which he said he was prepared to submit to the U.P.A. Executive Committee if the J.D.C. would be favorably disposed toward one of them. But Mr. Levy remained adamant on a 60-40 formula, as applied to an initial distribution of \$25,000,000.

At a subsequent meeting (January 30) Dr. Heller again made exploratory proposals in the hope that something might eventuate. However, the J.D.C. asserted that all these proposals were inadequate to meet its requirements for 1945 and that, under any circumstances, the J.D.C. required at least the same distribution in 1945 as it had obtained in 1944. Finally, that afternoon, the J.D.C. stated that it would agree to the distribution of \$25,000,000 on the basis of 60-40, that it would waive the amount of \$600,000 which it had received from the U.J.A.

as compensation, but would insist on a ceiling of \$900,000 for the J.N.F. traditional collections. This was unacceptable to the U.P.A.

The Meeting in Cincinnati

Mr. Hollander wired to Dr. Heller asking him to meet with the Council Board in Cincinnati on February 9. In Cincinnati the U.P.A. was represented by Dr. Heller and Henry Montor; the J.D.C. by Messrs. Baerwald, Levy, and Hyman. Mr. Hollander appointed a committee to meet with the representatives of the J.D.C. and U.P.A. It consisted of Irvin Bettmann of St. Louis, William Shroder of Cincinnati, and Daniel Shiman of Newark. At one point, Mr. Shiman proposed that an initial amount of \$15,125,000 be divided in the ratio of 58-42 between the J.D.C. and U.P.A. This was instantly rejected by the J.D.C., its representatives insisting on the 60-40 ratio. The proposal was then made that an initial amount of \$17,500,000 be distributed on a 60-40 basis, that there should be no compensation payment to the J.D.C., and that there should be the same ceiling for the traditional collections of the J.N.F. as in 1944. This second proposal was unacceptable to the U.P.A.

J.D.C. Rejects Issuance of Joint Statement

When Mr. Daniel Shiman addressed the U.P.A. Executive Committee meeting on February 12, he proposed that in the event of the dissolution of the national U.J.A., the U.P.A. should name a committee to meet with the J.D.C. for the purpose of issuing a joint statement on the dissolution. The U.P.A. agreed to this, but was informed on February 13 by the J.D.C. that the J.D.C. saw no purpose in issuing a joint statement.

J.D.C. Again Rejects Arbitration

On February 23, Mr. Hollander sent a telegram to the J.D.C. and the U.P.A. urging them to submit their differences to arbitration by "mutually acceptable procedure." In its reply the J.D.C. declared that it would accept arbitration only on the question of whether an initial amount of \$25,000,000 or of \$10,000,000 should be distributed

on a 60-40 basis or whether an initial amount of \$25,000,000 should be distributed on a 60-40 basis or on a 58-42 basis.

Replying for the U.P.A., Mr. Rudolf G. Sonneborn, Chairman of the National Council, pointed out that the "acceptance" by the J.D.C. of Mr. Hollander's proposal had attached to it a condition which was tantamount to another rejection of arbitration by the J.D.C. Mr. Sonneborn said that the condition stated in the J.D.C.'s reply to Mr. Hollander's telegram limited the question to be arbitrated merely to the degree to which the U.P.A. and the interests of Palestine should be subordinated in joint fund-raising appeals. He expressed regret that the U.P.A.'s suggestions for the continuation of the U.J.A. on an equitable basis did not materialize because of the attitude from the very beginning of J.D.C. against the submission of the differences between the two organizations to impartial outside persons.

"In order that justice be done in meeting the needs of the J.D.C. and the U.P.A.," Mr. Sonneborn wrote, "the U.P.A. believes that it is eminently desirable that American Jewry, through its various communities, examine the requirements of Jewish life and act on them through the distribution of funds in accordance with procedures determined locally."



* * *

Now that the United Jewish Appeal does not exist in 1945, each community in the country may be relied upon, as in the past, to maintain the fund-raising apparatus through which funds have hitherto been raised for the United Palestine Appeal and Joint Distribution Committee. Each community will act, in the raising and distribution of its funds, with such generosity, sympathy, and judgment as local circumstances require.

The United Palestine Appeal, for its part, will continue to present to American Jewry with all the force and cogency it can muster the reasons for the mobilization of maximum resources so that "they shall never be homeless again."

Appendix

Text of letter addressed by Dr. James G. Heller to Mr. Paul Baerwald

UNITED PALESTINE APPEAL
41 East 42nd Street
New York 17, N. Y.

January 12, 1945

Mr. Paul Baerwald, Chairman
Joint Distribution Committee
270 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Baerwald:

This is in acknowledgment of your letter of January 5th, advising me that you sent my letter of December 29th to the members of the J.D.C. Negotiating Committee.

On January 9th I received a letter from Mr. Isaac H. Levy, Chairman of the J.D.C. Negotiating Committee, in which our proposal that the U.P.A. and the J.D.C. accept the services of the three neutral members of the 1944 U.J.A. Allotment Committee as friendly mediators is declined since, as Mr. Levy states, the J.D.C. "cannot delegate to others the responsibility that we owe to the work entrusted to us." Mr. Levy then defines the conditions of the J.D.C. for effecting a U.J.A. agreement for 1945, conditions which, I am sorry to state, go even further than those presented to me by Mr. Levy at our meeting on December 18th.

The U.P.A. has, therefore, decided to utilize the offer made on November 30th by Mr. Sidney Hollander, President of the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, to the National Chairmen of the U.J.A. He suggested that the Council was prepared to offer the services of a committee for the purpose of arriving at a solution of our differences. A copy of my letter to Mr. Hollander is attached herewith.

In the interest of the continuation of the United Jewish Appeal, I hope that the J.D.C. will find it possible to give its consent to the proposal which I made to Mr. Hollander.

However, there are some remarks in Mr. Levy's letter (the contents of which may be known to you) which ought not to go without comment.

In an attempt to justify the demand of the J.D.C. that all activities of the J.N.F. which has functioned in this country since 1903, should in the future be conducted on behalf of the U.J.A. and that all monies collected by the J.N.F. should become part of the U.J.A., Mr. Levy states that many complaints were received at the office of the U.J.A. from communities throughout

the country on the separate fund-raising activities of the J.N.F.

You will no doubt recall that in the 1944 U.J.A. agreement the J.D.C. and the U.P.A. mutually consented to set up a Mediation Committee in order to deal with any complaints which might be sent to the U.J.A. on the fund-raising activities of the Keren Kayemeth. The record will show that while a number of such complaints were in fact received by the U.J.A., they were not "many" and what is even more important, they were settled amicably by the Mediation Committee.

Mr. Levy states that the year 1945 "presented such a crucial time in the life of the surviving Jews of Europe that we felt that any change in the agreement should be made in favor of these Jewish survivors. . . . We hoped that the representatives of the U.P.A. would agree that keeping Jews alive during this critical time deserved the highest priority. Unfortunately, the U.P.A. found itself unable to accede to this position."

This statement is outrageous and I am sure will be judged as such by every decent Jew of America, be he Zionist or even anti-Zionist. If the charge that the U.P.A. is less concerned than anyone else in saving Jewish lives, came from an uninformed source, it would be bad enough, but coming as it does from a man who should know the facts and should be fully informed of the incomparable efforts of the U.P.A. agencies in rescuing Jews from the Nazi hell in Europe, it is the most libelous charge that has ever been directed against any group of Jews.

It should be well known to Mr. Levy and to the J.D.C. that during the last few years the emissaries of the Jewish Agency, in its efforts to rescue Jews from Nazi-controlled territories, were to be found in key danger spots, exposed to the greatest personal risks; that 20 delegates of the Hechalutz were smuggled into enemy-held territory, sometimes by parachute, and were active in rescue and relief work; that a number of those emissaries and delegates, after having been tortured by the Gestapo, lost their own lives in the attempt to save the lives of other Jews. The records of the President's War Refugee Board will bear testimony to the unique effectiveness of the work carried out by these heroes.

The very existence of Palestine saved the lives of tens of thousands of Jews in a more effective manner than all the relief efforts that were made with our combined resources; not alone because Palestine was the only country into which substantial Jewish refugee immigration was possible, but because the Jewish Agency advised tens of thousands of Jews in Europe that

immigration certificates for Palestine had been approved for them, thus saving these Jews from death at the hands of the Nazis.

Mr. Levy and the J.D.C. should know that in 1944 the Jewish Agency was asked by the J.D.C. to act as a transmitting agent for the distribution of large amounts of money for refugee assistance in various European countries prior to their liberation, *i.e.*, at the time when the J.D.C. had no other way to render effective assistance to the Jewish communities in these countries.

These being some of the facts, it is indeed the height of partisanship to charge the U.P.A. with being less interested than anyone else in saving Jewish lives. Such a charge certainly should not come from the J.D.C. which, in the course of the past few years, has cooperated in that very rescue work with the Jewish Agency for Palestine, which receives the financial support of American Jewry through the United Palestine Appeal.

Mr. Levy seems not to know that the whole concept for the rebuilding of the Jewish National Home in Palestine is based on the determination to save Jewish life. What was true a generation ago has been made more tragically true in the past decade. And no one should know this better than responsible emissaries of the Joint Distribution Committee in Europe, all of whom have attested to the fact that throughout the Hitler years it was the Zionist remnants living in the occupied and satellite countries who almost uniformly served as the dispensers and administrators of the relief funds of Joint Distribution Committee.

For Mr. Levy to assume that the J.D.C. is more concerned than the U.P.A. with saving the lives of the Jews of Europe is a form of arrogance which I hardly believe the J.D.C. is prepared to endorse. Nor do I believe it is a fair commentary upon the universal desire of the Jews of America, Zionist and non-Zionist alike, to assist their brethren wherever they are in need. The results of the campaigns on behalf of the United Jewish Appeal, led effectively and contributed to generously by Zionists and non-Zionists alike, are testimony of that.

The saving of Jewish life involves more than the giving of bread. It requires also the provision of hope in the future, a faith that ultimately misery and despair will be replaced by freedom and security. The maintenance of the bodies of our people in Europe is a necessity so obvious as not to require the offensive innuendos of Mr. Levy. But statesmanship in the use of Jewish funds requires also that there be a plan for the future of these Jews. We are all determined to feed them and keep them momentarily alive.

But we want to do more than that: to keep them permanently alive, in body and spirit, by enabling them, now and in the coming days, to reach the one country in the world which has the will and the capacity to receive them in masses. It is that larger phase of the task, the long-range, constructive, permanent program that Mr. Levy fails to understand. The Jews of America know that there is no conflict between the two purposes, but, on the contrary, they are inseparably supplementary. The actions of the J.D.C. during the past few years, in payment for transportation for refugees going to Palestine, should have been known to Mr. Levy as part of the integral program for "keeping Jews alive."

Jews in the liberated areas of Europe are looking to Palestine as the only hope left them. When Mr. David Ben Gurion, the Chairman of the Jewish Agency Executive, visited Bulgaria in December, 1944, he found the Jews of that country in a state of appalling distress. They were economically ruined, destitute, poverty-stricken beyond any possible description. Bulgarian Jews, Mr. Ben Gurion reported, were facing complete physical and spiritual disintegration unless they were quickly brought into Palestine. There was no hope for the vast majority of them that their stolen or confiscated property would be restored, despite the good intentions of the Bulgarian Government, since that property had either been destroyed or transferred to Bulgarians from whom it would be impossible to recover it.

What is true in Bulgaria is true for many other countries. Conditions have been created for these Jews, by Nazi laws and their corrosive effect on the populations of those countries and by the war, that make it impossible for incalculable numbers of them to remain in Europe, either in safety or in peace. We must begin at once to make it possible for the overwhelming majority to get to Palestine as quickly as circumstances will permit. This foresight on the part of the Zionists saved during the past decade the lives of some 350,000 Jews who are today in Palestine instead of their charred remains being intermingled with the corpses in the mass graves the Nazis dug throughout the Continent.

When Mr. Ira A. Hirschmann, having

served as special representative abroad of President Roosevelt's War Refugee Board, returned to New York, he delivered an address on the role Palestine played and is playing in the Jewish rescue work, and he said:

"As I have stated again and again, all the refugees coming out of the Balkans through Turkey went to Palestine. Without Palestine I must say that I do not know where we would have sent them or whether we could have extricated the people at all. . . . The world will not forget that at a time when literally millions of souls were sent out into the world to find a new refuge, doors were slammed in their faces by the great nations. There was either no room or no time or no way of receiving these homeless. . . . True, Palestine had available less resources, less food, less building materials and less manpower to absorb a new population that had suffered from abuse and dislocation, but such problems apparently did not disturb Palestinians. They not only accepted these homeless and dislocated people, but asked and begged for more."

There are tens of thousands of Jewish orphans emerging from hiding in the liberated areas of Europe. Many more, we hope, will emerge when more territory will be wrested from the Nazis. The Jewish Agency has worked out large-scale plans for the transfer to Palestine of all Jewish orphans who will be found in European countries after the war. Thousands have entered Palestine even during the war. Mr. Hirschmann in his address mentioned some of them—those who came from the concentration camps in Transnistria—and said:

"One of the reasons I went to Palestine was to see some of my 'Transnistrian children' to find out how they had developed in the four to five months since I have waved a rather sad au revoir to them on the train that left Istanbul for the Syrian border. I am happy to report that the ones I saw in Palestine had been quickly rehabilitated; had almost lost their nervous tension and hysteria and were rapidly on their

way to a normal life. To my mind these young people are going to be among the most valuable liberty-loving citizens of our future world. They have earned the right to freedom as no other human beings that I know have, and instead of coming out of the fire scarred and cynical, the fact that they are brought into a new world with its eyes to the future has given them a moral support which animates their lives at a time when they need it most."

I do not think that Mr. Hirschmann would subscribe to Mr. Levy's infamous charge against the U.P.A. Nor, I am convinced, will the three representatives of welfare fund communities who served on the 1944 United Jewish Appeal Allotment Committee: Messrs. David M. Watchmaker, of Boston; Herbert R. Bloch, of Cincinnati, and Stanley C. Myers, of Miami. These men had ample opportunity, as you know, to study in detail the work of the U.P.A. and the J.D.C., and I think it is not fair to state (as Mr. Levy does) with regard to them: "No one who has not had to do with the day to day emergencies that have confronted the J.D.C. can possibly be put in a position to evaluate our needs and our obligations." These men were chosen by mutual consent of the J.D.C. and the U.P.A. and, together with the representatives of the J.D.C. and the U.P.A., were entrusted with the distribution of the funds which accrued to the 1944 United Jewish Appeal in excess of the funds initially divided between the various agencies. Since these funds, as you know, amount to some \$14,000,000, I am at a loss to understand why the J.D.C. declined our proposal to entrust the same men with mediation with regard to the initial amount of the 1945 agreement, which, according to Mr. Levy's own proposal, should also be fixed at \$14,000,000. It is difficult to understand why the same men who were able to evaluate the needs and the obligations of the U.P.A. and the J.D.C. in November 1944 should be unable to do so with regard to a similar amount involved in 1945.

Cordially yours,

JAMES G. HELLER,
National Chairman

They Must Never



Be Homeless Again

ISSUED BY

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