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Zionist funds, Weizmann-Brandeis-Mack controversy, 1920-1921.

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA
Office of the
NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
Rouben Horchow, Secretary to the Committee.
55 Fifth Avenue
New York.

MINUTES

of the

MEETING OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Held, Saturday, March 19th and Sunday, March 20th, 1920

At 33 West 42nd Street, New York City

PRESENT: President Mack in the Chair; Messrs. Avner, de Haas, Ebin, Finkelstein, Flexner, Frankfurter, Goldstein, Grabolsky, Grant, Jurman, Lovenson, Levinstone, Lipeky, Lubin, Margulies, Neumann, Posner, Richards, Rittenberg, Robison, Rosenblatt, Rothenberg, Rudo, Szold and Wise, and the Secretary to Committee.

ABSENCE EXPLANATIONS RECEIVED FROM: Berman, Friederwald, Heller, Kaplan, Rosenbloom, Silver, Rosenfield, Saks, Salo, Sauber, Simons, Shapinsky, Shulman, Straus, Topkis and Waldstein.

ABSENT: Mrs. Fols; Messrs. Berman, Brodie, Cohen, Friederwald, Goldberg, Gordon, Heller, Kaplan, Lipsitch, Muhl, Pan, Rosenbloom, Rosenfield, Rothschild, Saks, Salo, Sauber, Schweitzer, Shapinsky, Shulman, Silver, Simons, Straus, Topkis and Waldstein.

PRESENT BY INVITATION: Miss Lotta Lovinsohn.

FIRST SESSION
SATURDAY, MARCH 19th - 8 P.M.

HATOREN

In view of the fact that the publication of Hatoron was not taken over by a private committee as contemplated, the Chairman stated that in conference with Messrs. de Haas, Lipsky, and Brainin, it had been decided to issue Hatoron as a monthly to cut down the extremely heavy expenses. This action was approved.

ELECTION TO N.E.C.

Since Mr. Brainin thus remains in the employ of the Organization, by virtue of a resolution of the Buffalo Convention he is not eligible for membership on the Executive, and therefore the tie vote between him and Mr. Posner was decided by him in favor of Mr. Posner, whose election was ratified.

HARTFORD, CHICAGO, and NORWICH RESOLUTIONS

The Chairman stated that in the past six months there has been a slackening of Zionist activity due to our waiting for a decision by the World Organization on the resolutions adopted at Buffalo. During that time, although no controversial matter was issued by the Organization, there had been numerous attacks in the the European and Palestinian press and the Organization and by their leaders and finally in the American press and in the very ranks of the Organization in organized form. Certain resolutions were adopted at Hartford at what purported to be an organizing meeting to form a regional union in Connecticut. No invitation to attend this meeting was sent to Rabbi Jurnan, member of the Executive Committee from Connecticut.

The following is the text of the resolutions:

"Resolution adopted by the Executive Committee of the Regional Union of the Zionist Districts of Connecticut at its meeting held in Hartford on Sunday, Feb. 20, 1921.

"Whereas it is evident that the most urgent duty confronting the Zionists today is the reconstruction of Palestine into a Jewish Land, and

"Whereas the World Zionist Organization through its meeting in London in July 1920, has called upon the Jews of every country to undertake the reconstruction of Palestine through the Keren Hayesod, as the only practical and effective plan whereby this great historical task can be accomplished on a large scale, and

"Whereas it is a fact that activities for the Keren Hayesod have already been conducted in many countries, even where the Jewish situation is most distressing and where such activities required a tremendous sacrifice in treasure and in human effort, be it therefore

"Resolved that we strongly urge the National Executive Committee of the Zionist Organization of America to settle at once all its differences with the European Leaders on the question of the Keren Hayesod and to inaugurate without delay, in co-operation with the International Zionist Leaders, an intensive campaign throughout the United States for the Keren Hayesod, and be it also

"Resolved that we, the members of the Executive Committee of the Regional Union of Conn. this day pledge our entire and enthusiastic support to the Keren Hayesod and we hereby declare publicly that, in the event the National Zionist Executive Committee unduly delays the conduct of this work, we shall be prepared to launch a Keren Hayesod campaign in Conn. at the earliest favorable opportunity under proper guidance and advice, and be it also

"Resolved that we appeal to all the other districts in this country to adopt as soon as possible similar resolutions."

"(signed) E. Seelman, I. Kleinfeld, G. Cutler, M.S. Dunn, S.H. Loshin, Mollie Greenblatt, Janet Schneck, A. Rosenberg, B. Press, M.I. Silverman, L. M. Glassman, R. Taylor, A. Goldstein, Mollis Selitzky, Secretary."

The following resolutions were received from Chicago:

"Resolutions adopted at a joint conference of all Chicago Zionist Districts, held Sunday, March 6, 1921.

"WHEREAS the World Zionist Organization in conference assembled in London, England, in July 1920, decided to create a large financial institution under the name of "Keren Hayesod", wherewith the reconstruction work in Erez Israel and the maintenance of existing institutions shall be financed; and

"WHEREAS the Zionists in all European countries and Canada are already actively engaged in raising subscriptions for the Keren Hayesod, which is admitted to be the most practical Zionist institution,

"BE IT RESOLVED that this conference, consisting of Executive members and representative Zionists of Chicago, pledge their entire support for the Keren Hayesod; that the National Executive Committee of the Zionist Organization of America shall be urged upon to take up immediately the proposition of the Keren Hayesod and launch a campaign for raising subscriptions for it, in accordance with the resolution of the London conference;

"BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that a copy of this resolution shall be forwarded to the National Executive Committee of the Zionist Organization of America.

"(signed) Max Shulman, President; Nathan D. Kaplan, Vice-Pres.; D. Pollock, Secretary. S.W. Addleman, Treasurer; Messrs. F. Lubin, A. B. Yudelson, G.K. Rosenzweig, H. Steinberg, Miss Hannah Shulman; Messrs. H. Philips, S.W. Addleman, M. Weinberg; Mrs. S.W. Addleman; Messrs. J. Fierberg, A. Cohen, B.A. Antonow, S.M. Helamed, S. Ginsburg, M. Abrams, H. Chapman, F. Berenson, L.H. Lichterman, S.A. Hoffman, N. Drosdoff, A.L. Homa, C. Ticktin, I. Haberlin, B. Ginsburg, I. Levinson, M. Dennen, M. Kronenberg, D. Newberger, S.B. Konaiko, E. Hackner; Mrs. B. Shure. "

Resolutions adopted in Norwich, Conn., are as follows:

"We, the Zionists of Norwich, assembled on Sunday, March 6th, understanding the importance of the present moment in the great historical hour of the upbuilding of Palestine, and knowing that last July, 1920, at the International Zionist Conference in London, it was resolved that the fund which is to upbuild Palestine is the Keren Hayesod (Palestine Foundation Fund), and being that until now eight months have already passed and nothing has been done in America concerning this matter,

"We resolved to demand the Zionist Organization to start working for the Keren Hayesod in accordance with the plan of the World Zionist Organization.

"Furthermore, we resolve that the Zionist Organization of America should apply immediately to our main office in London and invite a few leaders of the World Zionist Organization to come to America and help us with the great work for the Keren Hayesod.

"We furthermore resolve that a copy of this resolution should be sent to the Zionist Organization of America, a copy to *Dos Yiddishe Folk*, *Jewish Daily News*, *The Day*, and *the Zeit*."

On motion, it was decided that action on these resolutions be postponed.

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The Chairman then reported that the tentative personnel of the party coming from London consisted of Dr. and Mrs. Weizmann, Professor and Mrs. Einstein, Mr. Ussischkin, Dr. Mossensohn. It was stated that Mr. Naiditch will not come, although his visa had been granted, unless Mr. Zlatapolsky's visa were also given and that though every effort was being made, this visa had been refused and probably would not be given.

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ACTION ON SUMMARY SUBMITTED BY PRESIDENT

The Chairman then submitted to the meeting "A Summary of the Position of the Zionist Organization in Conference with Dr. Weizmann and Associates." He stated that due to changes, the final edition had only been completed on Friday. An earlier edition had been sent to some out-of-town members, but a telegram had been sent out asking that copies of this earlier edition be destroyed.

The summary was then read and the Chairman stated that he proposed to use the summary as the basis of his discussion with Dr. Weizmann and that the memorandum was a statement of his own views in support of the summary. The summary was then placed before the meeting for discussion on Dr. Wise's motion to adopt it.

Mr. Margulies asked with reference to IV, section 2, whether or not the Executive of the World Organization controls 51% of the Keren Hayesod. The Chairman stated that this was so in theory, but not practically, for the reason that in the minutes of the last meeting of the Executive of the World Organization on January 31st, it was stated that at a meeting of the Keren Hayesod on that day, Julius Simon governor of the Board of the Keren Hayesod, with 51% of the votes, attempted to exercise this voting power against adjournment, but Dr. Feiwel, who was in the chair, declared the meeting adjourned despite the vote.

To Mr. Lipsky's objection that no decision had been taken as to whether negotiations with Dr. Weizmann would be with the Executive Committee as a whole or in private, Dr. Wise amended his motion to read "that the committee accepts the summary as representative of the views of the National Executive Committee and that this summary become the basis of the conference to be held with Dr. Weizmann and his associates."

Mr. Rothenberg then moved that, in view of the fact that many matters were involved in the summary which required consideration, discussion on the summary be postponed to another meeting. In seconding this motion, Mr. Lipsky stated that there was information on the facts stated in the summary which should be consulted. He said further that in as much as this memorandum did not seem to involve any question of principle on the face of it, yet it involved a different attitude of mind toward Zionist questions and policies, different from the accepted theories of Zionism; therefore, time should be given to consider the statement before discussion and vote. Mr. Avner objected that the members from out-of-town would have no more opportunity of checking up the facts by delaying the discussion to another meeting than now. Mr. Robison supported Mr. Rothenberg's motion because he, too, felt that time should be given for study and consideration. Mr. Ritton-

berg felt that the proposal to postpone discussion was a great injustice to out-of-town members; that the summary should be discussed section by section; and that in the discussion doubtful points would be cleared.

Prof. Frankfurter felt that this motion, coming from members who had been long in the Executive and in the current of Zionist thought, should not be considered. He felt that there were no new issues raised, that there was no question in the summary which had not been discussed over and over again. Taking up the points seriatim, he asked Mr. Lipsky whether or not he had a view on whether or not the Organization's activities should be concentrated on Palestine or on participation in "Gegenwartsarbeit". He asked whether or not he had a view as to question 2, as to question 3, as to question 4. No useful purpose would be served by postponement of discussion or action.

Mr. Rothenberg felt that Diaspora nationalism was one question on which discussion has not been had and wished time to reflect on the whole summary since so much time was spent in its preparation. Mr. Lipsky felt that the summary as submitted did not state the issues clearly and, as presented, it was impossible to arrive at a categorical conclusion.

Mr. Posner felt that the summary should be discussed and if a point were reached where data was necessary, action on this point could be deferred.

Mr. Neumann thought that the entire discussion at this time would be unfortunate. He felt that no decisions should be taken as a body as to principle, theory, etc., without first having a full discussion with the gentlemen who are coming over. He felt too that time should be given to members to study this carefully prepared summary; that as to certain facts stated as facts, all evidence should be heard. He believed that questions of the utmost importance were raised and that upon their determination depended the integrity or dissolution of the World Organization. He stated that without having time for preparation, he would participate neither in the discussion nor the vote.

The Chairman, in reply to this, stated that there was no thought in the mind of anybody of destroying the World Zionist Organization; that on the contrary, every word of this document was for keeping intact the World Zionist Organization. This was instanced in the second point as to the Jewish Agency and in the discussion of the relations of the Keren Hayesod to the World Organization, more emphatically than it has been in the past two years on the part of some others. He stated further, that in his judgment no action could be taken here that would lead to the destruction of the World Organization. It might lead to a change in the Executive. It might and should lead to a change in the present relations of the "fractions" to the central body. It might lead to a change in the morale of the World Organization and its Executive and the work for Palestine and the work outside of Palestine, but it could not lead to the destruction of the World Organization.

Dr. Kallen felt that none of the issues defined in the summary were new. He said that the only novel thing was the phrase "Diaspora nationalism" and that was novel only as a phrase. The subject matter had been discussed endlessly.

Judge Rosenblatt stated that his objection was to any action on the summary because he felt that it was unfair to adopt any resolutions binding our hands before Dr. Weizmann's arrival for such program would then be served on him as an ultimatum.

Mr. Goldstein felt that we were in duty bound to be prepared to put our case to Dr. Weizmann when he arrived.

Dr. Wise felt that discussion and action should certainly be taken upon this summary. All that had been done was to summarize view points adopted at meetings, sessions and conventions of the Zionist Organization of America; that nothing new had been contributed in this summary, though one or two debatable terms were used, "federalism" and "Diaspora nationalism", both of which were well understood terms. He felt that there was no reason for postponing discussion on this summary.

A motion to postpone was then put and lost by a vote of 14 to 9.

Mr. Posner then moved the adoption of "A", Section 1. Mr. Margulies asked whether Dr. Weizmann had ever stood for gegenwartsarbeit; to which the Chairman replied that he and those associated with him had, when, for instance on January 31st, they voted £3000 to the English Zionist Organization, etc.; that though any of the federations might do in this regard what they liked, the World Zionist Organization should not engage in gegenwartsarbeit.

Mr. Neumann then inquired whether if we were going to pass upon these points, it was assumed that the gentlemen coming from the other side would be in a position to alter the principles adopted by the World Zionist Organization; to which the Chairman replied that the discussion was to be had with them as individuals and an attempt made to come to an understanding with them whereby they could use their influence to see to the adoption of the principles by the World Organization; that we were stating the positions for which the Zionist Organization of America stands for the purpose of discussing these principles with Dr. Weizmann. They were stated in this form because, as Dr. Levin and others put it, "you cannot have a concrete act without an idea underlying that act", and therefore the philosophy back of the statement must be given.

Mr. Levenson felt that our case was sufficiently well presented by stating the affirmative of our principles without stating the negative. He moved to strike out the words "as against diffusion on "Gegenwartsarbeit" and Diaspora nationalism". This resolution was carried.

Mr. Lipeky asked to be recorded as voting "No" on the ground that it was not proper and relevant matter to be presented to Dr. Weizmann.

Mr. Neumann moved to table Section 2, which motion was lost.

Mr. Avner then made the following motion:

RESOLVED that the National Executive Committee does hereby approve and adopt the summary submitted by the President as the statement of the position of the Zionist Organization of America and hereby authorizes the President to confer with Dr. Chaim Weizmann and his associates on the basis thereof, and report back to the National Executive Committee the result of the Conference for action.

Mr. Neumann, in the discussion, stated that he thought that by the motion of Mr. Levenson, the Committee had voted not only to strike out the words, but the thought involved in the words stricken out. The Chairman felt that this was not in Mr. Levenson's mind at the time he made the motion, which was confirmed by Mr. Levenson.

At the request of the Chairman, Mr. Levenson moved to reconsider his motion and, on motion, it was reconsidered.

Mr. Margulies then moved to amend the summary by striking out the words "as against diffusion on "Gegenwartsarbeit" and "Diaspora nationalism". On being put, this motion was lost.

Prof. Frankfurter then moved as follows:

RESOLVED that it is the desire of the Executive Committee that Judge Mack as President of the Zionist Organization of America should go into conference with Dr. Weizmann and his associates on the basis of a statement of policy expressive of the views of the Executive Committee;

which motion was carried.

On motion of Mr. Posner, it was agreed that discussion on the summary as a whole be had at the session Sunday morning, that all amendments be submitted by 12:15, and the final vote be taken not later than 1 o'clock.

This was carried, Mr. Neumann not voting.

On motion of Judge Rosenblatt, the meeting adjourned.

SECOND SESSION
SUNDAY, MARCH 20th, 10:30 A.M.

Mr. de Haas moved to strike out, on page 1, section 2, the words "by the Gegenwartsarbeit party", which amendment was accepted by the Chairman. To Mr. Posner's amendment to strike out, on page 2, paragraph 5, the words "characterized by deficits, improvisation and inefficiency", the Chair also gave assent, but to Mr. Posner's motion to strike out, on page 1, paragraph 4, the words "and consequent disregard of responsibilities created and trust imposed", the Chairman offered objection and read from the draft report of the Reorganization Commission, the following:

"It so happened that we were confronted upon our arrival with a very flagrant yet characteristic case of the Commission's ineptitude. The Commission, together with representatives of the Jewish National Fund, had made an important purchase of a large tract of land in the name of the Jewish National Fund.

"Although there was ample time, no attempt was made to communicate with the Zionist Executive or with the Head Office of the Jewish National Fund, although both the Zionist Commission and the representatives of the Jewish National Fund in Palestine were entirely unauthorized to engage in an operation of this scope and character. They had been moreover, explicitly instructed by the Executive in September not to purchase any land before our Commission reached Palestine. A similar instruction has been sent by telegraph from the Head Office of the Jewish National Fund in the Hague. Notwithstanding all these clear and explicit directions and notwithstanding the fact that the option taken on the land would not have expired for some weeks, the purchase was concluded a few days before our arrival. We were in other words, presented with a fait accompli. While the purchase was made on behalf of the Jewish National Fund, the Zionist Commission informed us that that was only a formality and that the land would be sold to others.

"Little attention was given, however, to the fact that the Jewish National Fund had been made responsible for the carrying out of the obligations undertaken and would in any event, be surety for the due performance of the contract, even if it were assigned to others. It was almost forgotten, moreover, that if the land was once registered in the name of the Jewish National Fund, it would become the inalienable property of the Jewish people and should not be resold. Light-heartedly, a transaction was being entered into under which the Jewish National Fund might have to take over this large tract, become liable for funds far beyond the means at its disposal, and become irrevocably committed to a policy of settlement which as such had scarcely been considered.

"If this agreement were allowed to stand the Jewish National Fund would be bound to pay £65,000 on account of the purchase price at the time of registration and an additional £225,000 with interest in six equal annual instalments. The mortgage would remain on the entire property until the full purchase price was paid. The first portion of the instalment due under the contract has already been paid from funds belonging to the Jewish National Fund, which were placed at the disposal of the local management for other purposes. The transaction was one which confessedly belonged to the sphere of the Palestine Land Development Company. But that Company having no funds, the funds of the Jewish National Fund were drawn upon. It was the old method of mingling trust funds and confusing interests."

The Chairman stated that this was from the draft of the proposed report and that he read it only as a statement of fact made by Messrs. Sison, de Lincio and Szold in support of his objection to the striking out of these words.

The Chairman quoted further: "This was against the counsel of a Jewish Colonization Society that had long carried on negotiations at a much lower price than that agreed upon by the Commission."

The Chairman stated further that the Reorganization Commission when they left were given plenary power as one of the conditions to Mr. Szold's going and after they had left London, this power was revoked.

Mr. Neumann objected that no matter who reported these things, he did not feel it just to pass judgment upon the acts of other people unless those who were on the defensive were also given a chance to introduce their evidence. Rabbi Ebin felt that it was for Dr. Weizmann and his associates to deny such statements as were untrue but that the Committee must have a formulated opinion as to the way the affairs of the Organization should be conducted. If there was agreement by the leaders, then there would be satisfaction. If there were no agreement, then it would be a matter of discussion. Mr. Neumann still felt that all the evidence had not been submitted.

The Chairman stated as another explanation of his objection to striking out the words, that when Mr. Boris Goldberg was head of the Trade and Industry Department, money of the Jewish National Fund was devoted to the purchase of lumber and the sale of it in Palestine, losses which had been borne by the Jewish National Fund. Mr. de Haas stated further that there were letters written by Judge Rosenblatt to Justice Brandeis further justifying the use of the words and that in addition there were the reports written by Mr. S.J. Weinstein bearing upon a number of these questions as to management of affairs in the London Office and in Palestine and the methods used. Dr. Weizmann did not do these things personally, but the group under him which had assumed power over his head and responsibility for this situation. It was necessary that this situation be argued out.

Prof. Frankfurter pointed out that the purpose of the summary was only for conference and not for judgment or condemnation for past acts. Mr. Lipsky felt that he might be in agreement with such portions of the summary if the aim and purpose were to aid the World Zionist Organization by our representation in it. The real remedy was not to say that the members of the Executive should become better men, but that if the Executive were not made up of the best men, then a better personnel should be secured.

Dr. Kallen then pointed out on page 3, section 2; that the entire summary, if it did anything to the World Organization, it intensified and strengthened and made it more authoritative and more helpful in the development of Palestine and consequently to the Diaspora.

After some further discussion, a vote was taken with the following results:

FOR THE MOTION: Messrs. Avner, de Haas, Ebner, Finkelstein, Flexner, Frankfurter Goldstein, Grant, Jurman, Kallen, Levenson, Posner, Rittenberg, Rude and Szold.

PRESENT BUT ABSTAINING FROM VOTING: Messrs. Grabelsky, Lovinstone, Lipsky, Lubin, Margulies, Neumann, Robison and Rosenthal.

The Chairman did not vote. Three members, Dr. Wise, Messrs. Richards and Rothenberg, who had been present at the evening session, but who were unable to attend the morning session, had asked that their position on the motion be stated at the time of voting. Messrs. Richards and Rothenberg would, if present at the time of voting, have abstained from casting a ballot, and Dr. Wise would have voted for the motion.

Mr. Lipsky presented the following statement in explanation of his abstention from voting, to which Messrs. Grabelsky, Lovinstone, Lubin, Neumann and Robison subscribed:

"With regard to the Summary of the Position of the Zionist Organization of America, submitted last night by Judge Mack, President, for action by the National Executive Committee, I desire to place on record a statement of my position and I believe of the position of a number of other members of this Committee:

"First: The statement submitted contains a number of paragraphs to which I could give assent and the adoption of which I could veto, if the matter treated therein were brought up for consideration at the proper time and place; but for the purpose of conferring with Dr. Weizmann they are immaterial and irrelevant.

"Second: Instead of setting forth the real issues, the statement submitted tends to avoid and confuse them; and if presented by the President as the views of the Zionist Organization of America, it will, in my judgment, not lead to peace and harmonious action, but to opposite results.

"Third: A number of the propositions involve fundamental theoretic and philosophic conceptions of Zionism, upon which the National Executive Committee is not competent to pass judgment, and lacks both the moral or legal right to bind those who may dissent from such views.

"Fourth: With the adoption of binding resolutions on such basic questions of principle, the Zionist Organization of America would cease to be a federation of General Zionists and become instead a party or fraction in the Zionist movement.

"Fifth: Many of the propositions submitted for negotiation with Dr. Weizmann are known to be beyond the competence of Dr. Weizmann and his associates to accept or reject on behalf of the World Zionist Organization.

"Sixth: The Summary and Memorandum constitute a document of 29 closely printed pages which, we are reliably informed, took many weeks to prepare. But this elaborate document did not reach most of the members of the National Executive Committee until within a few hours of the opening of the meeting, so that no opportunity was afforded to give it proper consideration. ✓

"Seventh: The possibility of a full and proper discussion on these vital subjects, due to its notice and opportunity to study the document, has further been denied by the closure motion adopted last night, which is designed to cut off discussion and compel the taking of a vote at a specified time - within less than

three hours from the opening of this session - regardless of the need for and desirability of discussion.

"Eighth: The resolutions adopted by the Buffalo Convention and by our Executive Committee on various occasions offer, in my judgment, sufficient basis for negotiations with Dr. Weizmann. In so far as the document under consideration repeats the substance of these resolutions, it is superfluous and in so far as it contains new matter, it cannot be discussed properly in the time set aside.

"In view of all this, I regretfully declare that I cannot conscientiously vote on the propositions submitted, and disclaim all responsibility for the effect of this action upon the negotiations with Dr. Weizmann."

Judge Rosenblatt stated that he abstained from voting on the ground of not having had sufficient time to consider the memorandum fully.

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Mr. de Haas formally notified Judge Mack on behalf of the Executive Committee that the names of Judge and Mrs. Mack had been inscribed in the Golden Book of the Jewish National Fund on the occasion of their twenty-fifth wedding anniversary. To which the Chairman answered, expressing the very deep appreciation of Mrs. Mack and himself for this inscription saying that it was the very finest touch to their very happy anniversary.

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MEETING ADJOURNED TO SATURDAY, APRIL 9th, AT 8 P.M.,

and

SUNDAY, APRIL 10th, AT 10 A.M.

(signed) REUBEN HORCHOW

Secretary to the Committee.

ABRAHAM TULIN
COUNSELLOR AT LAW
165 BROADWAY
NEW YORK

August 30th, 1920.

My dear Silver:

I returned to New York on the 25th, after enjoying the only week of quietness and rest since sailing for Europe in June. The situation in London when I left had not materially changed. On the contrary, it had grown a little more tense, if anything. Even Simon was beginning to lose patience with the Americans. Simon will write our National Executive shortly asking for support, and then will come the test for which we must be prepared. The National Executive met yesterday and heard reports from Brandeis and deHaas. No member of the so called opposition said anything, excepting only that Neumann began asking questions which Brandeis cut short. No action was taken at yesterday's meeting, owing to the absence of some of the delegates who are still abroad. Brandeis himself urged that nothing should be done until after their return. The next meeting of the Executive will take place in New York on September 28th and 29th, for the purpose of deciding the extent to which the American Organization should hereafter give financial support to the Organization in London.

I urge you most earnestly to be present at that meeting, no matter what obstacles may stand in the way. I suppose that there will never have been a more important meeting of the National Executive Committee. The demoralization

which has already set in among Zionists in America as a result of reports filtering through from London will become complete, and the movement will suffer irreparable injury, unless the Executive at its next meeting decides for the unity of the World's Zionist effort; and it is not at all certain that those of us who are for unity will win, unless we muster our full strength and prepare in advance.

I would appreciate an early reply to this letter, giving me the benefit of your judgment and thoughts since I last had the pleasure of seeing you in London.

In the meanwhile, with kindest regards, I remain,

Yours sincerely,

AT/PR

Rabbi A. H. Silver,
Cleveland,
Ohio.

Abraham Teller

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

OFFICERS

LOUIS D. BRANDEIS	HONORARY PRESIDENT
JULIAN W. MACK	PRESIDENT
STEPHEN S. WISE	VICE PRESIDENT
HARRY FRIEDENWALD	VICE PRESIDENT
JACOB DE HAAS	EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
LOUIS LIPSKY	SECRETARY FOR ORGANIZATION
HENRIETTA SZOLD	SECRETARY FOR EDUCATION
PETER J. SCHWEITZER	TREASURER
PAUL E. MOSES	ASST. TREASURER

REPLY TO DEPARTMENT

ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICES

55 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK

September 17, 1920.

Rabbi A. H. Silver,
The Temple,
East 55th St.,
Cleveland, Ohio.

My dear Dr. Silver:

Dr. Wise resigned because he felt slighted that his name was omitted from the list of American members on the Greater Actions Committee. In spite of all efforts to impress upon him that no one had any cause to withdraw his name and that it was not placed on the list for reasons that had nothing to do with him personally, he persisted in presenting his resignation. Afterwards, however, he agreed to withhold his resignation on the understanding that he was not to be nominated for any office at our coming Convention. These facts were set forth in the official statement issued by the office. He has a long list of personal grievances which helped to bring about his act. What he is going to do now, I do not know. He may yet be persuaded to change his mind. But that is a distant possibility.

I presume you are making arrangements to be in New York at the next meeting of the Executive Committee.

With best wishes for the New Year, I am

Cordially yours,

Louis Lipsky
Per L. M.

SECRETARY FOR ORGANIZATION.

LL/LM

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Telegram	
Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Nite
Night Letter	N L

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WESTERN UNION



TELEGRAM

NEWCOMB CARLTON, PRESIDENT

GEORGE W. E. ATKINS, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Telegram	
Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Nite
Night Letter	N L

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RABBI A H SILVER

CARE THE TEMPLE EAST 55 ST CLEVELAND O

EXPECTED SEEING YOU LAST NIGHT AND GOING IMMEDIATELY TO
WASHINGTON WHEN CAN YOU GO COULD MEET YOU THERE ANY SATURDAY AND
SUNDAY OR COLUMBUS DAY TWELFTH STOP PLEASE ADVISE WHETHER AND WHEN
YOU ACCEPT STLOUIS MOST URGENT INVITATION RABBI SALE WRITES
WISE SITUATION THERE VERY DARK MY JUDGEMENT YOU ALONE CAN SAVE IT
WIRE

JULIANN MACK

220P

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Telegram	
Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Nite
Night Letter	N L
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WESTERN UNION



TELEGRAM

NEWCOMB CARLTON, PRESIDENT

GEORGE W. E. ATKINS, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

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RABBI A H SILVER

249

THR TEMPLE CLEVELAND O

MEET ME TUESDAY MORNING BREAKFAST COSMOS CLUB

JULIAN W MACK.

1920 OCT 9 PM 10 23

October 21st, 1920

Judge Julian W. Mack,
55 Fifth Avenue,
New York City.

My dear Judge Mack,

I am enclosing herewith copy of the memorandum of my conversation with Justice Brandeis. If there are any corrections or suggestions to make, I would appreciate it if you would call my attention to them.

With kindest regards, I am

Very sincerely yours,

P.S.

I have received absolutely no satisfaction and no co-operation from the New York office with reference to the withdrawal of Mr. Carmel from Cleveland. Should the New York office insist upon keeping a paid official here in Cleveland, who makes my activities in behalf of the movement impossible, I shall be compelled to send in my resignation as a member of the Executive and to sever all connections with the New York office.

JULIAN W. MACK
U. S. CIRCUIT JUDGE
NEW YORK CITY

WOOLWORTH BUILDING
October 25, 1920.

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver,
The Temple,
Cleveland, Ohio.

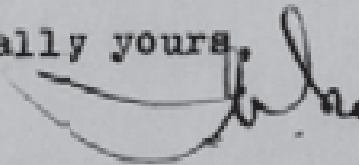
Dear Rabbi Silver:

I am inclined to think that the document may be presented to the Executive Committee. All of L.D.B.'s changes seem to me sound.

I have sent a copy of the document, showing both the original and L.D.B.'s changes, to Frankfurter and have asked him to advise me at once as to his answer to L.D.B.'s question.

I had supposed that the Carmel matter was finished some days ago. I have not been able to be at the office today and have not seen Lipsky, but I sent word to him that your wishes must be carried out at once.

Cordially yours,



L has word Carmel -

October 25, 1920.

Dear Julian:

I too think Silver memo should be read. The Weismann thing has been so much talked about that no more harm can be done provided

- a) the report is not circulated, but read merely as Silver's notes of an oral report
- b) be vigorously cautious against repetition.
- c) you reinforce importance of any further publication or talk of London controversy.

Only one portion of memo bothers me - last paragraph on page 2 about "fundamental difference". That will be taken by "Russians" not as past history but present policy and make them feel that despite all his protests L.D.B. now does not want to work with them - while of course all of our present efforts - and his more emphatically - is cooperation and "participation" through deeds and the resulting education. I personally should favor omission of sentence sixth line from bottom (Mr. Justice Brandeis became convinced - - - - - () Then continue "Under the (nor "these") circumstances - - - -

FF.

JULIAN W. MACK
U. S. CIRCUIT JUDGE
NEW YORK CITY

Woolworth Building,
October 27, 1920.

Dear Dr. Silver:

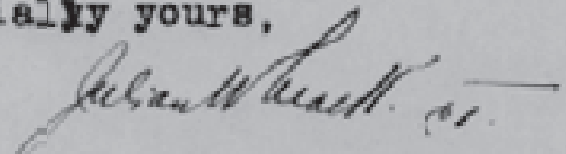
Enclosed herewith copy of Frankfurter's
comment:

While I think that it might be better to follow his suggestion, still if you feel that the sentence ought to be left in, I suggest that his main objection would be partially avoided if there were inserted between the phrase "there was" and the phrase "a radical and fundamental difference", the phrase "at that time".

Please let me have your decision so that in case you are not here next Sunday, the matter may be presented.

As I wired you last night, I decided that it would be inadvisable to publish the Cox and Harding letters. Harding's is utterly unsatisfactory and of course it would not do to publish the one without the other.

Cordially yours,



Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple,
Cleveland, O.

October twenty-eighth
1920

Judge Julian W. Mack,
Woolworth Building,
New York City.

My dear Judge Mack,

I have received your letter of the 25th instant, as well as the copy of my memorandum with marginal corrections and revisions of Justice Brandeis. They are all perfectly acceptable.

Concerning the question contained in the Justice's letter to me, I feel that the memorandum contains nothing that is not known to our Executive Committee. This memorandum is, of course, not to be presented to any but the Executive Committee.

I am glad that you have taken action in the Canal matter.

With kindest regards, I am

Very sincerely yours,

October twenty-eighth,
1920

Judge Julian W. Mack,
Woolworth Building,
New York City.

My dear Judge Mack,

Your suggestion that the phrase "at that time" be inserted between the words "there was" and the phrase "radical and fundamental difference" is well taken.

I do not fully agree with Frankfurter, that the memorandum should be in the nature of a oral report. I think it should be brought to the attention of every member of the Executive Committee who may not be present at the forthcoming meeting.

Unfortunately I shall not be in New York on October 31st and I will appreciate it if you will read the report.

With kindest regards,

Very sincerely yours,

JULIAN W. MACK
U. S. CIRCUIT JUDGE
NEW YORK CITY

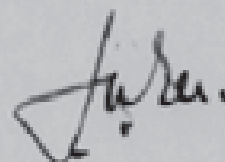
Woolworth Building,
November 1, 1920.

Dear Rabbi Silver:

Your Special Delivery of the 28th, mailed on the 29th at 5 p. m., was delivered at the Woolworth Building at 5.30 p. m., ^{30th} after I had left, and therefore did not reach me until this morning.

Yesterday's session lasted from 9 a. m. until 11 p. m. I announced at the end that I had a report, but that I should defer reading it until the adjourned meeting, which will be held on the 14th. We simply could not finish the work.

Cordially yours,



Rabbi A. H. Silver,
The Temple,
Cleveland, Ohio.

[1920?]

The Representatives of the Cleveland Zichist District on the Weitzman's Reception Committee, learning that his coming to Cleveland would be signal for the launching of a K. H. Campaign, withdrew from the Committee, which was then disbanded. Their action was determined by the unanimous decision of the ^{was} ~~Executives~~ of the District not to participate in any campaign for funds ^{whatsoever} until a convention of the American Organization is held.

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WESTERN UNION



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RABBI A H SILVER

CARE TEMPLE EAST 11th ST AND CENTRAL AVE CLEVELAND O

PLEASE DESTROY ESPECIALLY GALLEY PAGE FIVE PRELIMINARY PROOF STATEMENT

MAILED YESTERDAY FINAL REVISION MAILED TODAY

Encl 330

JULIAN W. MACK

Telephone No.

Telephoned To

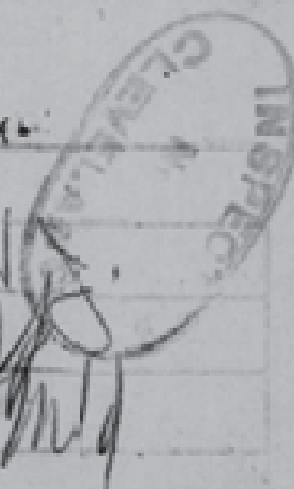
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103
A STATEMENT TO THE ZIONISTS OF AMERICA

By ten members of the National Executive Committee who declined to vote on the Summary of the position of the Zionist Organization of America as submitted at a meeting on March 19th., 1921.

We, the undersigned members of the National Executive Committee of the Zionist Organization, who decline to vote on the summary of the position to be taken by Judge Mack as president in his negotiations with Dr. Chaim Weizmann, President of the World Zionist Organization, feel that we owe it as moral duty to the Zionists of America to make the following statement:

For some time past, and especially since the London Zionist Conference, there have been differences of opinion between the American Zionist Administration and the World Zionist Organization, principally relative to the underlying ideas of the Keren Hayesod. The Buffalo Convention instead of lessening points of disagreement, intensified them.

To meet this situation Dr. Weizmann called a meeting of the Greater Actions Committee after the Buffalo Convention, but because the American members stated that they would not be able to attend, that meeting was postponed. It was then felt that there could and should be a friendly composition of differences if Dr. Weizmann and others came to the United States. This visit was postponed several times owing to important political engagements, but Dr. Weizmann has already sailed and is expected within a few days.

In anticipation of the coming of Dr. Weizmann, it was proposed that the National Executive Committee should consider what questions were to be discussed with Dr. Weizmann in order that, speedily adjusting our differences, Dr. Weizman's presence could be used to begin at once constructive activity for Palestine which had already been too long delayed.

Judge Mack thereupon undertook to formulate his position in the coming discussions with Dr. Weizmann, and submitted a printed Summary and Supporting Memorandum to the National Executive Committee, asking approval of the Summary only.

But this summary of Judge Mack set forth not concrete issues over the Keren Hayesod, but statements regarding fundamental theoretical and philosophical conceptions and definitions of Zionism, upon which the National Executive Committee has neither the authority nor power nor competence to pass judgement. They belong as a matter of law to the Zionist Congress; and the Executive Committee lacks both the legal and moral right to bind those who may dissent from such views.

Furthermore, the statement contained grave personal insinuations unsubstantiated by proper evidence. It was evident that it attempted to set up issues that were artificial and wholly irrelevant to a conference with Dr. Weizmann at this time. Both in substance and in form it was not calculated to bring about peace and harmonious cooperation.

This document which took several weeks on the part of Judge Mack and his advisers to prepare, was not placed in the hands of the members of the Executive Committee until a few hours before the meeting. No time was given the members to read the statement with care, to examine its implications, to inquire into the charges contained therein, or to formulate and propose necessary changes or substitute proposals. Some of us pleaded that a delay of at least one week be granted under the circumstances. Others insisted that all these matters be laid over until Dr. Weizmann had had an opportunity to state his views to the Executive Committee. But these objections and requests were denied; and in spite of the repeated protests of the members that they could not in such a hurried manner morally vote "yes" or "no" on proposals developed in a compilation covering twenty-nine pages of printed matter of the gravest concern and consequence to the Zionist Movement, the statement was put to a vote under a rule shutting off discussion with fourteen voting for approval and 10 declining to vote.

Not only was this action forced in a hasty and ill considered manner, but without the authorization of the Executive Committee the Summary has been published and distributed broadcast. In addition, the Supporting Memorandum, which the Committee was repeatedly assured was to be regarded purely as Judge Mack's own personal argument in support of the Summary, admittedly containing insinuations of a serious character, which if published might seriously damage the Zionist cause, was also published and circulated. The Zionist districts have been called upon to express an opinion on what amounts to serious charges without having heard arguments on both sides and before Dr. Weizmann had had an opportunity to be heard. It is evident that the publication of the document within less than a week of the arrival of Dr. Weizmann could have no other effect than to prejudice opinion against the World Zionist Administration and to confuse the Zionists of this country.

We did not deem it proper or necessary at the meeting nor do we deem it proper or necessary now to enter into a discussion of the matter contained in the statement. The most elementary courtesy, fairness and justice to Dr. Weizmann and his associates demand that we shall first hear what Dr. Weizmann has to say with regard to them before any conclusions are reached by the Zionists of America.

(Signed)

Boris Grabelsky,

Aaron Levenstone,

Louis Lipsky,

Frederic Lubin,

Morris Margulies,

Emanuel Neumann,

Bernard G. Richards,

Louis Robison,

Bernard A. Rosenblatt,

Morris Rothenberg.

ZIONIST SPECIAL—ONE

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

Submitted by the President of the ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA to the NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, Meeting March 19th, 1921.

in confidence

the Position of the Zionist Organization of America

SUMMARY OF PROBLEMS AND ISSUES IN DISCUSSION WITH DR. WEIZMANN AND ASSOCIATES

A. PRINCIPLES AND POLICIES

- I. The Zionist Organization of America stands for
 1. Concentration of the Zionist Organization's activities on Palestine as against diffusion on "Gegenwartsarbeit" and Diaspora Nationalism.
 2. The Zionist Organization as the Jewish Agency versus the proposal, made repeatedly since 1919, by the "Gegenwartsarbeit" party to substitute for the Zionist Organization, a coalition composed of representatives of Zionist and non-Zionist organizations or of those elected by a general Jewish Congress.
 3. Primary emphasis on, and direction of activities to the economic upbuilding of Palestine, as against primary emphasis on general cultural activities.
 - a. Commonwealth versus Cultural Center. A living culture-creating and culture-radiating Israel cannot arise and endure without permanent economic foundations.
 4. Separation of funds for economic development in Palestine from those destined for communal purposes, as opposed to commingling of all funds and consequent disregard of responsibilities created and trusts imposed.
 5. Budgetary system and efficiency in operations in Palestine versus present financial policies of the Zionist Commission, characterized by deficits, improvisation, and inefficiency.
 6. A policy of federalism promoting strong responsible federations, as opposed to a centralization imposing rigid uniformity in methods and means as well as end.

B. FUND RAISING AND ECONOMIC INSTRUMENTALITIES

- I. The Zionist Organization of America is opposed to
 1. The commingling of donations and investments.
 - a. A conglomerate fund is financially unsound.
 - b. A conglomerate fund would perpetuate the economically vicious confusion of productive and unproductive work in Palestine.
 - c. A conglomerate fund would be practically treated as an appeal for donations.
 - d. Maaser appeal should be confined to Donation Fund; Maaser principle inapplicable to investments.
 - e. A conglomerate fund, through its very complexity, destroys the personal equation, and eliminates the continuous and growing interest of the investor.
- II. The Zionist Organization of America stands for
 1. The individualization of fund-raising for enterprises of a public national character.
 2. The formation of public utility corporations under the public plan, limiting profits, providing a trustee for surplus profits and the safeguarding of the vital interests of Jewish Palestine, the trustee to be the Economic Council or any other body approved by World Organization.
 3. Raising of a specific fund—preferably under the name Keren Hayesod—for the economically unproductive but nationally important work of education, national land acquisition, sanitation, immigration welfare, and afforestation.
 4. Stimulation of private corporations, which are to be encouraged to invest in public undertakings, and to give effect to the public policy of the organization both as to labor and profits.
- III. The Zionist Organization of America maintains that
 1. This plan for fund-raising in America is an adaptation of the Keren Hayesod to American conditions. Adaptation was inevitable because of the shifting structure of the Keren Hayesod, the final plan and character of which has not yet been determined.
 2. By all previous practice and tradition, Federations are autonomous as to fund-raising in their territory.
 3. The plan does not in any way imply separatism, or derogation from the authority of the Executive of the World Organization, whose relation to the Keren Hayesod has not even now been determined. Nor can it possibly imply lack of faith in the Jewish masses, unless it be disbelief in their permanent toleration of unsound economic methods and standards and persistent confusion of the unreal with the ideal.

IV. The Zionist Organization of America, on the other hand, protests against the secessionism of the Keren Hayesod leaders.

1. These leaders have attacked and undermined the authority of the legally constituted Executive of the World Zionist Organization. They originally secured, notwithstanding the virtual protest of the two members of the Executive in charge of the economic and financial work, an agreement which made the Keren Hayesod a separatist body co-ordinate with the Executive. Now that they have by their agitation disintegrated the Executive they are seeking to make the present Keren Hayesod Board in effect self-perpetuating and independent of the Zionist Organization.
2. They later secured a private agreement disavowing and nullifying the powers of the Reorganization Commission, although it had been vested with plenary power by the Executive, formally confirmed on the occasion of the appointment of the American member.

ZIONIST SPECIAL—TWO

3. They have since forced the resignations of Messrs. Simon and de Lieme, whose efforts to reorganize and strengthen the Organization for concrete achievement on a sound economic program made them the object of a bitter attack. The campaign waged against them and the American leaders has been under the slogan of opposition to "Amerikanische Hollandische Geschaets Zionismus"—a slogan similar to that used in the attack against the policies of Herzl.

4. The failure of the Executive to approve our Convention Resolutions on this subject and our disinclination to act without such approval, have alone caused the slackening of Zionist work in America.

C. REORGANIZATION.

1. The Zionist Organization of America stands for the principles adopted by the Reorganization Commission.

a. The Zionist Organization shall become the Jewish Agency in Palestine, displacing the Zionist Commission.

b. It should transfer its headquarters to Palestine.

c. Its primary objectives should be settlement and development.

d. It should aid in the upbuilding of the Jewish Homeland, without encroaching on the functions of either the Palestinian Government or Palestinian Jewry.

e. It should foster the University and Technicum, but entrust the general school system in Palestine to Palestinian Jewry, gradually reducing its subventions, but assisting the formation of some agency under Palestinian Jewry to secure general Jewish participation in the maintenance of the school work.

f. The primary economic work should be entrusted to suitable corporate or cooperative institutions under appropriate control, in place of the present centralized bureaucratic system of the Zionist Commission.

2. Readjustment of the relations between the World Organization and the Federations.

a. The political aim, which required uniformity of expression, has been attained. A complex economic development requires diversity in methods of approach and organization.

b. The World Organization should carry on the political work, coordinate the economic work, and create a trusteeship for the trust funds accruing under the public plan.

c. The rights and duties of the Federations and the Fractions must be determined and equalized. At present, the fractions are practically independent of the authority of the World Organization and assume no financial obligations towards it, yet in combination exercise at times a controlling voice. This is representation without taxation. Such an intolerable situation must be changed.

d. On the one hand, the World Organization should apply to Gegenwartsarbeit only the funds specifically given for that purpose, and on the other hand, each Federation should have the right to refrain from participation in Gegenwartsarbeit.

e. The manner and method of raising funds in each country shall be decided by the particular Federation.

f. In order to strengthen the Federations, and to enhance the interest of Jewries outside of Palestine in Palestinian work, the World Organization should, in its discretion, transfer to Federations the initiative in certain undertakings, with proper public safeguards, and subject to the coordinating authority of the World Organization.

With the Palestinian Government controlling external relations and the Zionist Organization supervising Jewish relations, the only rivalry which will ensue is in creative and disinterested service for Eretz Israel.

ZIONIST SPECIAL—THREE

Confidential.

SUPPORTING MEMORANDUM

on

THE POLICIES OF THE ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

PART I

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The present divergences between the American Organization and the World Organization may be projected against the background of the last few years during which certain differences as to outlook and method became recurrently manifest. The American Delegation, sent after the Armistice, was confronted by Proposals to the Peace Conference relating to Palestine, which in effect provided merely for an aggrandized Yishub and the semblance of political control modelled on the lines of a Crown Colony. The effort of the American Delegation to incorporate in the final Proposals the economic requirements for the evolution of a Jewish Palestine marks the beginning of the American emphasis and insistence on the economic phase of our Zionist problems. In the subsequent work on the drafts of the Mandate, which was entrusted primarily to members of the American Delegation, the controversy centered about the clauses relating to Land and to the Jewish Agency. Most of the European leaders were opposed to the Pittsburgh Program, which the American Delegation sought to apply in the form of provisions against land speculation through the taxation of the unearned increment and against exploitation of natural resources and public utilities. The American attempt to give an economic liberal character to the Mandate finally succeeded, thanks in part to the political influence of the American Organization which was in turn partly a reflex of the predominant rôle of America in the early peace making. Owing chiefly to their adherence to Diaspora nationalism and "Gegenwartsarbeit," the same leaders originally opposed making the Zionist Organization the Jewish Agency for cooperating with the Palestine Administration in all matters affecting the establishment of the Jewish National Home.

These issues came to a head upon the return of Justice Brandeis from Palestine in August, 1919, and upon his completion of work that had a decided effect upon the attitude of the Administration in Palestine. On the issue over the Jewish Agency, the Gegenwartsarbeit party, a continuation of the cultural party, stood out for a mixed coalition from the Zionist and from non-Zionist Organizations or for a Jewish Council elected by a general Jewish Congress. Messrs. Simon and de Liema sided with the American representatives and so decided the issue in favor of the Zionist Organization as the Agency. It was in the course of that controversy that the American Organization's conception of Zionism and the representative character of the American leadership were first challenged, and the charge of an American Zionist Monroe Doctrine first made.

The resumption of international relations saw an enlargement of the London Organization under the administration and control of leaders and adherents of the cultural and Gegenwartsarbeit program. Appointments to administrative posts were made more on the basis of past services to the Cause rather than of present qualifications for the new tasks. The position of active direction of the Commission was thus filled with little if any consideration of the question of fitness to cope with the situation created by the political unsettlement of the Near East, a situation fraught with grave dangers which had been averted in the Spring of that year. The Organization at London expanded into the field of Diaspora affairs, among other activities maintaining in large part the Committee of Jewish Delegations. While the burden of financing the Zionist work in Europe and Palestine was cast upon America and Western lands, some of the European leaders organized private enterprises for Palestine development, which through an interlocking of directors with Zionist officials assumed a quasi-official character. The reorganization of the financial institutions of the Organization which the American leaders deemed urgent and for which a committee, under the chairmanship of Sir (then Mr.) Herbert Samuel, prepared a detailed plan, was rendered impossible by the attitude of some of these leaders. The American plan of an anti-malarial campaign to fit the land for the incoming immigrants met with indifference, and the budget of the American Zionist Medical Unit was curtailed in order to provide for the increased expenses of the cultural work. The equal participation of the JDC in the maintenance of the Unit, and American concern in anti-malarial and sanitation work made it advisable to continue the Unit under the direction of the American Organization. This was stigmatized as separatism and described by the misnomer, American Zionist Monroe Doctrine, for a specific American contribution to Palestine Restoration.

Meanwhile the financial operations of the Organization in Palestine and London were conducted along makeshift lines. The drain for current, unproductive work was allowed to be so great that, with the exception of the Medical Unit, comparatively nothing was done towards Palestine Restoration and the preparation for a self-supporting Jewish society, for which main purposes the Palestine Restoration Funds were raised. The Commission built up a paternalist system of subsidies and subventions to such an extent that it came to be described in Palestine and outside as "the new Chaluka." The American leaders, conscious of their public trust towards Palestinian and American Jewry, were convinced that the existing system or rather absence of system if allowed to continue would bring discredit upon our work and lead to disaster. But they felt that with the political question still awaiting final settlement, it was not in the Jewish public interest to raise the question of re-organizing the Organizations in London and Palestine, and that until the political object was formally attained, it was incumbent on American Zionists to act on the basis of sending the supplies asked to the main political fronts.

*unintended support
for the main purposes*

ZIONIST SPECIAL—FOUR

The San Remo decision by solving the external problem threw the internal problem into sharper relief. The American Delegation to the London Conference, convened in the wake of the San Remo decision, left under instructions of Convention or Executive urging upon the World Organization:

- (a) to concentrate upon Palestine upbuilding;
- (b) give effect to the Pittsburgh program;
- (c) adopt a thorough-going budget system;
- (d) promote immigration;
- (e) provide for anti-malarial and sanitation work;
- (f) establish experimental stations and laboratories as aids for colonization and settlement;
- (g) base the work upon expert service;
- (h) reorganize the financial institutions, and
- (i) arrange for the participation of the American Organization in the councils of the World Organization.

The leader of the American Organization, after a consideration of the state of the Movement in conference with his colleagues of the World Organization, proposed the following as the essentials of an adequate plan:

- (1) concentration on productive work in Palestine, with the object of settling in a comparatively short period a preponderant, self-reliant, self-supporting Jewish society;
- (2) the political functions of the Zionist Commission having lapsed, its continuance as a sort of government within a government is from the practical and political points of view utterly inadvisable;
- (3) the work of upbuilding the Jewish Homeland should be taken over by the Zionist Executive itself;
- (4) for this new constructive work, the Executive should bring in men of ability and standing, to participate in the management and share in the responsibility of the Zionist Organization, as its officials,—such men to be chosen on the European Cabinet plan;
- (5) the Federations in the Diaspora to be strengthened to serve as the Hinterland.

The plan involved a transfer of the Organization to Palestine as the center, the elimination of *Gegenwartsarbeit*, the separation of the unproductive from the productive work and the corresponding individualization of the fund raising, and the placing of the administrative authority, though not the ultimate control over policies, in the hands of business executives instead of as heretofore in the hands of propagandists. The plan met with the hostility of the old leaders who all through the propaganda phase of the Movement had borne the burden. One charge,—itself the fertile cause of public misunderstanding of the plan by Europe and America—must be set down to mis-interpretation or misunderstanding. Neither in the method of choice nor as to the ultimate source of authority over policy was the plan at all undemocratic, and unlike certain proposals recently entertained by the very leaders of the anti-American forces, it did not contemplate the abandonment of the economic function. As alternatives for an expert Executive with power and responsibility, an independent Economic Council with advisory powers was adopted and as a complement to that, a Board of Trustees with auditing powers. On the outstanding issue, the Delegation while not unanimous on other points, declared unanimously in behalf of the American Zionist Organization that it refused to accept any responsibility for the action of the Conference on national cultural work in the Diaspora. The American Delegation further protested against the system of representation without taxation by which Fractions who do not bear responsibility for the budget are allowed to have in combination a decisive voice in disposing the funds of the Organization.

Such in brief is the history of the past differences between the two attitudes. In a larger historical perspective these attitudes and their manifestations would have to be related to the historical struggle from the very inception of the Movement between the political economic party of Herzl and his followers and the cultural *Yishuv Chovev-Zion* party of Mr. Ussischkin and his followers. The issue thus transcends geographical distinctions between American and European Zionism, and flows from a fundamental difference between those who stand first and above all for a Commonwealth and those who stand for a Cultural Center. But in face of the pressing urgency of our problem, we have to transcend not only geography, but also history. We have to apply ourselves to the immediate tasks on which all can agree and as for the rest, be hospitable towards a diversity of views and methods as means for a richer and more varied contribution of human and material resources to the upbuilding of a Jewish Palestine.

ZIONIST SPECIAL—FIVE

PART II.

DIASPORA NATIONALISM.

The principle of federalism hereinafter discussed must be applied to the cultural work as well as to the economic work. Federations must be left free to choose whether or not they want to do *Gegenwartsarbeit*. The granting of that right levies a correlative duty on the World Organization not to divert to *Gegenwartsarbeit* funds contributed by Federations specifically for Palestine and Zionist work. The federalist principle is here reinforced by the main American contention against the commingling of unproductive and productive funds. Just as the unproductive work in Palestine is to be maintained out of a separate fund, so unproductive work outside of Palestine is to be maintained out of funds contributed for the purpose. But inasmuch as in the American view, such work is outside the purview of the Zionist Organization, Federations have the right to refrain from participation in *Gegenwartsarbeit*. The rôle of the World Organization, when supplied with funds earmarked for *Gegenwartsarbeit*, is merely that of trustee and agent of the specific Federation or Fraction.

The practical issue of *Gegenwartsarbeit* has arisen as a result of Diaspora nationalism. Diaspora nationalism in its broadest sense, confusing the concepts of state, people and nation, regards the revival of the Jewish nation in Palestine as involving the recognition of the integral national unity, in a political and not merely spiritual sense, of the various Jewries scattered under different sovereignties. Various it stands for (1) the political national character and status of every Jewry as an entity within every state; (2) the political national character of Jewry as a total collective entity in the world of states; and (3) the political national bond between the Jewish nation established in Palestine, and every and all Jewry in the diaspora.

The political struggle before the war on the part of the submerged nationalities in Central and Eastern Europe and the issue of nationalism brought to the fore by the war have given some impetus to the theory of Diaspora nationalism and led to an obscuring of the pure Zionist orientation of a number of Zionists.

The American Organization, through participation in the American Jewish Congress and through the membership of the Committee of Jewish Delegations, became to an important degree the spokesman for Jewish rights. But it asked recognition of the Jewish nationality only in those new and enlarged States of Eastern and Central Europe in which other minority nationalities were recognized: it sought for the Jewish minority in these lands the same rights and only the same rights as are granted to other minority groups. Thus it supported the demand of the representatives of East European Jewries for political as well as cultural autonomy for their Jewish minorities. The Peace Treaties, however, secure only cultural rights and recognize only racial, religious or linguistic minority groups. The cultural rights of the Treaties are in fact enjoyed, as a matter of governmental administration or toleration, by minorities in all Western lands. Diaspora nationalism, in the sense of a political unity of world Jewry or of a political bond between Palestine and Diaspora Jewries, is based on a fundamental confusion of ideas and a complete misconception both of what is legally possible and of what is politically desirable. The American Organization has officially rejected Diaspora nationalism in both of these senses. In an official statement by the President issued early in 1920, unanimously concurred in by the National Executive Committee, it is declared that the restoration of the Jewish people to Palestine does not imply that the Jewish people as a whole or any section thereof in lands other than Palestine is a political entity.

As to national cultural work in the Diaspora, the American Organization holds that the Zionist Organization as such should not divert its resources from the main purpose for which it is formed. Individual Zionists have also other Jewish aims and obligations and should articulate their other Jewish duties and interests through organizations for the respective purposes. In accordance with this view, the American Zionist Delegation to the London Conference unanimously protested against the resolution of the Conference on national cultural work and dissociated the American Organization from any responsibility for the carrying out of that resolution. Similarly the Buffalo Convention declared that participation in Diaspora work is to express itself not through the action of the Zionist Organization but through the action of individual Zionists.

The pure Zionist Palestinian program as thus envisaged by the American Organization as to scope, policies, standards and methods, paves the way for the co-operation of all Jews in the Palestinian work. Our Zionist professions of readiness to welcome all Jews in Palestine work will be judged by the readiness of the Organization to limit itself to that task. For the co-operation of able experienced non-Zionist men of affairs who in other connections have proved themselves devoted Jews, can be secured only on a basis of Palestinianism. The participation of such non-Zionists does not in any way involve a compromising of the Zionist program, for there will be no interference by them with the growth of the people in Erez Israel to full nationhood; indeed through increasing participation they will acquire increasing knowledge and sympathy with the aspirations of Palestinian Jewry. Conversely, that growth depends upon the economic development of Palestine. The clarification of the objective and the adaptation of the Organization to the rôle of effective economic instrument will make it possible for all Jews within the Organization and outside to share in making the New Palestine worthy of the world's expectations and Israel's memories and hopes.

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ZIONIST SPECIAL—SIX

PART III.

KEREN HAYESOD.

The difference between the American plan and the present Keren Hayesod plan is primarily a difference as to method. The question is primarily what is the best way of raising funds in America? What will be the most effective appeal? On that question, a sub-committee of the National Executive representing all shades of views was unanimously against the commingling of donations and investments, and that view was adopted by the Convention with virtual unanimity. America is looked on to supply the greater part of the funds. It is therefore the duty of the American Organization to determine the method most suitable in America for getting the greatest possible amount in America for the Palestine work. The separation of investments from donations does not aim to diminish the Fund's importance but to increase its power as a money getter. Through such separation, we are enabled to call for investments in the economic funds to an extent exceeding Maaser, and to call for donations for the non-economic funds by appealing for Maaser.

It is noteworthy that on the question of commingling investments with donations even those members of the Committee sponsoring the Keren Hayesod thought that the only way it could be adapted to the American conditions would be by separating donations from investments and by pooling the investments for public utilities and public services into a holding company. The majority of the Committee and the National Executive and finally the Convention decided that not only must there be in fund-raising in America no commingling of investments with donations, but, subject to the approval of the World Executive, investments for public utilities should be solicited with reference to the specific enterprises. The reasons which led to the unanimous decision of separating the investments from the donations and to the majority decision of separating the public utilities investments into specific enterprises are as follows: (a) an appeal for a conglomerate fund would be treated as practically an appeal for donations because of the uncertainty as to the amount and purposes of the investment portion; (b) similarly an appeal for a holding company of as yet unformed and undefined subsidiaries would fail to enlist the applied and specific interests of investors; (c) the separate enterprises would give the investors definite stakes in Palestine and would evoke from them active, personal, continuous and cumulative interest, thus bringing to bear on the development of Palestine a wider democratic responsibility and a richer and more varied human contribution; (d) separate enterprises will tend to increase the number of contributors and the amounts of contributions also for the non-productive purposes as investors through their specific interests will become more vividly aware of such needs as education, sanitation, immigration welfare and afforestation, which needs must, until the population becomes self-supporting, be supplied in larger or smaller part by world Jewry. In our view the most effective appeal is not for a conglomerate fund but for funds for concrete things to be done, making direct and visible the relation between the contribution and the service it performs for Palestine. The Convention resolutions provide:

(1) Subject to the approval of the Executive of the World Zionist Organization, funds for public utilities, or corporations for the development of the natural resources of the country, should be solicited for the separate enterprises, with profits limited to a reasonable return, the surplus to be held in trust for Palestine, the trustee for such surplus funds and for the ultimate control of such corporations to be the Economic Council or some similar body approved by the World Zionist Organization.

(2) Donations or gifts should be collected in the United States into a fund which, subject to the approval of the World Zionist Organization, shall be called the Keren Hayesod.

(3) Local private corporations should be fostered by the Organization, and be encouraged to reserve a portion of their capital for investments for public purposes and be urged to provide safeguards for the vital interests of a Jewish Palestine.

These resolutions obviously do not affect the integrity and authority of the World Organization. They do not in the least place the public utilities and donation funds under the authority and the control of the American Organization as over against the World Organization. If, as has been loosey and widely charged, the American Organization had adopted a separatist policy, economic development in Palestine would not now be at a standstill. For we could have pointed to some actual accomplishments in Palestine as a reply to this endless misinterpretation of our motives. On the contrary, our loyalty to the World Zionist Organization on the one hand, and the refusal of the World Zionist Organization, on the other hand, to sanction any going ahead on the only workable basis, has left the economic situation practically where it was when the London Conference met and debated.

Not being permitted to go ahead in the development of public utility enterprises and being unwilling to proceed without the sanction and full co-operation of the Executive of the World Organization, we have, by urging private corporations to devote at least thirty per cent of their capital for public purposes, created funds for the prospective public enterprises. We have thus brought private corporations into harmony with the Pittsburgh program, for corporations so organized will invest in public undertakings, and will moreover limit the profits returnable to investors and give effect to the Organization's policy as to labor. The American Organization has merely given impetus to the present urge of American Zionists toward Palestine work. It is accordingly helping local groups to organize themselves into corporations, acting in an advisory capacity to them. It was, by the way, in furtherance of such private corporations that we transmitted through the American member of the Reorganization Commission, the inquiry of certain organizers as to the status of contemplated American corporations and a request for a message of encouragement from the High Commissioner.

Our present emphasis on this activity is for one thing as an interim activity until the Keren Hayesod issue is settled. But more importantly, our fostering of such private corporations is based on our realization that Palestine needs industrial and commercial development, and that only through such development will an opportunity be given to the Chaluza to earn a

ZIONIST SPECIAL—SEVEN

living after the present public work on the roads ceases, and that primarily through such Jewish undertakings, content to accept a limited return and devote excess profits to the welfare of Palestine Jewry, will Jewish labor with a standard of living higher than that of Arab labor have adequate opportunity for employment.

Thus far the reasons in favor of separating the productive from the unproductive funds, individualizing the funds for the public utilities under the public plan, and fostering private corporations with special public features. Since the Convention we have awaited the authorization of the Executive for our adaptation of the Keren Hayesod idea to American conditions. Adaptation there had to be, because when the question first came up in late September, the structure and the administration of the Keren Hayesod Fund had not yet been fixed. The London Conference did not have before it and did not pass a detailed plan. It accepted the general idea of the Keren Hayesod, and the slogan of Maaser, and left it to the incoming Executive to establish the fund and to determine in co-operation with the Federations and the Jewish National Fund, the methods of organizing the campaign. The present suggestion for the Keren Hayesod was only worked out and communicated to us shortly before the Buffalo Convention. The Keren Hayesod, so shifting and varying from its inception to the present and even now not finally fixed, cannot be an acid test or any kind of a test of something so constant and unvarying as our loyalty to the Zionist cause and to the World Organization!

Moreover in the first and only official letter on this subject sent us by the Executive, we were advised that "a definite method of utilizing the sums raised by the Keren Hayesod (as to the relation between donations and investments) cannot be fixed uniformly for all countries, and that a linking up of the Keren Hayesod with investments has been realized only imperfectly." The Buffalo resolutions propose a method as regards America for fixing more definitely and less imperfectly adapted to American conditions the relation between investments and donations.

On the face of it, it is difficult to understand how the American suggestion of a different and more suitable method for raising funds in America should in the eyes of the organizers of the Keren Hayesod have been magnified into a vital fundamental issue, calling for heroic measures to root out the American plan as a veritable heresy in Zionism. There are two explanations of this. The first is that certain exponents of the idea of a National Loan have by some subtle dialectic managed to persuade themselves that the Keren Hayesod is a quasi-National Loan. Starting from the theory of Diaspora nationalism, which makes the Jewish people outside of Palestine a political entity, they base national credit on the organized action of the national will rather than on national territory organized as a state. The national will can therefore meet the financial needs of the nation through a national loan obtained by a nationally imposed levy of Maaser. The Keren Hayesod organizers have adopted this theory, and accordingly in their official Explanatory Statement they speak of the Fund as embodying the characteristics of a National Loan and of investments and donations. The Keren Hayesod regarded in this light of diaspora nationalism is thus held up as the financial expression of the integral unity of the Jewish nation. The uniform method of raising the one indivisible fund to be turned over to the Jewish treasury with full power over allocation of funds, has become in this way the vehicle of a dogma; conversely the diversified method of raising the separate funds is held up as implying an affirmation of assimilation, and any attempt to apply the diversified method is attacked as an act of sacrilege against the Jewish national spirit.

This philosophy back of the propaganda for the Keren Hayesod and against the American Organization is, however, but the inward phase of the external struggle for the dominion of the Movement. That struggle is the political reason for the issue created by the Keren Hayesod leaders out of the American adaptation of the Keren Hayesod idea. Following the London Conference, a group in Europe started and has continued a campaign to undermine the authority of the legally constituted Executive. It happens that the sponsors of the Keren Hayesod were from the start identified with this attempt. An agitation was conducted against the members of the Executive charged with the practical work and against the American leaders, who were coupled together under what was intended as a term of opprobrium "Amerikanische Hollandische Geschaefte Zionismus." They claimed that the Executive was out of touch with the masses and demanded an immediate summoning of the Actions Committee to reconstruct the Executive and restore the "Geist" of the London office which had been suppressed by the soulless "efficiency" program and consequent curtailment of certain non-Zionist expenditures such as the subsidy for the Committee of Jewish Delegations. Demands and ultimata, such as the entrance of Keren Hayesod leaders in the Executive and the independent control of the funds, were made as conditions for the initiation of the Keren Hayesod work by them. In the end, such an agreement was reached between the Executive and the Keren Hayesod group. That agreement while it left a semblance of authority to the Executive, hedged about the majority control vested in the Governor, so as to make the Keren Hayesod Board a separatist and self-perpetuating body. They who flouted and condemned the moral position and authority of the Executive thus secured recognition as a coordinate body. Later when the Executive sent a Commission with plenary power to Palestine to reorganize the work, members of the Keren Hayesod secured other and more important concessions from the leaders of the Organization. The agreements entered into, as revealed in reports at first denied but since confirmed by the events, undertook to reduce the Reorganization Commission to a mere advisory body, contrary to the express powers vested in it by the vote of the Executive as a whole and communicated on the occasion of the appointment of the American member; it provided for transforming the homogeneous Executive into a larger body by the accession of new members, contrary to the understanding reached last summer in London; it adopted the Jewish Legion as an important part of Zionist policy, involving not only an additional expenditure of £40,000 or more a year, but important and grave political considerations, and as it appears the British authorities were advised of this decision, although it was taken in the absence of the majority of the Executive in Palestine. This agreement forced the resignation of the two members of the Executive in charge of the economic work—Messrs. Simon and De Lieme. Their resignation has since been accepted, and the Executive provisionally reorganized. This political campaign against the Executive and the American leaders has thus resulted in a paralysis of constructive work and a crisis in the Movement.

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PART IV.
REORGANIZATION.

The issue between the American and the Keren Hayesod plan has a far-reaching significance for the whole problem of Palestine upbuilding. The two plans diverge not only as to the methods of raising funds, but as to the methods and standards of the Palestine work to be done by means of the funds. The American plan is against confusing and commingling productive and unproductive funds and is for individualizing the productive funds for the respective enterprises. The object of that is, on the negative side, a corresponding elimination of the confusion of productive and unproductive work in Palestine and of the prevalent commingling of funds regardless of the trusts attaching to them. On the positive side, it stands for

- (1) concentration of the Zionist Organization transferred to Palestine on the immediate tasks of immigration, colonization and settlement,
- (2) the furtherance and co-ordination of the economic institutions necessary for the growth and development of a pulsating economic life and a self-supporting community,
- (3) the extension through a separate fund of aid to public or cultural activities of Palestinian Jewry, which in a normal country are ordinarily met by taxation or by communal funds—always guided in that by the consideration that the work of colonization and settlement will as it increases the taxable resources of the country enable the government or the community to take over in increasing measure the unproductive part of the budget.

On the other hand, the general undifferentiated fund or of the Keren Hayesod are but the expression of the policies, régime, methods and mode of operation of the Zionist Commission.

The Zionist Commission envisages Jewish settlement under the simple scheme of Jews coming in and of the Jewries of the Diaspora sending in money to take care of them. The theory under which it operates is that only through a broad, far-flung national expenditure in all spheres of activity will the Jewish imagination be reached and the people moved to supply the requisite means. The budget for the unproductive work,—which for education alone has now mounted to twice the amount spent on agriculture and settlement—must be maintained as a prior charge on all funds, therefore necessitating their commingling. It rejects all proposals for effecting economies which it regards as expressive of a petty, niggardly spirit towards the sacred national work. It rejects a budgetary system of operation on the theory that deficits created will spur the people on to greater sacrifice. Its plans and projects bear no relevant relation to the real situation and the financial and economic policies it carries out are sheer makeshift and improvisation. It is significant and symptomatic that the budget submitted by the Commission to the London Conference called for an expenditure during the current year of £4,000,000 for just the maintenance and extension of the present work,—a budget ten times the income of the Organization. Similarly, the Keren Hayesod tentative budget for Palestine assigns £2,600,000 or about \$10,000,000 for current and national expenditures, which on the basis of the present policy would largely have to be met first before any economic work on a considerable scale would be undertaken.

The economic work proper is characterized by the same want of economic vision. Immigration is not treated by the Commission as a function of the stimulation of the economic life of the country and the incorporation of the new settlers in that growing economic life. Immigration is just a matter of getting funds with which to feed, shelter, and hebraize the immigrants. Whether they are placed on productive or unproductive work has for it little meaning. The cost to the Organization of immigrants occupied in Government work is about £20 per capita while the cost to the Organization of immigrants occupied in the Commission's undertakings is £100 in wages alone. The mind shrinks from contemplating the consequences which would have ensued had the Commission been called upon to provide for the several thousand immigrants with nothing better than its improvisations and extemporizations calculated to postpone but for a while the day of reckoning. Not only are no preparations being made for the eventual and gradual transfer of the workers from the roads to agriculture and industry, but no constructive thinking has been done by the Commission to put the advances made to the workers on a comparatively secure basis of credit. The agricultural work of the Commission and of the Jewish National Fund has from an economic standpoint been negative in its results. The source of the failure lies not in the co-operative basis but in the paternalist system which, by fixing the character of the settlements too early and equipping the settlements too completely, deprives the workers of their independence, initiative and enterprise and reduced them to day laborers.

It is the conspicuous irony of our Zionist history that our Movement which began by preaching the bankruptcy of philanthropy as the solution of the Jewish problem in the Golan, should through the same well-meaning preachers have come to apply paternalist philanthropy to the evolution of the Jewish Homeland. We are now at the parting of the ways. To continue the present system is to court disaster. Whatever justification there was in the propaganda phase of the Movement for the variety and diversity of unproductive work because of its pseudo resemblance to statecraft, it must be cast aside if we are to enter on an era of real reconstruction. The Jewish people can stand the truth and will build on the truth. All this business of invoking the Jewish soul whenever economic reforms are suggested is a poor compliment to the good sense of our people and a disparagement of that Jewish spirit and that Jewish tradition which attaches moral significance to the very trifles of daily life and work. The exponents of economic Zionism are not for a moment minimizing the need for sacrifice in service and treasure by the Jewish people everywhere. But the dependence of the whole fabric of Jewish life in Palestine upon the continued generosity of Jews in the Diaspora is not the aim. The exponents of economic Zionism are not for a moment underestimating the importance of the re-

ZIONIST SPECIAL—NINE

naissance of the Jewish spirit along with the restoration of the Jewish land. But a living, culture-creating and culture-radiating Israel cannot arise and endure without permanent economic foundations.

Ever since San Remo the party of intransigence to economic reform has paralyzed the work. That is the crisis. The only way out of the crisis is the commencement of economic work on economic lines. The Reorganization Commission has worked out a masterly and comprehensive plan which confirms and elaborates the previous plans and proposals of the American leaders.

The plan is as follows: The Commission having become politically functionless should be abolished. The economic part of its work is to be taken over by the Zionist Organization as the Jewish Agency which is to be transferred to Palestine. The work of the Zionist Organization in Palestine is to become primarily that of immigration, colonization and settlement and the furtherance of the necessary economic institutions. The Organization should not encroach on the functions of the State nor should it encroach on the functions of Palestinian Jewry, though it should to important extent aid both the Mandate Government and the population in the speedy upbuilding of the Jewish National Home. As the first step in promoting Jewish self-government, it should transfer to the Yishub the educational system, which is to be reorganized with a view to eliminate the duplication of classes, introduce on an extensive scale technical education to fit the children for economic independence in the country and to give the whole educational system a Palestinian color and character. For the present year education should be subventioned by the Organization, arranging further to reduce the subvention by, on the one hand, encouraging the Yishub to share more equitably in the costs of educating their children and by aiding the Yishub to form a society for Hebrew schools, the income from which fixed annual contributions by members throughout the world ~~could~~ provide also for the necessary additional capital expenditures on building, equipment and text books.

The Central Organization transferred to Palestine is to direct and co-ordinate the Bureaus to be established for immigration and labor, agricultural and technical service to settlers. The execution of the economic undertakings is to be intrusted to institutions in suitable corporate or co-operative form under appropriate control. The economic forces of a growing country cannot be cast in a bureaucratic mould however benevolent. Leaving therefore the actual organization of the commercial and industrial life to individual, corporate, and co-operative initiative, the function of the Organization is to call into being the primary economic institutions, share to such a degree as will prove appropriate in each case in the control of such institutions, and act as the trustee for the trust funds provided for in the public utilities under the American plan and the local investment corporations with the public features under the American plan. The list of primary economic institutions is: (1) Banks, (a) general, (b) urban, (c) agrarian, (d) co-operative, (e) workmen's; (2) Equipment Funds of a quasi-loan character for (a) agricultural workers, (b) industrial workers, (c) artisans; (3) Co-operative Wholesale Society; (4) Central Land Purchasing Agency; (5) Jewish National Fund; (6) Economic Research Board. The Zionist Executive should participate in the selection of Governors for these various institutions. An Advisory Council is to be constituted of these Governors with the Zionist Executive members in Palestine as ex-officio members of the Advisory Council.

Such is the plan of the Reorganization Commission. The attacks of avowed champions of democracy notwithstanding, it is an expression of democracy applied to the problem of the restoration of the land and the people. For unlike the bureaucratic schemes at present employed or projected by the Zionist Commission and the Keren Hayesod Board, it makes clear and visible not only the immediate steps but the whole path towards the goal of a commonwealth. It, moreover, predicates the attainment of that goal on the direct personal sharing of all Jews as stockholders or officials in the general direction of the varied enterprises, instead of mere passive giving to a small bureaucratic group that may maintain power perhaps for reasons other than their fitness for the economic tasks. The plan calls for and provides for a combination of trained business intelligence and business methods and the vitalizing power of a popular movement. It may be "Geschaefts Zionismus," but it is business permeated by practical idealism.

The reorganization of the Organization requires a corresponding readjustment of the relations between the World Organization and the Federation. Just as the work in Palestine is stimulation and co-ordination of the specific autonomously functioning economic institutions, so the Central Organization and the constituent Federations are to be reorganized on a federalist basis. In the propaganda phase of the movement, when our main concern was to win international recognition, there had to be a focusing of the scattered Jewish sounds into one mighty voice, and a consequent common organization of ideas and a uniformity of expression of the political aim. Now the object is not a uniform formula, but a multiple and complex economic development of Palestine. Since San Remo unity of aim does not require uniformity of means. In what respects there should be centralization of authority and concentration of power and uniformity of methods, and in what other respects there should be devolution of authority and distribution of power and diversity of means,—these are empirical questions that can only be solved experimentally. In the field of political relations, there can be no question that that is the absolute prerogative and exclusive function of the Central Organization. The political work and the stimulation and co-ordination of the economic work and the trust funds under the public plan—that is the "reserved service" of the Central Organization.

In the economic field the rapid development of a predominantly Jewish Palestine requires utilizing the special interests and capacities of the respective Federations. The Federations are to-day in an anamorous position. Compared with the Fractions, they are devoid of all power and authority. The Fractions have their own International Organization, their own Palestinian institutions and their own funds, all operating in practical indepen-

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ZIONIST SPECIAL—TEN

dence of the World Organization. Notwithstanding their independence and their release from financial obligations towards the World Organization, the Frac-tions are permitted to exercise in combination, a strong, and at times controlling voice in the World Organiza-tion. As for the Federations, the American Organi-zation is now prevented from and attacked for even trying to exercise its own judgment as to the best way of raising in America the maximum funds for the economic and cultural work of the World Organiza-tion, and for the development of agricultural, commer-cial and industrial, private and co-operative enterprises in Palestine. The federalist plan demands an equaliza-tion of the rights and duties of Federations and Frac-tions within the Central Organization. It calls and provides for permitting Federations to initiate specific institutions under the corporate or co-operative form to function within the framework of the Central Or-ganization's co-ordination.

To say that the functions being intertwined cannot be separated for purposes of delegation to Federations is contrary to the facts of governmental and economic life. To apply to it an unpopular catchword like secession or separatism is to betray either disin-genuousness or a failure to understand the trend of government and of the management of affairs. The new epoch in Zionism calls for a new relationship between the World Organization and the Federations, a relationship symbolized by the American motto, *E Pluribus Unum*. With the mandatory power con-trolling external relations, and the Zionist Organi-zation internal Jewish relations, the federalist plan will not and cannot lead to a repetition of pre-war national rivalries in Palestine. The only rivalry it will bring is rivalry in creative and disinterested Jewish service to Erez Israel.

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ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

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STEPHEN S. WISE	HONORARY VICE PRESIDENT
JULIAN W. MACK	PRESIDENT
HARRY FRIEDENWALD	VICE PRESIDENT
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JACOB DE HAAS	SECRETARY, PALESTINE DEPARTMENT
LOUIS LIPSKY	SECRETARY, ORGANIZATION DEPARTMENT
REUBEN HORCHOW	ASSISTANT TREASURER

REPLY TO DEPARTMENT

ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICES
55 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK

March 21, 1921

Dr. C. Weizmann, President of the World Zionist Organization and Mrs. Weizmann, Professor Albert Einstein, the great physicist, and Mrs. Einstein, Messrs. Ussischkin, Naiditch and Slatapolsky, will arrive in this country about April 3rd or 4th.

Plans as to their entertainment, their work, and the extent of their visits elsewhere than New York, must await more information as to the length of their stay and as to their own wishes.

Definitely it has been decided that a meeting shall be held in honor of Dr. Weizmann and his associates at the Metropolitan Opera House on Sunday afternoon, April 10th. To express the interest that all Jews have in the upbuilding of Palestine, irrespective of their past or present affiliation with the Zionist Organization, this meeting should be held under the auspices of a general committee of American Jews, representative of all elements and Jewish organizations.

I greatly hope that you will accept membership on this committee and will, if at all possible, attend the first meeting to be held on March 23rd, at the Pennsylvania Hotel. All arrangements for the meeting will be determined at this meeting. The date had to be set and the hall selected in advance of such a meeting because of the difficulties in securing proper facilities at this time of the year.

Trusting that I may hear from you promptly and favorably,
I am

For the rebuilding of Zion,

Very sincerely yours,

Julian W. Mack
President

JWM/RDC

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CARE OF THE TEMPLE EAST FIFTY FIFTH ST CLEVELAND O

AT WEIZMANN RECEPTION MEETING METROPOLITAN OPERA HOUSE SUNDAY
AFTERNOON APRIL TENTH I PRESIDE OUR ORGANIZATION AND MIZRACHI
ONE SPEAKER EACH JUDGE IRVING LEHMAN FOR NONZIONISTS
WEIZMANN EINSTEIN AND POSSIBLY OTHER FOREIGNERS IF WEIZMANN DESIRES
IT SPEAKERS WITH APPROVAL WISE DEHAAS AND CHIEF HAVE
SELECTED YOU TO REPRESENT OUR ORGANIZATION HIGHLY IMPERATIVE THAT YOU
ACCEPT EXECUTIVE MEETING SATURDAY NIGHT AND SUNDAY MORNING
NINTH AND TENTH CORDIAL GREETINGS WIRE

JULIAN W. MACK

1921 MAR 27 PM 3 30
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PA 1330

31 Union Square

New York, March 30, 1921.

Dear Friend:

I am taking the liberty of enclosing what purports to be a correspondence from London entitled "Why Is Weizman Coming to America?", which appears in the current number of the Jewish Tribune of which, I am informed, Mr. A. H. Fremensohn is the Managing Editor.

This "article", which I refrain from characterizing, published on the eve of the arrival in our midst of the President of the World Zionist Organization and his associates is significant of the attitude entertained toward him in certain quarters.

The existence of an insidious propaganda against the officers of the World Zionist Organization such as is illustrated by this article helps to explain the position taken by the ten members of the National Executive Committee who declined to vote on Judge Mack's statement without having had the opportunity to inquire into the charges contained therein or to hear the other side from Dr. Weizman and his associates. For, we believe that neither the unbridled utterances of irresponsible persons deliberately calculated to engender hostility, nor carefully prepared statements bristling with criticism issued in the name of a responsible Executive Committee, even with the best of intentions, are likely to promote the peace and good will essential to the success of our Movement.

In the hope of the New Zion.

Cordially yours,

EMANUEL NEUMANN.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED AT A SPECIAL MEETING OF THE HARTFORD ZIONIST
DISTRICT THURSDAY, MARCH 31, 1921.

Whereas, a serious and painful issue has arisen since the London Conference of July, 1920 between certain Zionist leaders of America and the leaders of the World Zionist Organization in regard to a number of vital questions involving not only the matter of tactics and methods, but also the very fundamentals of the Zionist philosophy and programme, and

Whereas, the American leaders referred to, have at no time shown their willingness either to discuss the issue frankly and open-mindedly with the European leaders or to submit it for discussion and decision to the Zionist rank and file of America, but on the contrary have sought by devious ways and means to avoid such a discussion and to force their own position on the Zionist organization of this country, and

Whereas, these American leaders have demonstrated clearly by the manner in which they "put through hastily" Judge Mack's Memorandum at the last session of the National Executive Committee, that they wish nothing less than to repudiate the authority of the Zionist Organization of the World and its elected officers without even giving these an opportunity to state their case before the American Zionists, be it

Resolved, that we, the members of the Executive Committee of the Hartford Zionist District of Hartford, strongly deplore the action of the American leaders as being not only illegal and unauthorized, but contrary to the spirit and the laws governing the Zionist Organization of the World, and be it also

Resolved, that we demand that Judge Mack's Memorandum should be at once deleted from the records of the Zionist Organization and in the event this is not done, we announce that we shall categorically refuse to be bound by that document and shall call upon all the Zionist Districts in America to follow our example, and finally be it

Resolved, that we demand that the National Executive Committee convene without delay an Extraordinary Convention and invite Dr. Weizmann to be present in order that the issue may be cleared up once and for all, as it is our firm conviction that that is the only method whereby the difficult problems confronting us can be satisfactorily solved and harmony brought once more into the ranks of our movement.

Executive Committee Hartford Zionist District.

J. A. Hoffenberg,
A. Tabatsky,
L. P. Toft,
A. Schaffman,
S. R. Wittel,
S. H. Leavitt,
M. Paskar,

A. Golstein,
L. Glassman,
I. E. Goldberg,
A. Novelstein,
A. Marder,
M. Juster.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY NEW YORK DISTRICTS.

The accredited representatives of twenty four Zionist Districts of Greater New York, assembled at the Stuyvesant Casino on Thursday evening, March 31, 1921 for the purpose of considering what position to assume in regard to the Summary of the Position of the Zionist Organization of America, and the Supporting Memorandum published by the American Zionist Administration adopted the following resolutions with one dissenting vote:

1. We regard the action taken by the Executive Committee and the Administration as unstatesmanlike, unfair, unwise and untimely. It was in the highest degree unstatesmanlike and impolitic to pursue such a course which could only tend to undermine the influence, prestige and authority of the leadership of the World Zionist Organization at a moment when the political situation affecting Zionist aspirations in Palestine makes unanimity and solidarity in Zionist ranks before the world absolutely imperative. The arrival of the President of the World Zionist Organization, now recognized as the Agency representing the Jewish people before the powers, should have been the occasion for strengthening our political status by demonstrating publicly and in an unmistakable manner that American Jewry as a whole lends its powerful support to the Cause which our chosen leaders represent.

2. The action taken is unfair, inasmuch as serious charges are made and published without giving an opportunity to the representatives of the World Zionist Organization to present their point of view and make their reply.

3. The action taken is unwise, in that although nine months have passed since the London Zionist Conference, the American Zionist Administration has now acted precipitately in this matter, without first securing the approval and support of the Zionist rank and file and without even obtaining clearly decisive action by the National Executive Committee.

4. The action taken is untimely, for, whatever the merits of the statement itself may be, the occasion selected for raising these manifold issues - on the very eve of the first visit to this country of the President of the World Zionist Organization and his associates on highly important missions - was in the last degree ill chosen. Instead of preparing and extending to our distinguished guests a welcome such as their services and their position have merited, we have met them with what amounts to an ultimatum and a challenge, bound to have a most unfavorable effect upon all efforts at peace and harmonious cooperation.

5. The most fundamental issues in the statement are actually beyond the competence and jurisdiction of the officers of the World Zionist Organization, but properly belong to the Zionist Congress alone, which is the highest tribunal of our movement.

If such new proposals, which are radical departures from all Zionist traditions and practice, were to have been advanced at all, the proper procedure would have been to submit them for consideration at a convention of the American Zionist

Organization and present them for adoption at a regularly constituted World Zionist Congress.

6. Judging by the reports of the Executive Committee meeting of March 19th and 20th, as given out both by the Administration and by the dissenting members, the manner in which the Summary was acted upon was unworthy of the democratic character and best traditions of our movement, since no time was allowed to the members of the committee to examine data bearing upon these questions and arrive at an intelligent judgment of its contents.

7. We declare that in our judgment, the position taken by the members of the Executive Committee who declined to vote was calculated to preserve the peace in our movement and maintain the integrity of our organization; and we pledge our whole-hearted support to all efforts sincerely made to uphold the prestige of the World Zionist Organization, of which the Zionist Organization of America is and shall ever continue to be, a loyal and integral part.

8. In order that our point of view may be properly presented and defended at the required time and place, be it resolved, that a committee of seven be designated by the Chairman to take whatever action may be necessary in the spirit of these resolutions.



MISSING PAGE (S)



Confidential

SUPPORTING MEMORANDUM
on
THE POLICIES OF THE ZIONIST ORGANIZATION
OF AMERICA

PART I

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The present divergences between the American Organization and the World Organization may be projected against the background of the last few years, during which certain differences as to outlook and method became recurrently manifest. The American Delegation, sent after the Armistice, was confronted by Proposals to the Peace Conference relating to Palestine, which in effect provided merely for an aggrandized Yishub and the semblance of political control modelled on the lines of a Crown Colony. The effort of the American Delegation to incorporate in the final Proposals the economic requirements for the evolution of a Jewish Palestine, marks the beginning of the American emphasis and insistence on the economic phase of our Zionist problems. In the subsequent work on the drafts of the Mandate, which was entrusted primarily to members of the American Delegation, the controversy centered about the clauses relating to Land and to the Jewish Agency. Most of the European leaders were opposed to the Pittsburgh Program, which the American Delegation sought to apply in the form of provisions against land speculation through the taxation of the unearned increment and safeguards against exploitation of natural resources and public utilities. The American attempt to give an economic liberal character to the Mandate finally succeeded, thanks in part to the political influence of the American Organization, which was in turn partly a reflex of the predominant rôle of America in the early peace making. Owing chiefly to their adherence to Diaspora nationalism and "Gegenwartsarbeit," the same leaders originally opposed making the Zionist Organization the Jewish Agency for co-operating with the Palestine Administration, in all matters affecting the establishment of the Jewish National Home.

These issues came to a head upon the return of Justice Brandeis from Palestine in August, 1919, and upon his completion of work which had a decided effect upon the attitude of the Administration in Palestine. On the issue over the Jewish Agency, the Gegenwartsarbeit party, a continuation of the cultural party, stood out for a mixed coalition from the Zionist and from non-Zionist Organizations, or for a Jewish Council elected by a general Jewish Congress. The issue was decided in favor of the Zionist Organization as the Agency. It was in the course of that controversy that the American Organization's conception of Zionism and the representative character of the American leadership were first challenged, and the vague charge of an American Zionist Monroe Doctrine first made.

The resumption of international relations saw an enlargement of the London Organization under the administration and control of leaders and adherents of the cultural and Gegenwartsarbeit program. Appointments to administrative posts were made more on the basis of past services to the Cause rather than of present qualifications for the new tasks. The position of active direction of the Commission was thus filled with little if any consideration of the question of fitness to cope with the situation created by the political unsettlement of the Near East, a situation fraught with grave dangers which had been averted in the Spring of that year. The Organization at London expanded into the field of Diaspora affairs, among other activities maintaining in large part the Committee of Jewish Delegations. While the burden of financing the Zionist work in Europe and Palestine was cast upon America and Western Lands, some of the European leaders organized private enterprises for Palestine development, which through an interlocking of directors with Zionist officials assumed a quasi-official character. The reorganization of the financial institutions of the Organization which the American leaders deemed urgent, and for which a committee, under the chairmanship of Sir (then Mr.) Herbert Samuel, had prepared a detailed plan, was rendered impossible by the attitude of some of these leaders. The American plan of an anti-malarial campaign to fit the Land for the incoming immigrants met with indifference, and the budget of the American Zionist Medical Unit was curtailed in order to provide for the increased expenses of the cultural work. The equal participation of the Joint Distribution Committee in the maintenance of the Unit, and American concern in anti-malarial and sanitation work made it essential to continue the Unit under the direction of the American Organization. This was stigmatized as separatism and described by the misnomer, American Zionist Monroe Doctrine, clearly inapplicable to a specific American contribution to Palestine Restoration.

Meanwhile the financial operations of the Organization in Palestine and London were conducted along makeshift lines. The drain for current, unproductive work was allowed to be so great that, with the exception of the Medical Unit, comparatively nothing was done towards Palestine Restoration and the preparation for a self-supporting Jewish society, for which main purposes the Palestine Restoration Funds were raised. The Commission built up a paternalist system of subsidies and subventions to such an extent that it came to be described in Palestine and outside as "the new Chaluka." The American leaders, conscious of their public trust towards Palestinian and American Jewry, were convinced that the existing system, or rather absence of system, if allowed to continue would bring discredit upon our work and lead to disaster. But they felt that with the political question still awaiting final settlement, it was not in the Jewish public interest to raise the question of re-organizing the Organizations in London and Palestine, and that until the political object was formally attained, it was incumbent on American Zionists to postpone that question and meanwhile give unstinted support to the Organization's operations.

The San Remo decision by solving the external problem threw the internal problem into sharper relief. The American Delegation to the London Conference, convened in the wake of the San Remo decision, left under instructions of Convention or Executive urging upon the World Organization to:

- (a) concentrate upon Palestine upbuilding;
- (b) give effect to the Pittsburgh program;
- (c) adopt a thorough-going budget system;
- (d) promote immigration;
- (e) provide for anti-malarial and sanitation work;
- (f) establish experimental stations and laboratories as aids for colonization and settlement;
- (g) base the work upon expert service;
- (h) reorganize the financial institutions, and
- (i) arrange for the participation of the American Organization in the councils of the World Organization.

The leader of the American Organization, after a consideration of the state of the Movement, in conference with his colleagues of the World Organization submitted the following as the essentials of an adequate plan:

- (1) concentration on productive work in Palestine, with the object of settling in a comparatively short period a preponderant, self-reliant, self-supporting body of Jews;
- (2) the elimination of the Zionist Commission, since the political functions of the Zionist Commission having lapsed, its continuance as a government within a government is, from the practical and political points of view, utterly inadvisable;
- (3) the work of upbuilding the Jewish Homeland should be taken over by the Zionist Executive itself;
- (4) for this new constructive work, the Executive should bring in men of ability and standing, to participate in the management and share in the responsibility of the Zionist Organization, as its officials,—such men to be chosen on the European Cabinet plan;
- (5) the Federations in the Diaspora to be strengthened to serve as the Hinterland.

The plan involved a transfer of the Organization to Palestine as the center, the elimination of Gegenwartsarbeit, the separation of the economic from the general communal work and the corresponding individualization of the fund raising, and the placing of the administrative authority, though not the ultimate control over policies, in the hands of business executives instead of as heretofore in the hands of propagandists. The plan met with the hostility of the old leaders who all through the propaganda phase of the Movement had borne the burden. One charge,—itself the fertile cause of public misunderstanding of the plan by some Europeans and Americans—must be set down to misinterpretation or misunderstanding. Neither in the method of choice nor as to the ultimate source of authority over policy was the plan at all undemocratic, and unlike certain proposals recently entertained by the very leaders of the anti-American forces, it did not contemplate the abandonment of the economic function. As alternatives for an expert Executive with power and responsibility, an independent Economic Council with advisory powers was adopted, and as a complement to that, a Board of Trustees with auditing powers. On the outstanding issue, the American Delegation, while not unanimous on other points, refused unanimously in behalf of the American Zionist Organization to accept any responsibility for the action of the Conference on national cultural work in the Diaspora. The American Delegation further protested against the system of representation without taxation, by which Fractions who do not bear responsibility for the budget, are allowed to have in combination a decisive voice in disposing the funds of the Organization.

Such in brief is the history of the past differences between the two attitudes. In a larger historical perspective, these attitudes and their manifestations would have to be related to the historical struggle (from the very inception of the Movement) between the political economic party of Herzl and his followers and the cultural Chovevei-Zion party of Mr. Ussischkin and his followers. The issue thus transcends geographical distinctions between American and European Zionism, and flows from a fundamental difference between those who stand first and above all for a Commonwealth and those who stand for a Cultural Center. But in face of the pressing urgency of our problem, we have to transcend not only geography, but also history. We have to apply ourselves to the immediate tasks on which all can agree, and as for the rest, be hospitable towards a diversity of views and methods, as means for a richer and more varied contribution of human and material resources to the upbuilding of a Jewish Palestine.

PART II.

DIASPORA NATIONALISM.

The practical issue of *Gegenwartsarbeit* has arisen as a result of Diaspora nationalism. Diaspora nationalism in its broadest sense, confusing the concepts of state, people and nation, treats the revival of the Jewish nation in Palestine as involving the recognition of the integral national unity, in a political and not merely spiritual sense, of the various Jewries scattered under different sovereignties. Various it stands for (1) the political national character and status of each Jewry as an entity within each state; (2) the political national character of all Jewry as a total collective entity in the world of states; and (3) the political national bond between the Jewish nation established in Palestine, and every and all Jewry in the Diaspora.

The political struggle before the war on the part of the submerged nationalities in Central and Eastern Europe, and the issue of nationalism brought to the fore by the war, have given impetus to the theory of Diaspora nationalism and led to an obscuring of the pure Zionist orientation of a number of Zionists.

The American Organization, through participation in the American Jewish Congress and through the membership of the Committee of Jewish Delegations, became to an important degree the spokesman for Jewish rights. It asked recognition of the Jewish nationality only in those new and enlarged States of Eastern and Central Europe in which other minority nationalities were recognized: it sought for the Jewish minority in these lands the same rights and only the same rights as are granted to other minority groups. Thus it supported the demand of the representatives of East European Jewries for political as well as cultural autonomy for their Jewish minorities. The Peace Treaties, however, secure only cultural rights and recognize only racial, religious or linguistic minority groups. The cultural rights of the Treaties are in fact enjoyed, as a matter of governmental administration or toleration, by minorities in all Western lands. Diaspora nationalism, in the sense of a political unity of world Jewry or of a political bond between Palestine and Diaspora Jewries, is based on a fundamental confusion of ideas and a complete misconception both of what is legally possible and of what is politically desirable. The American Organization has officially rejected Diaspora nationalism in both of these senses. In an official statement by the President issued early in 1920, unanimously concurred in by the National Executive Committee, it is declared that the restoration of the Jewish people to Palestine does not imply that the Jewish people as a whole or any section thereof in lands other than Palestine is a political entity.

As to national cultural work in the Diaspora, the American Organization holds that the Zionist Organization as such should not divert its resources from the main purpose for which it is formed. Individual Zionists have also other Jewish aims and obligations and should articulate their other Jewish duties and interests through organizations for the respective purposes. In accordance with this view, the American Zionist Delegation to the London Conference unanimously protested against the resolution of the Conference on national cultural work, and dissociated the American Organization from any responsibility for the carrying out of that resolution. Similarly the Buffalo Convention declared that participation in Diaspora work is to express itself, not through the action of the Zionist Organization, but through the action of individual Zionists.

The pure Zionist Palestinian program as thus envisaged by the American Organization as to scope, policies, standards and methods, paves the way for the co-operation of all Jews in the Palestinian work. Our Zionist professions of readiness to welcome all Jews in Palestine work will be judged by the readiness of the Organization to limit itself to that task. For, the co-operation of able experienced non-Zionist men of affairs who in other connections have proved themselves devoted Jews, can be secured only on a basis of Palestinianism. The participation of such non-Zionists does not in any way involve a compromising of the Zionist program, for there will be no interference by them with the growth of the people in Erez Israel to full nationhood; indeed through increasing participation they will acquire increasing knowledge and sympathy with the aspirations of Palestinian Jewry. Conversely, that growth depends upon the economic development of Palestine. The clarification of the objective, and the adaptation of the Organization to the rôle of an effective economic instrument, will make it possible for all Jews within the Organization and outside to share in making the New Palestine worthy of the world's expectations and Israel's memories and hopes.

PART III.

KEREN HAYESOD.

The difference between the American plan and the present Keren Hayesod plan is primarily a difference as to method. The question is primarily what is the best way of raising funds in America? What will be the most effective appeal? On that question, a sub-committee of the National Executive, representing all shades of view, was unanimously against the commingling of donations and investments, and that view was adopted by the Convention with virtual unanimity. America is looked on to supply the greater part of the funds. It is therefore the duty of the American Organization to determine the methods most suitable in America for getting the greatest possible amount in America for the Palestine work. The separation of investments from donations does not aim to diminish the Fund's importance but to increase its power as a money getter. Through such separation, we are enabled to call for investments in the economic funds to an extent exceeding Maaser, and to call for donations for the non-economic funds by appealing for Maaser.

It is noteworthy that on the question of commingling investments with donations, even those members of the Committee sponsoring the Keren Hayesod, thought that the only way it could be adapted to the American conditions would be by separating donations from investments, and by pooling the investments for public utilities and public services into a holding company. The majority of the Committee and the National Executive and finally the Convention decided that not only must there be in fund-raising in America no commingling of investments with donations, but, subject to the approval of the World Executive, investments for public utilities should be solicited with reference to the specific enterprises. The reasons which led to the unanimous decision of separating the investments from the donations and to the majority decision of separating the public utilities investments into specific enterprises are as follows: (a) an appeal for a conglomerate fund would be treated as practically an appeal for donations because of the uncertainty as to the amount and purposes of the investment portion; (b) similarly an appeal for a holding company of as yet unformed and undefined subsidiaries would fail to enlist the applied and specific interests of investors; (c) the separate enterprises would give the investors definite stakes in Palestine and would evoke from them active, personal, continuous and cumulative interest, thus bringing to bear on the development of Palestine a wider democratic responsibility and a richer and more varied human contribution; (d) separate enterprises will tend to increase the number of contributors and the amounts of contributions for the non-productive purposes, as the investors through their specific interests will become more vividly aware of such needs as education, sanitation, immigration welfare and afforestation, which needs must, until the population becomes self-supporting, be supplied in larger or smaller part by world Jewry. In our view the most effective appeal is not for a conglomerate fund, but for funds for concrete things to be done, making direct and visible the relation between the contribution and the service it performs for Palestine. The Convention resolutions provide:

(1) Subject to the approval of the Executive of the World Zionist Organization, funds for public utilities, or corporations for the development of the natural resources of the country, should be solicited for the separate enterprises, with profits limited to a reasonable return, the surplus to be held in trust for Palestine, the trustee for such surplus funds and for the ultimate control of such corporations to be the Economic Council or some similar body approved by the World Zionist Organization.

(2) Donations or gifts should be collected in the United States into a fund which, subject to the approval of the World Zionist Organization, shall be called the Keren Hayesod.

(3) Local private corporations should be fostered by the Organization, and be encouraged to reserve a portion of their capital for investments for public purposes and be urged to provide safeguards for the vital interests of a Jewish Palestine.

These resolutions obviously do not affect the integrity and authority of the World Organization. They do not in the least place the public utilities and donation funds under the authority and the control of the American Organization in place of the World Organization. If, as has been loosely and widely charged, the American Organization had adopted a separatist policy, economic development in Palestine would not now be at a standstill. For we could have pointed to some actual accomplishments in Palestine as a reply to this endless misinterpretation of our motives. On the contrary, our loyalty to the World Zionist Organization on the one hand, and the refusal of the World Zionist Organization, on the other hand, to sanction any going ahead on the only workable basis, has left the economic situation practically where it was when the London Conference met and debated.

Not being permitted to go ahead in the development of public utility enterprises, and being unwilling to proceed without the sanction and full co-operation of the Executive of the World Organization, we have, by urging private corporations to devote at least thirty per cent of their capital for public purposes, created funds for the prospective public enterprises. We have thus brought private corporations into harmony with the Pittsburgh program, for corporations so organized will invest in public undertakings, and will moreover limit the profits returnable to investors and give effect to the Organization's policy as to labor. The American Organization has merely given impetus to the present urge of American Zionists toward Palestine work. It is accordingly helping local groups to organize themselves into corporations, acting in an advisory capacity to them. It was, by the way, in furtherance of such private corporations that we transmitted through the American member of the Reorganization Commission, the inquiry of certain organizers as to the status of contemplated American corporations and a request for a message of encouragement from the High Commissioner.

Our present emphasis on this activity is for one thing as an interim activity until the Keren Hayesod issue is settled. But more importantly, our fostering of such private corporations is based on our realization that Palestine needs industrial and commercial development, and that only through such development will an opportunity be given to the Chalkarim to earn a

living after the present public work on the roads ceases, and that primarily through such Jewish undertakings, content to accept a limited return and devote excess profits to the welfare of Palestine Jewry, will Jewish labor, with a standard of living higher than that of Arab labor, have its adequate opportunity.

Such are some of the reasons in favor of separating the economic from the communal funds, individualizing the funds for the public utilities under the public plan, and fostering private corporations with special public features. Since the Convention we have awaited the authorization of the Executive for our adaptation of the Keren Hayesod idea to American conditions. Adaptation there had to be, because when the question first came up in late September, the structure and the administration of the Keren Hayesod Fund had not yet been fixed. The London Conference did not have before it and did not pass a detailed plan. It accepted the general idea of the Keren Hayesod, and the slogan of Maaser, and left it to the incoming Executive to establish the fund and to determine in co-operation with the Federations and the Jewish National Fund, the methods of organizing the campaign. The present suggestion for the Keren Hayesod was only worked out and communicated to us shortly before the Buffalo Convention. The Keren Hayesod, so shifting and varying from its inception to the present and even now not finally fixed, cannot be an acid test or any kind of a test of something so constant and unvarying as our loyalty to the Zionist Cause and to the World Organization!

Moreover in the first and only official letter on this subject sent us by the Executive, dated October 29, 1920, it is stated: "The Executive is of the opinion that a definite method of utilizing the sums raised by the Keren Hayesod, cannot be fixed uniformly for all countries." The Buffalo resolutions propose a method for America for fixing more definitely and better adapted to American conditions, the relation between investments and donations.

On the face of it, it is difficult to understand how the American suggestion of a different and more suitable method for raising funds in America should in the eyes of the organizers of the Keren Hayesod have been magnified into a vital fundamental issue, calling for heroic measures to root out the American plan as a veritable heresy in Zionism. There are two explanations of this. The first is that certain exponents of the idea of a National Loan have by some subtle dialectic managed to persuade themselves that the Keren Hayesod is a quasi-National Loan. Starting from the theory of Diaspora nationalism, which makes the Jewish people outside of Palestine a political entity, they base national credit on the organized action of the national will, rather than on national territory organized as a state; and hence they assert that the national will can meet the financial needs of the nation through a national loan obtained by a nationally imposed levy of Maaser. The Keren Hayesod organizers have adopted this theory, and accordingly in their official Explanatory Statement they speak of the Fund as embodying the characteristics of a National Loan and of investments and donations. The Keren Hayesod, regarded in this light of diaspora nationalism and pseudo-loan, is thus held up as the financial expression of the integral unity of the Jewish nation. The uniform method of raising the one indivisible fund to be turned over to the Jewish treasury, with full power over allocation of funds, has become in this way the vehicle of a dogma; conversely the diversified method of raising the separate funds is held up as implying an affirmation of assimilation, and any attempt to apply the diversified method is attacked as an act of sacrilege against the Jewish national spirit.

This philosophy back of the propaganda for the Keren Hayesod and against the American Organization is, however, but the inward phase of the external struggle for the dominion of the Movement. That struggle is the political reason for the issue created by the Keren Hayesod leaders out of the American adaptation of the Keren Hayesod idea. Following the London Conference, a group in Europe started and has continued a campaign to undermine the authority of the legally constituted Executive. The sponsors of the Keren Hayesod were from the start identified with this attempt. An agitation was conducted against the members of the Executive charged with the practical work and against the American leaders, who were coupled together under what was intended as a term of opprobrium, "Amerikanische Hollandische Geschaefte Zionismus." They claimed that the Executive was out of touch with the masses, and demanded an immediate summoning of the Actions Committee to reconstruct the Executive and restore the "Geist" of the London office, which had been suppressed by the soulless "efficiency" program and consequent curtailment of certain non-Zionist expenditures such as the subsidy for the Committee of Jewish Delegations. Demands and ultimata, such as the entrance of Keren Hayesod leaders in to the Executive, and the independent control of the funds, were made conditions for the initiation of the Keren Hayesod work by them. In the end, such an agreement was reached between the Executive and the Keren Hayesod group. That agreement while it left a semblance of authority to the Executive, hedged about the majority control vested in the Governor, so as to make the Keren Hayesod Board a separatist and self-perpetuating body. They who flouted and condemned the moral position and authority of the Executive, to whom they owed loyalty, thus secured recognition as a separatist body, and now demand that Zionist Federations transfer their allegiance to them. Later when the Executive sent a Commission with plenary power to Palestine to reorganize the work, members of the Keren Hayesod secured other and more important concessions from the leaders of the Organization. The agreements entered into, as revealed in reports at first denied but since confirmed by the events, while the majority of the Executive was in Palestine, undertook to reduce the Reorganization Commission to a mere advisory body, contrary to the express powers vested in it by the vote of the Executive as a whole and communicated on the occasion of the appointment of the American member; it provided for transforming the homogeneous Executive into a larger body by the accession of new members, contrary to the understanding reached last summer in London; and it adopted the Jewish Legion as an important part of Zionist policy, involving not only an additional expenditure of £40,000 or more a year, but important and grave political considerations. This agreement forced the resignation of the two members of the Executive in charge of the economic work—Messrs. Simon and De Lieme. Their two members of the Executive in charge of the economic work—Messrs. Simon and De Lieme. Their resignation has since been accepted, and the Executive provisionally reorganized. This political campaign against the Executive and the American leaders has brought about in a paralysis of constructive work and a crisis in the Movement.

PART IV. REORGANIZATION.

The issue between the American and the Keren Hayesod plan has a far-reaching significance for the whole problem of Palestine upbuilding. The two plans diverge not only as to the methods of raising funds, but as to the methods and standards of the Palestine work to be done by means of the funds. The American plan is against confusing and commingling economic and communal funds, and is for individualizing the productive funds for the respective enterprises. The object of that is, on the negative side, a corresponding elimination of the confusion of productive and unproductive work in Palestine and of the prevalent commingling of funds regardless of the trusts attaching to them. On the positive side, the American plan stands for

(1) concentration of the Zionist Organization, to be transferred to Palestine, on the immediate tasks of immigration, colonisation and settlement,

(2) the furtherance and co-ordination of the economic institutions necessary for the growth and development of a pulsating economic life and a self-supporting community,

(3) the extension, through a separate fund, of aid to communal and cultural activities of Palestinian Jewry, which in a normal country are ordinarily met by taxation or by communal funds. The segregation of such aid is reinforced by the consideration that the work of colonization and settlement will as it increases the taxable resources of the country, enable the Government or the community to take over in increasing measure the unproductive part of the budget.

On the other hand, the general undifferentiated fund of the Keren Hayesod is but the expression of the policies, régime, methods and mode of operation of the Zionist Commission.

The Zionist Commission envisages Jewish settlement under the simple scheme of Jews coming in, and of the Jewries of the Diaspora sending in money to take care of them. The theory under which it operates is that only through a broad, far-flung national expenditure in all spheres of activity, will the Jewish imagination be reached and the people moved to supply the requisite means. The budget for the communal work,—which for education alone has now mounted to twice the amount spent on agriculture and settlement—must, under such a plan, be maintained as a prior charge on all funds, therefore necessitating their commingling. It rejects all proposals for effecting economies which it regards as expressive of a petty, niggardly spirit towards the sacred national work. It rejects a budgetary system of operation on the theory that deficits created will spur the people on to greater sacrifice. Its plans and projects bear no relevant relation to the real situation, and the financial and economic policies it carries out are sheer makeshift and improvisation. It is significant and symptomatic that the budget submitted by the Commission to the London Conference called for an expenditure during the current year of £4,000,000 for just the maintenance and extension of the present work,—a budget ten times the income of the Organization. Similarly, the Keren Hayesod tentative budget for Palestine assigns £2,600,000 or about \$10,000,000 for current and national expenditures, which on the basis of the present policy would have to be met before any economic work on a considerable scale could be undertaken.

The economic work proper is characterized by the same want of vision. Immigration is not treated by the Commission as a function of the stimulation of the economic life of the country, and no provision is made for the incorporation of the new settlers in that growing economic life. Immigration is treated as simply a matter of getting funds with which to feed, shelter, and hebraize the immigrants. Whether they are placed on productive or unproductive work has for the present Commission little meaning. The cost to the Organization of immigrants occupied in Government work is about £20 per capita while the cost to the Organization of immigrants occupied in the Commission's undertakings is £100 in wages alone. The mind shrinks from contemplating the consequences which would have ensued, had the Commission been called upon to provide for the several thousand immigrants with nothing better than its improvisations and extemporizations, which postpone but for a while the day of reckoning. Not only are no preparations being made for the eventual and gradual transfer of the workers from the roads to agriculture and industry, but no constructive thinking has been done by the Commission to put the advances made to these workers on a comparatively secure basis of credit. The agricultural work of the Commission and of the Jewish National Fund has from an economic standpoint been negative in its results. The source of the failure lies not in the co-operative basis but in the paternalist system which, by fixing the character of the settlements too early and equipping the settlements too completely, deprived the workers of their independence, initiative and enterprise and reduced them to day laborers.

It is the conspicuous irony of our Zionist history that our Movement which began by preaching the bankruptcy of philanthropy as the solution of the Jewish problem in the Golan, should through the same well-meaning preachers, have come to apply paternalist philanthropy to the evolution of the Jewish Homeland. We are now at the parting of the ways. To continue the present system is to court disaster. Whatever justification there was in the propaganda phase of the Movement for the variety and diversity of unproductive work because of its pseudo resemblance to statecraft, it must be cast aside now, if we are to enter on an era of real reconstruction. The Jewish people can stand the truth and will build on the truth. All this business of invoking the Jewish soul, whenever economic reforms are suggested, is a poor compliment to the good sense of our people, and a disparagement of that Jewish spirit and that Jewish tradition which attaches moral significance to the very trifles of daily life and work. The American Organization, and the hosts of Herzlian Zionists everywhere, who have the same outlook, are not for a moment minimizing the need for sacrifice in service and treasure by the Jewish people. But the dependence of the whole fabric of Jewish life in Palestine upon the continued generosity of Jews in the Diaspora is not the aim. The American Organization and its followers are not for a moment underestimating the importance

of the renaissance of the Jewish spirit along with the restoration of the Jewish land. But a living, culture-creating and culture-radiating Israel cannot arise and endure without permanent economic foundations.

Ever since San Remo the party of intransigence to economic reform has paralyzed the work. That is the crisis. The only way out of the crisis is the commencement of economic work on economic lines. The Reorganization Commission has worked out a masterly and comprehensive plan which confirms and elaborates the previous plans and proposals of the American leaders.

The plan is as follows: The Commission having become politically functionless should be abolished. The economic part of its work is to be taken over by the Zionist Organization as the Jewish Agency. The headquarters of the Zionist Organization is to be transferred to Palestine. The work of the Zionist Organization in Palestine is to become primarily that of immigration, colonization and settlement, and the furtherance of the necessary economic institutions. The Organization should not encroach on the functions of the State nor should it encroach on the functions of Palestinian Jewry, though it should, to important extents, aid both the Mandatory Power and the population in the speedy upbuilding of the Jewish National Home. As the first step in promoting Jewish self-government, it should transfer to the Yishub the school system, which is to be reorganized with a view to eliminate the duplication of classes, introduce on an extensive scale technical education to fit the children for economic independence in the country, and to give the whole school system a Palestinian color and character. For the present year education should be subventioned by the Organization, arranging further to reduce the subvention on the one hand, by encouraging the Yishub to share more equitably in the costs of educating their children, and on the other hand, by aiding the Yishub to form a society for the maintenance of Palestinian schools through fixed annual contributions by members the world over.

The World Organization transferred to Palestine is to direct and co-ordinate the Bureaus to be established for immigration and labor, and for agricultural and technical service to settlers. The execution of the economic undertakings is to be intrusted to institutions in suitable corporate or co-operative form under appropriate control. The economic forces of a growing country cannot be cast in a bureaucratic mould, however benevolent. Leaving therefore the actual organization and management of the commercial and industrial life to individual, corporate, and co-operative initiative, the function of the Organization is to call into being the primary economic institutions, share to such a degree as will prove appropriate in each case in the control of such institutions, and act as the trustee for the trust funds provided for in the public utilities under the public plan, and the local investment corporations with public features. The list of primary economic institutions is: (1) Banks, (a) general, (b) urban, (c) agrarian, (d) co-operative, (e) workmen's; (2) Equipment Funds of a quasi loan character for (a) agricultural workers, (b) industrial workers, (c) artisans; (3) Co-operative Wholesale Society; (4) Central Land Purchasing Agency; (5) Jewish National Fund; (6) Economic Research Board. The Zionist Executive should participate in the selection of Governors for these various institutions. An Advisory Council is to be constituted of these Governors with the Zionist Executive members in Palestine as ex-officio members of the Advisory Council.

Such is the plan of the Reorganization Commission. The attacks of avowed champions of democracy notwithstanding, it is an expression of democracy applied to the problem of the restoration of the land for the people. For unlike the bureaucratic schemes at present employed or projected by the Zionist Commission and the Keren Hayesod Board, this plan makes clear and visible not only the immediate steps, but the whole path towards the goal of a commonwealth. It moreover, predicates the attainment of that goal on the direct personal sharing of all Jews as stockholders or officials in the general direction of the varied enterprises, instead of mere passive giving to a small bureaucratic group which may maintain power perhaps for reasons other than fitness for the economic tasks. The plan calls for and provides for a combination of trained business intelligence and business methods and the vitalizing power of a popular movement. It may be "Geschaefts Zionismus," but it is constructive economics permeated by practical idealism.

This necessary reorganization requires a corresponding readjustment of the relations between the World Organization and the Federations. Just as the work in Palestine is stimulation and co-ordination of the specific autonomously functioning economic institutions, so the Central Organization and the constituent Federations are to be reorganized on a federalist basis. In the propaganda phase of the movement, when our main concern was to win international recognition, there had to be a focussing of the scattered Jewish sounds into one mighty voice, and a consequent common organization of ideas and a uniformity of expression of the political aim. Now the object is not a uniform formula, but a multiple and complex economic development of Palestine. Since San Remo unity of aim does not require uniformity of means. In what respects there should be centralization of authority and concentration of power and uniformity of methods, and in what other respects there should be devolution of authority and distribution of power and diversity of methods—these are empirical questions which can be solved only experimentally. In the field of political relations, there can be no question that that is the absolute prerogative and exclusive function of the World Organization. The political work and the stimulation and co-ordination of the economic work and the trust funds under the public plan—that is the "reserved service" of the World Organization.

In the economic field the rapid development of a predominantly Jewish Palestine requires utilizing the special interests and capacities of the respective Federations. The Federations are to-day in an anomalous position. Compared with the Fractions, they are devoid of all power and authority. The Fractions have their own international organizations, their own Palestinian institutions and their own funds, all operating in practical indepen-

dence of the World Organization. Notwithstanding their independence and their release from financial obligations towards the World Organization, the Fractions are permitted to exercise in combination, a strong, and at times controlling voice in the World Organization. As for the Federations, the American Organization is now prevented from and attacked for even trying to exercise its own judgment as to the best way of raising in America the maximum funds for the economic and cultural work of the World Organization, and for the development of agricultural, commercial and industrial enterprises in Palestine. The federalist plan demands an equalization of the rights and duties of Federations and Fractions within the World Organization. It permits Federations to initiate specific institutions under the corporate or co-operative form, to function within the framework of the World Organization's co-ordination.

This principle of federalism must be applied to the cultural work as well as to the economic work. Federations must be left free to choose whether or not they want to do *Gegenwartsarbeit*. The granting of that right levies a correlative duty on the World Organization not to divert to *Gegenwartsarbeit* funds contributed by Federations specifically for Palestine and Zionist work. The federalist principle is here reinforced by the main American contention against the commingling of economic and communal funds. Just as the communal work in Palestine is to be maintained out of a separate fund, so cultural work outside of Palestine is to be maintained out of funds contributed for the purpose. But inasmuch as in the American view, such work is outside the specific scope of the Zionist Organization, Federations have the right to refrain from participation in *Gegenwartsarbeit*. The function of the World Organization, when supplied with funds earmarked for *Gegenwartsarbeit*, is merely that of trustee and agent of the specific Federation or Fraction.

With *Gegenwartsarbeit* thus delimited, the question of transferring certain economic activities to Federations can no longer be misinterpreted as affecting the integrity of the Organization. To say that the functions being intertwined cannot be separated, for purposes of delegation to Federations, is contrary to the facts of governmental and economic life. To apply to it an unpopular catchword like secession or separatism is to betray either disingenuousness or a failure to understand the trend of government and the management of affairs. The new epoch in Zionism calls for a new relationship between the World Organization and the Federations, a relationship symbolized by the American motto, *E Pluribus Unum*. With the Mandatory Power, aided by the Jewish Agency, charged to assure the development of the Jewish National Home, the federalist plan will not and cannot lead to a repetition of pre-war rivalries in Palestine. The only rivalry it will bring is rivalry in creative and disinterested service by all Jews and Jewries to Eretz Israel.



Form 1207
March 1921

SERVICE DESIRED	
CL	Telegram
	Day Letter
	Night Message
	Night Letter

Patrons should mark an X opposite the class of service desired; OTHERWISE THE MESSAGE WILL BE TRANSMITTED AS A FULL-RATE TELEGRAM

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

NEWCOMB CARLTON, PRESIDENT
GEORGE W. E. ATKINS, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

Receiver's No.
Check
Time Filed

Art de
rechercher
3 copies

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

1921

To Zionist Organization of America
Street and No. 554 7th Ave
Place New York City

The Executive of the Cleveland Zionist District ^{unanimously} expresses its loyalty to the Zionist Organization of America loyal to its leaders. It prays for the resumption of negotiations with the leaders of the International Organization of Jews. It suggests the immediate convening of a convention and we pledge ourselves to abide by its decisions.

SENDER'S ADDRESS FOR ANSWER

SENDER'S TELEPHONE NUMBER

Form 1207

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED	
	Telegram
	Day Letter
	Night Message
	Night Letter

Patrons should mark an X opposite the class of service desired; OTHERWISE THE MESSAGE WILL BE TRANSMITTED AS A FULL-RATE TELEGRAM

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

NEWCOMB CARLTON, PRESIDENT
GEORGE W. E. ATKINS, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

Receiver's No.
Check
Time Filed

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

(2)

19

To _____
Street and No. _____
Place _____

Until such time we urge our fellow Zionists of Cleveland to refrain from participating in any and all campaigns for funds.
S. Ulmer, Pres.

SENDER'S ADDRESS FOR ANSWER

SENDER'S TELEPHONE NUMBER

April 1st, 1921

Judge Ben Rosenblatt,
55 Fifth Avenue,
New York City.

My dear Judge Rosenblatt,

I am in receipt of your letter of March 30th. I shall be most happy to see you in Cleveland, to discuss with you the matters to which you refer. I will say that you have somehow forgotten our last correspondence with reference to the Zion Commonwealth.

I am also compelled to say that your stand in the matter of Weizman & Co. has been a great surprise to me. I think the attitude that some New York Zionists have taken may lead to nothing but chaos. The movement to organize a civic reception, without consulting our duly authorized leaders, is a breach of discipline which can lead to no good. I do hope, in the interest of harmony, that the European leaders may not be misguided by the clamor raised by a few who are not at all representative of the sentiment of the rank and file of the Zion Commonwealth.

Zionists.

You ought to exert a restraining influence upon some of the youthful enthusiasts in New York.

With kindest regards, I am

Very sincerely yours,

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA
Office of the
NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
Raulben Korchow, Secretary to the Committee
55 Fifth Avenue
New York.

MINUTES

of the

MEETING OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

HELD Saturday, April 9th, and Sunday, April 10th, 1921

AT the Hotel Essex, Broadway & 32 Street, New York City.

PRESENT: Judge Mack in the Chair; Messrs. Avner, Berman, Brodie, Cohop, de Haas, Ebin, Finkelstein, Frankfurter, Goldberg, Goldstein, Gordon, Grabolsky, Kallen, Kaplan, Lovenson, Lovinstone, Lipky, Labin, Margulies, Neumann, Posner, Richards, Rittenberg, Robison, Rosenblatt, Rosenbloom, Rothenberg, Rothschild, Rado, Saks, Sale, Seaber, Shulman, Silver, Simons, Szold, Topkis, Wise, and the Secretary to the Committee.

PRESENT BY INVITATION : Miss Lotta Levinsohn; Dr. Chaim Weizmann, Mr. M. Wasischkin, Dr. Ben Zion Mossinson, Dr. Schmarya Levin, Mr. Leonard Stein.

ABSENT: Mrs. Fols; Messrs. Floxner, Friedenwald, Grant, Heller, Jarman, Lipsitch, Mahl, Pcm, Rosenfield, Schweitzer, Shapinsky, Strauss and Waldstein.

ABSENCE EXPLANATIONS received from: Messrs. Grant, Heller, Jarman, Shapinsky,

C19212

Form

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
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Night Message	Nite
Night Letter	N L

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WESTERN UNION



TELEGRAM

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Telegram	
Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Nite
Night Letter	N L

If none of these three symbols appears after the check (number of words) this is a telegram. Otherwise its character is indicated by the symbol appearing after the check.

NEWCOMB CARLTON, PRESIDENT

GEORGE W. E. ATKINS, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

RECEIVED AT 5516 EUCLID AVENUE, CLEVELAND, OHIO
 32H RF 85 NL

FI NEWYORK NY APRIL 17

RABBI A H SILVER

32

CARE TEMPLE CLEVELAND O

CONFERRED WITH W WEDNESDAY THURSDAY NIGHT ACCOMPANIED BY ROSEN SOHN
 INSTEAD OF COHEN WS REQUEST, SITUATION SO DEVELOPED THAT I OMITTED
 DEMAND PUBLIC APOLOGY AND OUR AGREED STATEMENT, SUBMITTED THURSDAY
 TENTATIVE AGREEMENT, W REQUESTED DEFINITION SAFEGUARDS AND INSISTED
 CONGRESS POWER DISPOSE SURPLUS CAPITAL, SATURDAY MORNING W REJECTED
 DONATION FUND, SATURDAY NIGHT W AGREED DONATION FUND, SUNDAY MORNING
 COMPLETED DRAFT PREPARED BY STEIN ROSEN SOHN DISCUSSED BY OUR OWN
 GROUP, MANY OBJECTIONS BUT WHILE CONSIDERING W TELEPHONED ABSOLUTE
 REJECTION, WRITING YOU FULLY AND SENDING YOU OUR PUBLIC STATEMENT

J W MACK 958 AM APRIL 18 1921

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Telegram	
Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Nls
Night Letter	N L

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WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

NEWCOMB CARLTON, PRESIDENT

GEORGE W. E. ATKINS, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Telegram	
Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Nls
Night Letter	N L

If none of these three symbols appears after the check (number of words) this is a telegram. Otherwise its character is indicated by the symbol appearing after the check.

RECEIVED AT 5516 EUCLID AVENUE, CLEVELAND, OHIO
31H RF 29 NL

FI NEWYORK NY APRIL 17 1921

RABBI A H SILVER

31

CARE TEMPLE 55 ST CLEVELAND C

REGRET TO ANNOUNCE WEIZMANN THIS MORNING ABRUPTLY BRAKE OFF
ALL NEGOTIATIONS AND ISSUED INDEPENDENCE KEREN HAYESCD APPEAL
WE PREPARING STATEMENT EXPLAINING OUR POSITION WE REMAIN
FIRMLY BY BUFFALO DECISION

JULIAN W MACK

954 AM APRIL 18 1921

LIPSKY'S LETTER OF RESIGNATION

Room 743
Hotel Commodore
Lex. Ave. & 42 St.,
New York, April 19, 1931

Judge Julian W. Mack,
President, Zionist Organization of America
55 Fifth Avenue,
New York City.

My dear Judge Mack:

On Monday morning, April 18th, without notice or warning and without legal right, you gave orders, (as you yourself told me) that all mail addressed to the Department of Organization, as well as my personal mail, should be intercepted and turned over to you. At noon of the same day I saw you at your own request and you asked me to resign. You asked me to do this in view of the fact -- which must have been known to you since the London Zionist Conference and at the time when I was elected Secretary for Organization -- that I have been and am openly and publicly opposed to what the American Zionist Administration has been doing for the past two years.

I realize that it is within your official power to suspend my work as Secretary for Organization. I do not wish to embarrass you and therefore have no alternative but to ask you to place my resignation before the National Executive Committee for action at its next meeting.

My withdrawal from all responsibility for the acts of your Administration became all the more imperative by reason of the publication, on Monday, of an authorized statement in which you, as President, break off relations with the World's Zionist Organization, and announce your intention to establish an independent Palestine Fund.

You have then, by your own act, betrayed the National Executive Committee, which never gave you authority to take this step. You have by your own individual act betrayed the Zionists of the United States, whose representative you are supposed to be, but who never gave you or the National Executive Committee power to establish an independent Palestine Fund contrary to the wishes of the World Zionist Organization.

You have further, by this act, betrayed the Zionist Movement, for you have deliberately and wilfully broken the ranks of the Zionist Organization to its lasting injury. This you do at a time when the World Zionist Organization is facing the test of the Mandate, and when the united efforts of all Jews are required for the upbuilding of the Jewish National Home. You cannot plead ignorance of the effect of your act upon our political status and upon our rights under the Mandate.

For a number of years now, and especially since the London Zionist Conference, the Administration for which you have been speaking and acting, controlled and directed by invisible and silent factors that do not publicly share the responsibility, has been drifting away from Zionist moorings. In the course of that time, you and your friends have lost faith in the Jewish people. The social idealism expressed in the Pittsburgh Platform has been transformed into an ideal of private corporations. Propaganda has come to an end. The "word" has lost its significance. A united people is not essential or wanted. A National Central Fund is dangerous. In other words, the exact opposite of everything we Zionists here believed in during the period of struggle and sacrifice, is what you and your associates believe in and in accordance with which you have acted.

Since the London Conference, when the spokesman for the American Zionist Organization declined to share responsibility for World Zionist affairs, the real intent and purpose of the controlling influence in our organization has become clear. The criticism which you and your friends have directed against the World Zionist Organization at the same time when you refused to share in its labors and repeatedly declined to have representation in the London Executive, can be interpreted only in one way.

I take public responsibility for this statement: You and your group have committed the Zionist Organization of America, without its knowledge or consent to a policy which you knew means the establishment in the United States of an Independent Zionist Organization carrying on separate private undertakings in Palestine. While you were assuring the Zionists at Buffalo that everything would be done in agreement with the World Zionist Executive, you knew that your intention was to bring about a state of affairs that would enable you and your group of friends to carry on American-directed and American controlled undertakings in Palestine; and you knew at the same time, that the delegates assembled at that Convention, if they had known what was in your mind, would never have consented to such a policy.

I am sure the Zionists of America will disavow and repudiate the authority which you have been exercising as their spokesman. I, for one, will not be party to such a betrayal of the Zionist Cause, and I hope that there will be many others, who will join with me in taking steps to prevent the consummation of your destructive intentions.

Respectfully yours,

(sgd) LOUIS LIPSKY

The following letter, which has not yet appeared in the press was sent to Mr. Lipsky on April 24 by Judge Mack:

Sir:

Your letter of April 19th, the envelope containing which is stamped April 21st, 8 P.M. was received in yesterday morning's mail.

קהלית ציון

American Zion Commonwealth (Inc.)

AFFILIATED WITH THE

Zionist Organization of America

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April 21, 1921

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver,
c/o The Temple,
55th Street,
Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Rabbi Silver:

I have your letter of April 15, 1921.

I need hardly tell you that I am as sorry as any one over the "break". I am still hoping - almost against hope - that we might bridge over towards Palestine work.

With regard to my work in Palestine, no one was more anxious to carry that on than I. I left last year, with my wife and children, intending to make my home there. After the London Conference, however, and acting under instructions, I returned to America, with the understanding that I was to busy myself largely in the development of the Mortgage Bank. Nothing happened, and I felt that it was my duty to stay here for a while and help develop the American Zion Commonwealth into a larger institution. I came to that conclusion more particularly because I felt that it was really at that time more important that Mohl should go to Palestine because of his technical knowledge.

Let us hope that when the mist clears, all of us may see how we can fit in to the program of Palestine development.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Bernard A. Rosenblatt

April 24, 1921.

Dr. Chaim Weizmann,
Hotel Commodore,
42nd St. & Lexington Ave.,
New York City.

Dear Dr. Weizmann:

I acknowledge receipt on yesterday of your letter dated
April 20th.

✓ Following the adoption of the resolution of the Executive
Committee of the Zionist Organization of America on April 10th, you and I
had a number of conferences. We reached certain conclusions. On Saturday
night, April 16th, you definitely agreed that the Keren Hayesod in the
United States should be exclusively a donation fund. During the night,
four secretaries, all selected by you including even the one acting for me,
formulated a draft of the agreement. On April 17th, this was submitted to
each of us. While my associates and I were considering the document, you
personally telephoned that you rejected the draft, and that you would issue
your proclamation at once. ✓

You offered no reason for the rejection; you suggested
no changes; you requested no other discussion either as to form or sub-
stance. Your proclamation was entirely contrary to the agreement that we
had reached on Thursday night, and which was reaffirmed by you on Saturday
night, as to the one point on which, so far as I had been advised, you had
expressed a change of view.

I could not then and I cannot now characterize your action
more accurately and more in accordance with the facts, than by stating that
"you abruptly terminated the negotiations."

The preamble of the agreement as submitted to you on
April 14th, read: "The Zionist Organization of America will forthwith take
steps to institute the Keren Hayesod in the United States", and so forth.
After a lengthy discussion on this and an alternative form, you accepted
my formulation.* On April 16th, at the request of your Secretary, and for
the expressed purpose of satisfying your desires, I agreed to an introductory
clause, reading: "At the instance of the World Zionist Organization", to be
inserted before the preamble as formulated by me. I did not publish the
preamble because its introductory clause, as changed by your secretaries
during Saturday night, in substitution of that already agreed upon, had
not been assented to by either you or me.

In view of the history of the document and of its
preamble, I cannot understand your statement that "it actually implied the
recognition of the Zionist Organization of America as a body coordinate with
or even superior to the [World Zionist Organization]."

*Note: Following is draft of this formulation:- The Zionist Organization of
America will forthwith take steps to institute the Keren Hayesod in the United
States to be used exclusively in Palestine; and until the Congress, it shall
be conducted on the following basis:

(1) The Keren Hayesod in the United States will be limited to the raising
of a donation fund; (2) A board of directors or trustees will be established

As I reiterated to you in the whole course of our conferences, the creation in America of a donation fund separate from investments, in accordance with the unanimous decisions of the Zionist Organization of America, and the proper and adequate safeguarding of the expenditure in Palestine of all sums collected, are prerequisites from which it is impossible for the Zionist Organization of America to depart; these are the real issues involved; they are fundamental in our conception of the standards of trusteeship which we must at all hazards observe. I need hardly recall to you the facts that came out after the London Conference concerning the misuse and diversion of funds from one purpose to another. Since then we have had the illuminating report of the Reorganization Commission appointed by you, concerning conditions, methods and policies prevailing in Palestine under the Zionist Commission.

While it was agreed in London last summer, that a Board of Trustees would be established, and a detailed monthly report of all receipts and expenditures would be rendered, so far as we are aware, no practical steps have been taken to put these proposals into effect. Moreover, the financial control established in Palestine by the Reorganization Commission, through a responsible Treasurer, is in danger of being overthrown by some of your associates. Furthermore, your associates on the Executive and on the Board of the Keren Hayesod, are now attempting to prevent the exercise by the Governor of the Jewish National Fund of the duly authorized vote of the recent land transaction. As the Reorganization Commission clearly points out, this land purchase effected through the Zionist Commission, was wrongfully made in the name of the Jewish National Fund, involved a diversion of National Fund money placed at the Commission's disposal for other purposes, and committed the National Fund to a colonization policy which it had not even considered. These facts and occurrences but emphasize the necessity of providing the safeguards for which we have felt it our duty to contend, in the interest of the Cause.

In these circumstances, you will appreciate that I am unable to accept your invitation to designate representatives on a Committee of Organization for the Keren Hayesod, as at present constituted.

Our correspondence will be submitted to the members of the Executive Committee of the Zionist Organization of America, for their information, and for such action as they may deem proper to take at the next meeting which I have called for the earliest practicable date - May 2nd.

Yours sincerely,

(signed) JULIAN W. HACK
President.

upon which the Mizrahi, Poali Zion and non-Zionists will be given appropriate representation; (3) the funds as collected will be held on deposit in banks in America; (4) the Medical Unit will be a first charge on the fund; the appropriation therefore to be paid to and expended by the Executive Committee of the Unit; (5) terms of the contributions to the fixed Palestine Budget and to the other work in Palestine will be agreed upon; the appropriation therefore to be paid to and expended by and through the Executive of the World Zionist Organization.

The two questions which required further discussion and agreement were the nature of the safeguards as to the expenditure of the funds and the disposition by the Congress of the non-expended balance of the fund.

MISSING PAGE (S)



Mr. Jabotinsky then takes up the contention of the American Zionist leaders that the World Zionist Executive ought to remove to Palestine. True, he says, it ought to be located in Jerusalem, but the time is not yet ripe for that, because it is still necessary to watch over the mandate and also to solve certain political questions including that of a Jewish legion. Moreover, there are almost daily changes in the political atmosphere, and with the present postal and telegraphic facilities Palestine is too far from London. The Executive must also be near the European continent and America, and telegraphic communications would be considered too costly from the point of view of economy so insisted upon by the American Zionists. But the main reason is that the mandate regards the Zionist Executive as the Jewish Agency hence it would not do for the Zionist Executive merely to have a London address.

CONTROVERSY DUE TO INSUFFICIENT COLLECTIONS: SAYS SOKOLOW

(J.N.S. cable to the Morning Journal, April 25)

London, April 24.--

Nahum Sokolow, speaking of the controversy with the American Zionist leaders, declared that it was all due to the fact that in general the collections for the Keren Hayesod had not been as large as they should have been, hence the attitude of the American Zionist leaders was more keenly felt. He was sure, however, that all would end well in America, and that the American Jews would contribute money for Palestine, even for cultural work. He also expressed the hope that Baron Edmond Rothschild and the I.C.A. would help the various undertakings. Mr. Sokolow appealed to the press not to exaggerate the present crisis in Zionism.

HEBREW LANGUAGE SOCIETIES TENDER RECEPTION TO ZIONIST DELEGATION

(Morning Journal, April 25)

The United Hebrew Language Societies of New York arranged a mass meeting at the Manhattan Opera House last night in honor of the Zionist delegation. Reuben Brainin presided, and the speakers were Rabbi Mayer Berlin, Dr. Nissen Turov, Ben Avigdor, Rev. H. Masliansky, Dr. Ben Zion Mossensohn, M.M. Ussischkin, and Dr. Weizmann.

Dr. Weizmann said in part: "At the present moment there is reason to be somewhat pessimistic, but we, the old timers in the movement, have already passed through several such crises safely, and shall likewise pass through the American crisis safely."

"The whole Jewish life in America is not normal. I hope, however, that when the present crisis is over, the real work for Palestine will begin here too. We ought to

You state therein, among other things, that I gave orders, and that I myself told you that I had given orders; that your personal mail should be intercepted and turned over to me.

In your conversation with me at one o'clock Monday, April 18th, I stated to you the fact that I had that morning ordered the official mail of the Department of Organization turned over to me.

I neither told you that I had given orders, nor had I, in fact, given any orders, at that time, as to your personal mail.

When I reached the office in the afternoon of that day, I gave express directions that the girl in charge of the incoming mail was not to open any mail that came to you or to Mr. Weisgal personally, but only the mail that appeared on the face of the envelope to be addressed to you or to him as Secretary or Assistant Secretary of Organization, and that this latter mail was to be delivered to my office. This is the only order I ever gave in reference to your or anybody else's personal mail.

As your letter to me has been published in some of the newspapers and that, too, before its receipt by me, I shall expect you publicly and at once to retract the statement which is utterly without the slightest foundation in fact.

Yours, etc.

(sgd) JULIAN W. MACK
President
Zionist Organization of America.

ROCHESTER, N.Y. April 25.-

The Executive Committee of the Rochester Mizrahi has endorsed the Keren Hayesod but at the same time expressed its ardent desire for peace in the ranks of Zion.

A. Sapirstone, Pres.

S. Garfinkel, Sec'y.

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

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STEPHEN S. WISE	HONORARY VICE PRESIDENT
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HARRY FRIEDENWALD	VICE PRESIDENT
NATHAN STRAUS	VICE PRESIDENT
PETER J. SCHWEITZER	TREASURER
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JACOB DE HAAS	SECRETARY, PALESTINE DEPARTMENT
LOUIS LIPSKY	SECRETARY, ORGANIZATION DEPARTMENT
REUBEN HORCHOW	ASSISTANT TREASURER

REPLY TO DEPARTMENT

ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICES
55 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK

April 27, 1921

Dr. A.H. Silver,
c/o Temple,
E. 55 St. & Central Ave.,
Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Dr. Silver:

Judge Mack asked me to thank you for the telegram from the Cleveland Zionist District. It is such encouraging messages as yours that are helpful to us at this moment.

Very cordially, yours,

Jacob De Haas
Secretary, Palestine Department.

May 4, 1921.

Rabbi A. H. Silver,
The Temple,
East 55th and Centre Sts.,
Cleveland, Ohio.

My dear Rabbi Silver:

I suppose you know that I am coming to Cleveland on Sunday. I understand that a conference is going to be held for the purpose of the Weizmann reception and the Keren Hayesod.

I have read what you have said in the Jewish World. If you are in favor of the Keren Hayesod as organized by the World Zionist Organization and your only objection is to certain features of administration, why could you not help in the Keren Hayesod and leave all matters that have to do with the administration to the Congress which is to be held in September?

At any rate, I am writing this letter to you to let you know that I am coming and I hope that I shall be able to see you when I get there. Mr. Abraham Goldberg is coming with me.

Very cordially yours,

Emil Levy

*Rm. 901
50 Union Square*

LL/LM

TELEGRAM

Cleveland, O. May 5th, 1921

To

Dr. Ch. Weizman,

Hotel Commodore, New York City.

The forthcoming Zionist Convention will be held in our city on June fifth. In view of this fact, may we not suggest the advisability of postponing your eagerly anticipated visit until after the convention. We feel that this would result in a unified effort and in success.

S. Ulmer,

President, Cleveland Zionist District.

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

OFFICERS

LOUIS D. BRANDEIS	HONORARY PRESIDENT
STEPHEN S. WISE	HONORARY VICE PRESIDENT
JULIAN W. MACK	PRESIDENT
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JACOB DE HAAS	SECRETARY, PALESTINE DEPARTMENT
LOUIS LIPSKY	SECRETARY, ORGANIZATION DEPARTMENT
REUBEN HORCHOW	ASSISTANT TREASURER

REPLY TO DEPARTMENT

ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICES
55 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK

May 9th, 1921.

Rabbi A. H. Silver,
The Temple,
55th and Center Streets,
Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Rabbi Silver,

Thank you very much for your prompt telegram
consenting to join the Committee of One Hundred.

Perhaps the most forcible message that we have
received is that from Mr. Jonas A. Rosenfield of Dallas,
Texas, which I quote in full:

"HOPE AMERICA STILL ABLE TO GIVE BOSTON
TEA PARTY STOP ADMINISTRATION BEING HURT BY DEFEN-
SIVE NEGATIVE ATTITUDE IMPERATIVE WE BECOME AGGRES-
SIVELY CONSTRUCTIVE WHY IS MY MAIL FLOODED WITH DE-
NUNCIATORY NEWS AND KEREN HAYESOD PROPAGANDA FROM
YIDDISH PRESS I AM SUPPORTING ADMINISTRATION UNTIL
I NOTIFY YOU CONTRARY."

You may be interested to know that up to this
morning, we have received requests for 25,000 copies of
"The New Palestine".

For the Rebuilding of Zion,

Cordially yours,

David J. Davis

JdeH:AK

OPENING ADDRESS OF JUSTICE BRANDEIS
NEW YORK CONFERENCE, NATHAN STRAUSS
OFFICE, June 10th, 1921

Judge Black in his opening statement called attention to the important questions which must come up. The question of what we are to do—the matter of substance and objective which we have—as to that I think there can be no doubt. Our purpose has been and of course will continue to be to develop Palestine as a Jewish Homeland. That is all that we are seeking to do. Whatever we do is directed to that one end. We are from now on to free ourselves from all entanglements and entanglements in order that we may the sooner accomplish that end. And as to the purpose I think is perfectly clear—that the obvious thing to do is to make our effort so simple, so direct, that we can attain that end with the least possible embarrassment. We will, of course, remain members of the Zionist Organization of America, but we are supporters of an administration whose policies and principles have been repudiated. That means that those who now have charge of the organization have different policies and different principles from those we conceive to be right. As long as the new officers pursue this new course we cannot share in any of their responsibilities. Theirs is the responsibility. We, in my opinion, should do nothing that in any way shares their responsibility, or hamper them in the performance of their responsibility. Our purpose is to go forward directly and affirmatively, to do the specific thing which we think ought to be done in Palestine to advance its development. That develops a perfectly simple program, both for action and for inaction. For action, it is a program of picking out, through proper means, the simple things that we want done, not to talk but to do those things, to do nothing else. For inaction, it means the absolute abjuring and rejection of everything in the way of politics. We are not a minority faction. We do not seek to be a minority party; we will have nothing whatever to do with the political management or with any attempts to direct the forces of the organization. That is in the hands of the majority and they are to go forward—go forward as the Executive and to go forward as representing the American Zionists in the World Congress. We do not represent American Zionists. We believe in the vote of the convention, we stand by the vote of the convention. Those whom the delegates have selected as their direct officers and Executive Committee are the legally elected representatives of the American Zionists and as long as they are so we shall have nothing whatever to do with any political question. That is their question and they must manage it. Our business is to do some definite practical work. When I say we are to take no part in the executive management I mean not only in the National Executive, but all along the line. What is true of the president and vice-president and the various members and committees of the National Executive is to my mind equally true of every office however humble, and how-ever small or large the community; all the way down as far as we are subject to the rules and directions of the National Executive. We should resign each and every such office because if we hold such offices we must be absolutely loyal and obedient to our superior officers. We content ourselves with being loyal privates and we are in the Zionist Organization as members, but the moment any office is taken, whether on the local district committee, or the collection committee, or any other committee, whatever the nature of the office subject to the National Executive, it seems to me the duty of all of us opposed to the present administration is to resign and permit the offices to be filled by those who are in unqualified sympathy with the officers who have been elected by the Convention.

Now, for our own practical work. As Judge Black has said, we are to take up specific things and I suggest as an example of what I mean that we revert to a plan which was under consideration of the National Executive Palestine Committee for some time, and to which Mr. Flexner particularly has given a great deal of thought—the formation of a co-operative wholesale organization to enable the people of Palestine to procure the necessities of life at the lowest possible cost. That is a definite practical work which will favorably affect the possibility of every man and woman in Palestine of earning a living, reaching out to self-support, by bringing down the cost of living to as low a point as is possible. There is no politics in that plan except in the sense that what-ever is good for the people is statesmanship. This plan has nothing to do with the operation of the World Zionist Organization, of the Zionist Commission. It could be formed as any other organization might be formed in Palestine by those citizens or residents of Palestine who choose to connect themselves with it, either by putting in money or by buying goods from it. This is a perfectly practical thing. And it is something which does not involve so large a sum of money but that we can look forward in a very short time to raising the necessary capital and sending with the money competent persons to see that the organization is started and set going in Palestine. I merely throw this out as an illustration of the kind of thing that we can do without involving ourselves in any political alliance or in any political organization, without imparting any of the organization work but leaving the Zionist Organization of America to continue to work on their problems. If you think well of it, it would be our first problem to take up and carry out. What amount of money would be necessary I am unable to say. I am told that probably \$250,000 would be all that would be needed at first and a small part of that is already available. We should get that money and the quicker we get it the better. If we raised it within 30 days, we could send our representatives to Palestine to operate this wholesale co-operative. We could then take up the next question, and whatever that next might be, whether it involves \$200,000 or \$500,000, we would set ourselves to work to do that next thing—going ahead and doing it and setting ourselves in a modest way to the task of doing a specific thing out of the hundreds that ought to be done in order to develop Palestine. And everyone of our members, I mean not only of the Zionist members but those who believe as we do in the performance of definite practical work, would have the opportunity of joining with us. How should they join? We are not forming another society or faction. We are not seeking Zionists, we are Zionists, and we want to perform some work. The work of talking was over some time ago and certainly is over now. The task is to come to Jews who

feel as we do and ask whether they want to do something now. And it is for us now to devise for this specific work an instrument which shall be as inexpensive, as economic and as efficient as it is possible to be, both in the collecting of the money and in the spending of the money that may be collected. We must be extremely careful to avoid even the appearance of forming an outside organization and it must be perfectly clear that what we are attempting is merely to create an instrument through which we can act in carrying out our purposes, and as was suggested by Judge Mack in his opening remarks, probably the most effective way of creating an efficient, inexpensive instrument would be to create what may be called the "Palestine Development Trust"—that is, a trust organization into which the funds, that are collected for these specific purposes, would be paid and be under the direction of trustees who would undertake the administration of those funds. Take for instance, this wholesale co-operative. We raise say, the \$250,000 which has been suggested. We pay it in to those trustees—to this trust—and the men who were at the head of that trust whomsoever they be as the Board of Trustees, undertake that the money raised be properly expended. Theirs would be the obligation, just as numerous obligations are undertaken in this country for the performance of work for which people give their money, and for nothing else. Contributors give their money for that purpose and nothing else.

I think it ought to be perfectly clearly understood that the expenses of that Trust would be paid not out of the funds which are collected but out of certain administrative funds collected outside, that the person who gives a dollar or a thousand dollars for the wholesale co-operative organization, for instance, will know that his thousand dollars will be paid into the wholesale co-operative and not one cent outside. For the expense of this Trust, therefore, a separate administrative fund would be raised specifically for the administration and for nothing else and that would be the central office of the Trust, assuming for the present that that would be in New York.

For the rest of the country it seems to me we should also have as little in the way of organization and expenses as it is humanely possible to have. We have a perfectly definite purpose—to raise money to be spent in Palestine for constructive purposes. Now everybody who wants to contribute to that fund would have the opportunity of saying how the contributions should be obtained. Perhaps the trustees might advise, but the doing of these things ought to be left to those persons in the different communities who are interested in them. If, for instance, the people of Akron have a desire to contribute, or some people have a desire and think their fellow-citizens would like to contribute to the advancing of this specific work, then the people of Akron by some committee or club or any other form as they see fit, ought to arrange the matter, and that group of individuals is to act in such way as it deems proper, to raise the money. When they have raised the money they transmit it to the trustees. Thus, instead of centering the work, centering the general responsibility for the success of a collection in a central body, it will put it to the Jews of several communities to let each and everyone of them, so far as they have an interest, so far as there may be in Pittsburgh, Baltimore, people who feel the desire that we feel, those persons in those several communities will know how to reach us and the central trust body is to rely on the people in the various communities to so deal with them in the way they think best. It is not a question of propaganda, nor a political question, it is a question of the persons making it possible for Jews in different places, where we have men and women who sympathize with the purposes that we have in view, to make it possible for the other people in those communities to know about what we are doing, to know what to contend with and of course to be definitely in touch through such group as may be formed and through them be able to contribute. The speed with which we get through one thing will determine the time when we take up the next. This is to be a progressive, not a talking matter, not a promise, not a repetition of what has been raised and what is going to be raised, but a very modest attempt. It will, I hope, always remain modest because of the character of what we stand for, but we hope it will prove to be a very substantial contribution to the advance of the development of the Homeland.

ADDRESS OF MR. DeHAAS AT HOTEL CLEVELAND
CONFERENCE, CLEVELAND, OHIO,
JUNE 7th

Let us avoid this Keren Hayesod error. I have no objection to putting in the phrase that Mr. Frankfurter suggested just now about usurpation but I take strong exception to the other part of it. I think we can foresee what is going to be done. They are going to incorporate this Keren Hayesod in America. They are going to put in their safeguards. Unless I am mistaken they are going to put in instructions there far more tense and serious than those we put up because the purpose of all this was very different from what it was made to appear. We need not fall into the trap and I for one am not in favor of the KH. I oppose it as a bad political move on the part of the Zionist movement. If I had occasion to take the floor in the convention I would discuss the KH. as bad political business. We had no business to attempt this thing. The World Zionist Organization had no business to attempt it, not only on the score of usurpation but on the score of endangering the Zionist movement by attempting at this time to create such a concentration, that if trouble arose for our movement everything falls at one time. I do not believe in this. We saved the Zionist movement in 1914, because there was an independent American organization. I think less of the leadership of the movement not so much because of its lack of character but because of its lack of political understanding. No man who is thinking today in the terms of our movement has the right to endeavor to endanger the whole future of our movement by putting everything into one basket, for if an accident takes place everything is gone. And that is why I do not favor this linking up by subordinate corporation agencies at any time. I think there is danger in the political situation for the Zionist movement in this act. And I believe the wise policy, since we are going to be defeated, and because as an individual Zionist, I welcome now every successive defeat, I urge you to take the position, to denounce this thing. In the end the W. Z. O. will break down on this policy and we do not desire to share in the moral responsibility for a destruction which is being forced for the sake of personal ambition against the interest of the movement. The policy of over-concentration is one which the Zionists, on reflection cannot accept. I venture to assert that the British government does not favor and will not favor this policy of putting all the Zionist eggs—executive, administration, finance and organization in London. It is neither in the interest of the Jews who are to settle in Palestine, nor in the interest of the mandatory that everything relating to the development of Palestine should be so concentrated that every action depends upon London. The mandatory power sensitive to every political re-action must be as anxious as we should be that the Palestinian development comes about as the free and spontaneous act of the Jews in every country. Such concentration would be equally objectionable if it were expected in any other country for our interest is to maintain a balance between the support we can obtain anywhere and the effort we can make in Palestine. It is there and only there that we must concentrate. Concentration in Palestine is our whole purpose; concentration anywhere else implies political short-sightedness. I feel free to say this because as a Jew born in England whose attitudes before, during and after the war have been wholly clear, no one can imagine that I am guided in this thought by any other consideration than that of the practical relationship of Palestine and the mandatory. And I feel free to put my colleagues in the same category for they have consistently been the advocates and initiated the steps whereby the mandate for Palestine should go to Great Britain with the whole-hearted support of world Jewry. It is we who asked that Great Britain receive the mandate from the League of Nations, and it is we who urged that she accept it if offered her and this casts upon us a responsibility not only as to the relationship between the mandatory and the Jews everywhere, but also as to the bearing of the Jews in Palestine to the mandatory power. Jews generally have however, this other right. They believe in the power of the saving remnant of Israel. They do not know which segment of the Diaspora will next be that saving remnant no one of us thought on. Nobody would believe that on July 6th, 1914 that we in America would save Zionism. No one knew that we could do it. We were just a handful in the movement. We returned from Rochester in doubt as to whether we could raise \$10,000 for our current year's expenses, and six weeks after, war having been declared, we undertook the saving of the movement, and we wrote out a blank check for the movement. And now what? Now the whole movement is again in serious political danger. It is a moral injustice to you and to me and all of us to play this game. And it is a game that is being played. Concentrate all that we possess in one hand and if the hand falls, all is gone. That is what I oppose here and that is what I advise you to oppose under all circumstances, and that is why I defend at this moment a negation. I ask you to agree to no compromise.

There is no World Zionist leader. Frankfurter hinted last night at one thing and that one thing has still to be understood. There is no World Zionist leader. The World Zionist Leader in England is Jabotinsky, a brilliant man but most dangerous for the welfare of the movement. A man who may in the next few months, as leader of the activists oppose all the accepted policies in Palestine. Jabotinsky should not be one of the executives of the Zionist movement. But Jabotinsky is the leader of the movement in London at this moment, and in Palestine the leader of the movement is Ussichkin, a man whose strength of character I respect, but a man who can never understand the political relations that must exist among people—a good deal of a bigot, the advocate of a narrow and harsh policy. The leader, the world leader in the United States at this moment, at this convention is a combination of four men. Ussichkin, Levin, Lipsky and Neumann. It is not Weizmann. Weizmann is not the leader. Unfortunately he lacks the necessary strength of character. Judge Mack alluded in his opening convention address to the inside story of the break. On that morning of the 17th of April, when we thought we were coming to terms of the K.H., Weizmann was, I believe ready to sign. He did not sign. The test of leadership is in the story of his failure to sign. When Mr. Abraham Tulin brought to him the

draft beginning "Pursuant to the instruction of the WZO," before it was read, the others present would not allow Weizman to read it, even privately. Before it was read they told him "You cannot make peace. We won't allow you to make peace." Dr. Levin arose in that room in the Commodore Hotel and threatened. Dr. Levin who on the day before had threatened that if W. made peace he would immediately go to Europe. On this Sunday morning he turned around and said, "If you sign I go to Europe and break you politically." Ussichkin and Mossinsohn got up and said, "If you sign this we go to Palestine and break you politically."

MACK: There are two men present in this room to whom Mr. Tulin told that story less than 24 hours after the event.

DEHAAS: And then Rabbi Meyer Berlin got up and said: "If you sign this agreement I shall go through the United States and break you. I will take away from you the power of the Mizrachi." And this he admitted to the Executive Committee of the Mizrachi. That is how I know it. The Executive Committee of the Mizrachi called him to account and he admitted his share in that scene. And then Lipsky and Neumann got up—these men who were yesterday telling you "You want to break the World leadership. You have not got respect for it." And they too threatened to go on the stump in the United States and break Weizmann, and Weizmann yielded. Leadership depends upon the strength of character of the individual who leads and when six men can down you you are not the leader. They lead. That's why W. is right when he calls himself the prisoner of the movement. And that is the sad story. After Dr. W. agreed not to sign the agreement, Mr. Lipsky took out of his pocket the proclamation of the KH and asked him to sign it. W. said "I have not read it." Lipsky replied, "It does not matter. It is good enough for us. Sign here." And they gave him thirty minutes. And he went into the next room. And he signed this proclamation that was issued and broke with us because of his physical and mental fear of the men who were threatening his political future. That is the cause of the break. All the rest is camouflage, and I have told this only because that is where the difficulty is with Dr. Wolf's suggestion. I know the condition at this time which prevents any agreement being kept, because there are opposing forces in our movement and the opposing forces control W.—W. controls none.

I want to talk Zionist politics to you for a few minutes. Since early in 1916 there has been going on in the Zionist movement in Europe a political personal struggle. From the time W. took up the political effort to gain the Balfour Declaration there arose a political struggle between himself and others. Not with us. Sokolow and Tschlenow wanted to share in the glory. Poor Tschlenow was downed very quickly and he died in London. And then during all of 1916, 17, 18, and 19, there was a rivalry between Weizmann and Sokolow as to who was the leader—who was the top man. When I came to London in January, 1919, a scrap was going on and W. was protesting against what he called the "double eagle." Wherever he moved, Sokolow moved and wherever Sokolow moved, W. moved. When a sheet of paper was to be signed they both had to sign it on the same line. At that time Sokolow was a member of the Actions Committee and W. was not. W. had earned his spurs by what he actually did. On the third of Feb., 1919, at the solemn moment when in the Hotel Meurice, Paris, we signed the proposals that were to go to the Peace Conference, there stood these two men, struggling as to whose name should go first on that written sheet—as to whose name should go first on the printed sheet. I recall it merely as an incident in the struggle that I witnessed all through the early months of 1919.

And then there came a new phase. Jabotinsky is an old free lance in Zionism. He is a very brilliant fellow. Jabotinsky pruned himself on having organized the Legion. He was organizing the Legion with the aid of Weizmann against Sokolow. Aaron Aaronsohn also helped, but he was not an aspirant for office. We in America, outside of Jabotinsky, pressed the idea of the Legion. We actually supplied the money and the men. But that is a minor thing. We wanted nothing in exchange for it. Jabotinsky proceeded to Palestine and became at that time "the cock of the walk." Theoretically he was a subordinate officer in the British Army. He was greeted all over the country as the originator, father, founder and organizer of the Legion, and Jabotinsky became a danger to the leadership. He was a new rival to the throne, and he had new weapons at his command. Jabotinsky is essentially demagogic. J. made a hero of himself during the riots that preceded San Remo.

By June of last year, J. was a hero in the hearts of the Jews and J. was a potent rival of W. for the leadership in the Zionist movement. And so we had two rivals. Those of you who know something of the detailed history of our movement know there has always been an aspirant to the Zionist throne, anyhow, from 1896. Ussichkin was an aspirant, opposing Herzl from the first time he knew of Herzl's existence. He came to the first congress in opposition to Herzl's leadership. And when he reached Paris in the spring of 1919 he made it clear that he was an opponent of Weizmann. The leadership thus is divided into four parts. W. faced the opposition of Jabotinsky, of Ussichkin and Sokolow. Ussichkin went to Palestine. W. did not send U. to Palestine for the good of Palestine, and he did not send him there for the good of U. I repeat no hearsay. I know what passed in August, 1919, when the sending of U. was being discussed. And he has been fighting to overcome J. Why every political-minded person understands the game. If you want to down your opponent you get him into the Committee and crowd him. So when J. was freed from prison last year and came to London as a rival to the throne he was assigned to office. All this story of the KH and the governorship veto being undone, the destruction of Simon and deLieme is entirely the work of Jabotinsky. That is the usurpation. That is the coup d'état. W. yielded and J. directs affairs from London. W. is going to the congress with three opponents. Sokolow, Ussichkin and Jabotinsky and that is the meaning of the first section of the telegram that Judge Mack received last week. In substance it said,—we will come to terms with you if Brandeis and Mack will undertake to support W. at the next congress and help organize the executive. That telegram was drafted by Rosensohn at the request of Messrs. Rosenblatt and

Tulin. The question of my elimination was put up to me personally. And if, as far as I was concerned others could make peace by my withdrawal from office, God knows, I was ready enough to go out of office. And that overture was made to me personally and I said yes. A thousand times yes. I was willing to do it. Why not? The real idea was this: They wanted a combination at the congress in order to sustain W. At the critical moment that they will need our support, to carry themselves through again. And that is why I said to the Opposition, if you do not defeat us I will help defeat ourselves. I would not go to the congress. And I do not want anybody to go to the Congress representing our side. I do not want to be part of this personal struggle. Let them fight it out. When it is over understanding will again come into our movement. I know the Charkow story. I was with Herzl. I saw Wolfsohn downed. I saw them put down poor old Mendelstamm—the same manner and the same force—and they must fight it out to the bitter end. We stand for a cause, they think always of the personality of the leadership of this movement.

W. is afraid of other men. He is afraid of James de Rothschild. de Rothschild who is not even a member of our organization, who is not an aspirant to office but because he represents a certain possibility in the world, J. deR. must be downed and the work of J. deR. must be downed. And when you understand that you will understand why Dr. Levin, the moment he came to New York, started the attack on what J. deR. tried to do in New York in getting a new group in. It was because R. is in the Economic Council in London that Weizmann tells you he has not faith in the Economic Council there.

Of all that I heard on the morning of the Executive meeting on April 10th, what worried me beyond all things, was the discovery that Weizman is afraid of still another man not in this country.

Weizmann figured if I judge aright that he could make terms somehow with Jabotinsky, with Sokolow, with Ussichkin. He can hold J. deR. at bay somehow. But Weizmann is living in cordial fear of another man. The most ridiculous, the most absurd and the most stupid thought that I know of is his fear of the possible leadership of Brandeis. I came to London in January, 1919, in absolute good faith, not overwhelmed with what I knew of the brilliance of W. but quite satisfied as an individual Zionist to do my best to help him succeed. I had not the conception Weizmann which Frankfurter brought back from his first European trip. I was perfectly ready to do my share and nothing has been said to me in all the years of my work that moved me so much as an observation of Mr. Brandeis last Friday. He said, "deHaas between 1910 to 1919, I never heard you say an unkind word about a human being. And I cannot understand now, how you, with your understanding of Weizmann, you did not tell me all you thought." Weizmann feared Brandeis in January, 1919. He had never seen him. Others, Sokolow, Lewin-Epstein and Aaron Aaronsohn must have told him about Brandeis. I am afraid Dr. Wise did, and Mrs. Fels sang his praises. And when I came in January, 1919, I was met by this: "Yes or no? Does Brandeis come here?" I said no. He said, "I will hold that up against him. I will hold this up against him when he comes to the Zionist Congress." And this was repeated to me. And it was repeated to Flexner and myself a dozen times in London and Paris. This threat that he would hold Brandeis, whom he had never seen, to a strict accounting for failing to come to England and Paris when he wanted him there was part of the political game. He did not want Brandeis there. I understood him I think when we were through—I think before we were through he understood me.

In June, 1919, Justice Brandeis and I went to Palestine and we found much political trouble there. In 48 hours Brandeis did more to rectify the political difficulties than Weizmann had been able to do in many, many months. Palestine was at the moment under military occupation and as far as our observation was concerned, excepting one or two men, the whole of this military administration was against us. The military party in England was not entirely supporting the Foreign Office in its Jewish Homeland policy, and the military authorities in Egypt were not taking Foreign office instructions. General Money was in command in Palestine and he was not in favor of us and a son of a meshumel by the name of Gabriel was the Economic Administrator of Palestine and made it his business to prevent the Jews from doing business in Palestine. And Brandeis in Jerusalem laid down the law to Money in no mistakable terms as to what he was going to do when he got out of Palestine. Though we wanted to see more of Palestine, we left in great speed because of the critical situation. We abruptly broke our trip and went to Paris, and in Paris, Mr. Brandeis told Mr. Balfour what he thought of the situation. Money and Gabriel disappeared and an instruction was issued to be published throughout Palestine that the military authorities were to carry out the Foreign Office policy in the matter of the Jewish Homeland. And now Weizmann talks about a "tourist" spending two weeks in Palestine and knowing nothing about it—and he refers to Brandeis. I have no right to bring to you the "tourist's" various addresses before we entered Palestine, but one of these days we will publish those documents and it will be clear as to who is the Jew and who has the moral courage of the Jewish people.

Brandeis settled this with Balfour in 24 hours, and we went to London to take up the question of the Mandate and to discuss what could be done for the benefit of the movement. And strangely enough the first question was a moral question. We were revising the mandate proposals on the question of the ownership of Land in Palestine. And we insisted, strange as it may seem here now, that all the people of Palestine, the Arab and Christian as well as the Jew, should be allowed to do that which life called for on the same fundamental principle of right and equality. We wanted no unfair advantages. The Jewish text—"I was a stranger in the land" was our guide on this matter. And we had a three day session on a moral question involved in the formulation of the mandate in respect to the land ownership question. And we won out. And then during the last three days of our stay in London there was sprung upon us a new situation. We were still discussing the mandate. The question of the Council as the Jewish Agency

was brought up and Brandeis and myself took up the position that we wanted the Zionist Organization to be the Jewish Agency. Frankfurter, Mack, Flexner and Ben Cohen had taken up the same question in Paris months before and fought it every day. We who are charged here with disloyalty and trying to disrupt the integrity of the Organization, desired that the Zionist Organization should be the agency—not a group of people, directed by a World Congress in which Zionists would have no special authority. We put that up in good faith and very simply. And then, there was suddenly sprung a new attitude. Weizmann during the Paris negotiations for two months stood with us on this against Ussichkin and some of the others. Now Weizmann wanted the mixed Council and not the Zionist Organization as the agency. There should be a congress in every country and there should, somehow or other, be created a council to head the Jewish Agency, and the Zionist Organization should be a minor quantity in it. We struggled against that—we disloyalists. And then we were told we did not understand Zionism. Then we were told for the first time we did not know the soul of the Jewish people. We were told for the first time that we had for ourselves an American Zionist Monroe Doctrine and we were told that Weizmann would come to America and colonize America, and break the American Zionist Monroe Doctrine. The debate on this question lasted three days. During those days we were told we did not understand the need of golut nationalism. We opposed golut nationalism and we were challenged. We were then threatened and Mr. Brandeis was put on the witness stand by Weizmann—"Do you agree with us in principle or are you opposed to us only in practice." And Brandeis answered, "I disagree with you in principle and I oppose you in practice." I was not the only one who saw what was coming. In this struggle in the Executive during those three days, we mustered on our side Frankfurter, Brandeis and myself. Julius Simon and deLieme joined us. And the opposing four were Weizmann, Ussichkin, Levin and Jacobson. Weizmann turned around to Simon then and there and said, "this is another Uganda." This was all done to challenge the possibility of Brandeis' leadership—a post to which he did not aspire. It was under those sad conditions that we left London in August, 1919, and came to the Chicago convention.

The fear of Brandeis has continued ever since. And that is why in a large measure there was so much trouble in London last year. Brandeis had no aspirations for the world leadership. But there was a fear of it and the fear that Weizmann could not handle with Brandeis. Brandeis could not be manipulated. They could not do what was done with Levi last year. He was shipped to Palestine. Brandeis is too simple-minded for the accident to happen.

Last year in London there was a dilemma. The conference had nothing before it but the KH and that was dismissed when presented. No one was willing to assume responsibility. Mr. Brandeis developed an idea. It was not a plan that I wholly agreed with but the strangest part of it is that this much criticized plan of a small new executive was a plan Weizmann agreed to. The majority of the delegates who came to London had no idea of the dilemma of the movement. The organization was practically demoralized except for the American section. Weizmann begged Brandeis to help him out of the difficulty. He told Brandeis of men he had seen and after careful conference with him Brandeis agreed to make the attempt to bring new forces into the movement—forces that were not entirely new but largely new. Some of these men approached Brandeis on their own account and so it came about that with the aid of Lord Reading, Sir Alfred Mond, a shekel payer and who had given £25,000 to the National Fund, and James de Rothschild, whom I could not call a non-Zionist although he does not pay a shekel, no more than I could call his father a non-Zionist, and Waley-Cohen who had become interested in Palestine, were induced to and urged to assume responsibility in the movement. Induced and pressed by Mr. Brandeis after the most careful discussion and consultation in every step with Weizmann, they were willing to assume responsibility. Then one morning, Sokolow and Weizmann and Naiditch and others came to Brandeis, and recited to him the difficulties of the situation. He replied in substance "Gentlemen, I have a plan. I propose that we ask these men not only to come in with us and assist us and advise with us. I propose that these men assume responsibility for the economic development of Palestine within our movement. Not outside of it but within it" and he outlined his plan. Weizmann and Sokolow and Flexner were to be the other three, and Brandeis himself was to be the 7th man and that was to be the form of the organization. Weizmann agreed to this. You understand that the Jews in England stand in little different position than we do. They feel the responsibility for Palestine because it is under the British mandate. LDB thought it advisable to throw the burden on their shoulders—responsibility as distinguished from advice. Actually to do the job and put their names to it. They were always willing to advise. He wanted them to do the job, and Weizmann agreed to this and his friends begged Mr. Brandeis to tell the story of his plan to the London Conference. But Mr. Brandeis hesitated and he suggested that he speak to a small group. Julius Simon worked out a plan that each of the sub-committees of the conference should nominate three men and these together should listen to Mr. Brandeis. Confusion followed. Motzkin for the steering committee objected to this and others would not stand for it and so we had to agree that instead of a small committee, the plan be told to the Senioren Konvent ad hoc. When I heard of the plan of this session, I had not been in touch with the situation for twenty-four hours, when I was notified briefly of the plan and asked to call the American delegation together so that Mr. Brandeis could deliver his address to our delegates. I predicted that within 48 hours he would be doublecrossed. This prophecy is another of my crimes. Mr. Brandeis delivered the speech in good faith, first to the American Delegation and left them to criticize and discuss it and then went over to another hotel where the Senioren Konvent was meeting and delivered the address at greater length and it was to be translated in Yiddish by Mr. Rublick. Weizmann was sitting on a bench in the lobby with Julius Simon next to him. I walked over to them. Simon turned to me and said "deHaas, do you cross the Rubicon," meaning

whether I was agreeable to the proposition of bringing these new forces in. I said I was going to take a little time to think it over. Weizmann turned to me and said "he wants me to play the Lloyd George to his Wilson." And I walked off and concluded that Weizmann was against the plan although he had agreed to it. I understood that reference. The Senioren Konvent went into debate the next day. Sokolow stood to his guns. He was present when the arrangement was made that Brandeis should make his speech and said he agreed with him and got up and agreed with him publicly. But Weizmann did this. He said in substance "Here is a new plan. These are new men. Who are these men? Do you know them? I will tell you something. I have heard the name of one of these men. That man does not believe in Hebrew in Palestine. What do you say of the leadership of the movement of a man who does not believe in Hebrew in Palestine?" And he went on in that strain. Then he turned around and said, "Gentlemen, don't you think it desirable that we get together with these new men and see what they really want." And this bewildered body, meeting a new condition, not knowing these names, not knowing these people, immediately seized upon that idea that we meet these men whom they were told were the possible new leaders. Mr. Brandeis had gone to meet the Lord Chancellor, feeling that Weizmann was in the Senioren Konvent defending the case. That was his assumption. I was called up nine o'clock that night and told that Weizmann was getting together with Mond and the other men. Brandeis was requested to come down 11 o'clock at night at a meeting in the offices at Gt. Russell St., and we, the Americans, went into session, discussing the general question without our delegates knowing of this intervention. I undertook to hold the American delegation together while Frankfurter and Ben Cohen by request were going into the next room to see this new piece staged. And there was Weizmann with a special committee of the Senioren Konvent and Mond and deRothschild, two of the three. He had seen, as far as I knew, one of them in the afternoon and there he put to them this question. Remember what I told you before. Brandeis wanted these men not to be advisors but to assume responsibility because by that the Jews of England would assume responsibility with them in men, money and all other things, and Weizmann turned around and said "You men do not want responsibility. You do not want the burden of this heavy task put upon you. You are quite satisfied. I am sure, not to be responsible, merely to advise and co-operate." At one o'clock in the morning these two went out, worried about being responsible for Hebrew education in Palestine and other problems which had nothing to do with the work they had been asked to do. Brandeis had talked to them about the economic upbuilding of Palestine—not the cultural program. By the time these men were through, Mond said, no, I do not want that responsibility. Rothschild said I do not want that responsibility. And the plan was dead. That is what Frankfurter meant last night when he said this thing never came to a vote in the convention. The London Conference never passed on it. The plan never came into the conference. The plan was wrecked at one o'clock in the morning. And when the next morning, Brandeis was told of it, Brandeis recognized that the whole thing was gone, that what he had been doing with Lord Reading who drafted the plan in his own handwriting was wrecked. Something else was destroyed, to me the most tragic of all this business.

There was destroyed Brandeis' confidence in the honor and integrity of Weizmann. I have gone through many painful scenes in my life and I think I can stand them pretty well but I shall not forget in a hurry that Friday afternoon, a continuation of the same day, when the sub-committee of the Senioren Konvent, the same sub-committee that had listened to Mond and Rothschild asked to meet Mr. Brandeis, Ben Cohen and myself were present, and Mr. Brandeis turned around and said to this committee, "I am sorry, the plan is wrecked. I am sorry I cannot depend on the honor and integrity of Dr. Weizmann." He told them himself, there and then, the story of how Weizmann agreed and how Weizmann had destroyed it. And the saddest of the sad things to me was that these men who were sitting in that room, Bodenheimer, Motzkin, Rosoff, Reich, and one or two others, listened deeply moved, and when Brandeis attacked the honor and integrity of Weizmann they had not a single word to say in defense. And that, I think, ought to be the end of the story. I think you can understand now why Brandeis could not meet Weizmann and discuss the KH in this country. What could he do more than to be silent under such a situation. What more can a man do than to step aside and still insist until four weeks ago that Weizmann must be maintained as the leader of the movement. Not because Weizmann was Weizmann, but because Brandeis felt that we had to do that which would maintain a front for us as against the world in the person of Weizmann. That put us in a position with which I did not agree for many months. It was this, and that is the reason for all the confusion—that Brandeis and Mack agreed, knowing all of this, that while we had a fight on our hands against the financial mismanagement, against the untrustworthiness of leaders, we must so direct this fight that we do not attack Weizmann by a single word or act. And I felt that for one, my hands were tied behind my back in that fight. How could I fight in the organization. How could I explain what it was all about. When this one thing which was the centre of the whole thing had to remain a secret. That is the cause of all the mystification. I felt that every Zionist here who is going to work with us should understand. I have not told you everything, because the accumulation of years cannot be related in an hour. But I wanted to tell you so much to make it clear to you that you can say in good conscience that you are supporting Judge Mack and not those who brought about this condition yesterday. And I do not want any man to have the feeling that he was voting for Judge Mack because of personal sympathy. That which Weizmann feared in Europe early in 1919, the potential leadership of Brandeis who never wanted anything from anybody, was also feared here and in January, 1919, the official staff of the Z.O.A. Mr. Lipsky and others got together to plan how they could get rid of de Haas because if so they could break the Brandeis (silent) leadership. That is the cause of the scene at Chicago Convention upon which we came fresh from Palestine. An organized effort to paralyze the leadership, to undo it.

Lipsky told the truth last night when he said he did not believe in 1917 that Judge Mack should be the leader. He did not believe it. Not because he did not think Judge Mack was a good Zionist. He thought it because he thought he should be the leader. He thought that in 1914, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21. At the Philadelphia Convention in 1916 the manoeuvring was going on about the same business—this silly business, utterly silly and ridiculous that the men in the office should lead the movement and the public leaders should be their subordinates, this hopeless idea of a bearocracy controlling the movement. We did not create a division of opinion in London and it did not matter in London what was said. The cards were stacked just as at this convention. The division was deepened in London. Lipsky and his friends had no less than three plans. When they arrived in London—three plans how to dispose of de Haas. One was to get him in Palestine. They seized upon the difference between Weizmann and Brandeis when they came back in September. They organized and corresponded with London and the end of the story is here. Levin came to America to group the two forces—the American opposition to Brandeis in the person of Lipsky and the minority group and the Weizmann opposition to Brandeis. Lipsky freely admitted it last September, but our leaders would not admit it. They would not prepare for the consequences. I repeat I am glad they have won. For there is only one way of getting the forces for order and discipline, the forces for normal living together. We will either disappear in the end or come into the truth unmolested.

I was asked now why taking this view of the KH, I voted for the KH in London. I did not vote for it. Nobody voted for the KH in London. Not a soul. There was no vote. The conference in London ended on a Thursday. In the early part of that day, without anybody having the slightest idea that this conference was not going on for a week more—the nominations were up in the air at the previous midnight and even that morning—Dr. Weizmann appeared on the platform and very solemnly told the delegates that he had news from the War Office that war probably would be declared next morning between Russia and Poland; that the Polish delegates, to the number of 50, who were in the conference, must leave that night for home. Otherwise they could not get back and they should come to him and he would assist them to get their passports. And he did this very solemnly and earnestly and the result was natural a sudden straining to come to a conclusion. Would you stop these Polish delegates going home? Then a draft was handed to us of the Keren Hayesod proposals and a scene was staged. The resolutions were not passed seriatim—there was no debate and no vote. Klee for Germany, somebody for Palestine, and somebody else for another country, got up and pledged they would do for the cause. Each man made a speech. I was asked to speak for the Americans and if you look into the record you will see that I was extremely cautious. The plan was carried by acclamation. They sang Hatikwah, and that is how the KH went through at the conference. And if I had voted for it and after due consideration of what it really meant, and it did not mean to me then what it means now, as worked out, I would have changed my mind because I found there was a danger.

JUDGE MACK'S OPENING ADDRESS

I regret that at this time and under these circumstances and with these conflicts raging in our own organization their first visit is paid. I regret that they could not have been here under happier circumstances and at a happier time. The forces of the Zionist Organization of America are divided and they have been divided for some time past, and because of that division, clear, plain speech on the part of everyone has to be expected. And I should be derelict in my duty to you as your elected President were I to fail to state as clearly as it is in my power to state it, the situation that confronts us to-day in this organization and the problems, the serious and difficult problems that are to be determined by you, the authoritative body that has heretofore spoken, and that will speak in these sessions, the word of authority for the members of the Zionist Organization of America.

I regret that at this most critical and important session I have no carefully prepared address to deliver to you, I have none because the situation has been changing from day to day, from week to week, and again from hour to hour. During the past two months and up to this very morning, I had hoped and hoped and hoped for peace, peace in our own ranks. (Applause and Cheers.) Peace in our own ranks, peace between us and the World Organization. I had hoped for it before Dr. Weizmann and his associates came. I hoped for it and worked for it during the first week of their stay here. I did not despair of it during the intervening period when Zionists and Non-Zionists and even former Anti-Zionists, when friends of the organization and those who have heretofore held aloof from the organization, when members of this organization and members of a Fraction and members of the Canadian organization came down and endeavored to establish the enduring bases of peace.

I hoped for it during this past week when judicial duties took me away from the center of operations, New York, but still left me in Chicago within reach of the mails and the telegraph and the long distance telephone. You have read in the current prints, in the new Palestine and in The New Maccabean, you have all read much of this controversy and I do not purpose reciting it again in full detail. But I will begin where they left off and I will begin with this week, because as I say I am unprepared because I hoped and hoped during this past week that the enduring bases of peace would be found.

And I hoped for it particularly on Wednesday last when over the long distance telephone there was read to me what purported to be a draft of proposals from the last of the intermediaries, carefully framed, as it seemed to me, absolutely fair and just to all sides. And at the conclusion of the reading I authorized the statement that I was ready to endorse and to sign such proposals. Of course, I claim no authority to bind this Convention or to bind the Executive Committee, but so far as I can speak and I can certainly speak for myself, these proposals were entirely agreeable. On the next day came a telegram. It contained conditions. It contained the statement that subject to these conditions which I shall advert to hereafter, all other differences can be obviated. All the other differences that could be obviated were the differences of principle on which we had expended so much time and so much effort—the differences of principle which in the document read to me the day before over the long distance telephone had been obviated.

The Keren Hayesod in the United States as a donation fund established by or under the auspices of the Zionist Organization of America—

Mr. Peter Schweitzer: Never.

Judge Mack: If the gentleman means that he would never agree to that, he will be given an opportunity to express himself in the course of this Convention.

Mr. Schweitzer: I thank you.

Judge Mack: If the gentleman means that I never received the telegram and telephone message that I have stated that I received the gentleman is mistaken.

Mr. Schweitzer: Don't try to use so many Tammany Hall politics here.

Delegate: Put him out.

The Chairman: The Convention will come to order.

Judge Mack: Fellow Zionists and members of the Zionist Organization of America, I am rendering to you a report of my stewardship; you may disapprove it in whole or in part. You may approve it in whole or in part. That is for you to say. It is my duty frankly, fully and completely to render you a report. (Applause and cheers.)

What were the conditions? That Dr. Weizmann be guaranteed at the Congress, my and Brandeis' support and co-operation for complete reorganization of the World Executive, names to be considered by both in conference.

The questions of principle can be obviated, this message stated.

Delegate: Who said it?

Judge Mack: I will answer your question in a little while.

Delegate: The gentleman should be put out if he cannot be made to keep order. He is hurting his own cause.

Judge Mack: I will read from the message. Gentlemen, ladies, fellow Zionists: that was not a question of principle. I go back to an earlier date and I will come back to this message. I go back to a historical date in the negotiation between your representatives of the Zionist Organization of America and our distinguished visitors representing the World Zionist Organization.

I go back to a Sunday morning, April 17th. The story has been told, that again the evening before, at least so far as the President of the World Zionist Organization personally was concerned, the exclusive donation fund was accepted. And on that night, the four secretaries, one representing the Zionist Organization of America, and one, two or three representing the World Zionist Organization, drafted the tentative agreement that had been reached. They did not draft it quite in the form in which it had been reached. They inserted certain preliminary phrases not theretofore agreed upon.

And Sunday morning after they had considered and

drafted it all night they presented it and together with others of your representatives I was considering the language and the form of these proposals.

A telephone message came. "The agreement is rejected. This afternoon I shall issue the Keren Hayesod proclamation." And the proclamation was issued establishing in America the branch office of the Keren Hayesod, Ltd. of Great Britain. I was not present, being unable to occupy two entirely different places at the same moment at the other end of the telephone from which the message came. I have never been told by the sender of the message why it was rejected, why negotiations were abruptly cut off, why. No further endeavor was made to discuss any part of it in form or in substance. I have had, however, a picture from one who was present, of the situation at the other end of the telephone and the picture is one of threats to break the man in Europe, to break the man in Palestine, to break the man in this country if the tentative agreement theretofore accepted, tentatively accepted, should be actually accepted.

Principles or persons? What was the contest? Let me go back to last winter, when Simon and De Lieme and Robert Szold at the invitation of the World Executive proceeded as the reorganization commission to Palestine. I was not present last summer in London but I have talked with all the Americans, I think, who were there, and I think, having read the complete report of the proceedings and the complete stenographic report of the meetings of the American Delegations and having had these personal talks and having listened to the personal reports made on their return to the Executive Committee, that I have a fair picture of what there took place.

A small executive was constituted to hold office until the congress, a small executive of Weizmann and Sokolov, of course, of Simon and De Lieme, and of Ussichkin. (Applause and cheers.)

Jabotinsky (applause) is a fighter and a hero, a sufferer and a martyr, but he was not accepted by the London conference as a member of the executive. (Laughter and applause.)

The Jewish Hero has his place on the battlefield, and in the hearts of the Jewish people. (Applause.)

But the Jewish people in congress assembled did not pick out the hero as a member of the executive. But when Simon and De Lieme were on the ocean, Jabotinsky came and it did not take long before he went on the Keren Hayesod board and it did not take very long before he went on the executive and it did not take very long before Simon and De Lieme went off the executive board. (Applause.)

Delegate: Good riddance.

Judge Mack: Good or bad is not the question. Good or bad is not the question of the Emek Israel land purchase.

Methods, procedure, orderly, proper, right, correct, following all agreements and orders and mandates. That's the question. (Applause.)

The Keren Hayesod in October agreed to be under the control of the World Zionist Organization Executive, agreed that a member of that Executive should have a 51% control vote. But Jabotinsky commanded that that condition be destroyed and the control vested elsewhere, as has been clearly pointed out.

Delegate: Paid advertising.

Judge Mack: My friends, I won't go back further. I will go forward again to this week. In the telegram there was another condition, that De Haas be eliminated from office, except as he may be elected to the executive committee. (Applause and cheers.)

Delegate: Wonderful, we have statesmen.

Delegate: The quicker the better.

Judge Mack: That Frankfurter must not be even on the executive.

Delegate: Hurray! Wonderful.

Delegate: Jewish hero.

Judge Mack: I rejected the proposals with these modifications. (Applause.)

I stated over the phone as I state to you, despite the applause that these conditions receive on my right, I stated over the phone and I state again that I have worked many years in many capacities, official and non-official with many men of all kinds and conditions and many women, that never in all my experience have I worked with a man who despite any and all faults and which of us is free from faults, is so down right energetically honest in act and thought as Jack de Haas. (Applause.)

Delegate: Who signed the telegram?

Judge Mack: I will come to that if you will keep quiet and not interrupt.

Delegate: Put him out.

Judge Mack: And I stated then over the phone that it seemed again to be a contest not about principles but about persons. (Applause.)

The next day, yesterday, I received another draft. The draft contained no such conditions. The draft completely changed in substance and effect the principles which had been laid down in the draft read over the phone to me on Wednesday and which I had been willing to accept. But when the draft was presented to me yesterday, it was accompanied by a statement that the acceptance of any peace proposition rested upon the making of a verbal gentleman's agreement, eliminating de Haas and Frankfurter and I rejected it for both reasons. (Applause.)

This morning, and I state to you that I hoped and hoped and hoped until this morning, this morning at six o'clock, I was awakened by a telegram from the gentleman who has so earnestly and devotedly sought to act as intermediary during the past week, in which in answer to a telegram sent by me to him yesterday stating that I could not accept the so-called gentleman's agreement, he answered that there was no such condition. And at nine o'clock this morning came the Honorable Nathan Straus, Jr., Senator of the State of New York, the worthy son of our great and worthy Vice-President Nathan Straus (applause) to whom I had also telegraphed yesterday, because he and the other gentleman were acting together in the hope of bringing about peace, and he stated to me at nine o'clock that before leaving New York yesterday afternoon, he had called up Mr. Abraham Tulin, than whom no man has been standing closer to the leaders of the World Zionist Organization—gentlemen, you may

contest the honor, but I speak from knowledge. (Applause.) He was again informed by Mr. Tulin, corroborating the telegram sent to me—you gentlemen who want to know who sent the telegram, I am stating this to you now, corroborating the telegram sent to me by Mr. Rosensohn.

Delegate: Who is he?

Judge Mack: I will tell you in a few minutes—stating that this was a condition precedent to the agreement. You asked me who Mr. Rosensohn is.

Delegate: Yes.

Judge Mack: You who have read all the documents in the case and have taken occasion to criticize a number of them. (Applause.)

Mr. Rosensohn is the gentleman, whom the president of the World Zionist Organization requested me in the week before the break to bring with me as my secretary instead of the gentleman whom I had intended to bring with me as my secretary.

Delegate: At whose suggestion?

Judge Mack: I don't care at whose suggestion and I could cast no slurs on anyone. I am reciting the facts as they came to me. I am not placing blame or responsibility, but you delegates have cried and hoped and prayed as I have for peace (applause) and it is my duty to tell you, it is my duty to tell you why at this moment there has been no peace despite our hopes and prayers.

I have not read—I have not had the time to read all of the last number of the New Maccabean.

Delegate: You missed a great deal.

Judge Mack: If Mr. Fishman will kindly restrain himself, I am sure he will confer a great favor upon the delegates. (Applause.)

The floor will be open to him and to every other delegate at the proper time and there will be no favorites played as long as I am in the chair. (Applause.)

I have not been privileged as yet to read Mr. Neumann's lengthy and, I have no doubt as all of his documents are, ably written article. (Applause.)

I have noted in glancing that he reverts again to matters that he and I have had occasion to discuss in public, matters concerning your last convention. I shall not touch upon them again. The record is clear. I have given my word half a dozen times as a man, a Zionist, a lawyer and a Judge, as to what that record means. Mr. Neuman is of a different opinion. I was struck, however, with one line in that article and if I had not found it there, I should not have referred to it even in passing. I refer now to the question of principle, about which I intend to say a few words. The question of so-called Diaspora nationalism, I have heard it said yesterday and today that the so-called—no, gentlemen, I say so-called, I may be mistaken—majority in the Zionist Organization of America are not in favor of political Zionism, that they want a few colonies in Palestine, and nothing more. I cannot imagine from what speech, from what writing such misconceptions could have arisen. We are political Zionists. (Applause.) We believe in a Jewish nationality (applause), and we believe that in the course of time, Palestine will be the Jewish National Homeland in every respect (applause). But fellow Zionists, I read from the bottom of the first column of page 36. "The contention of Zionism since the beginning of the movement has been that the Jewish people, scattered and dispersed, are now, here, a living nationality." We all believe that. (Applause.) What does it mean? We defined it in the Executive Committee in February, 1920, when in answer to a series of questions from one of our members, I drew up a full reply and laid it before the Executive Committee and perhaps with one or two not voting—I withdraw the perhaps in view of the shake of the heads—with one or two not voting, that letter was adopted as the expression of the views of the Zionist Organization of America and I was directed to send it and to publish it as such expression and it was done. I refer you to the records for the full statement. In substance, it affirmed, what I had been privileged to state as my personal views in a little pamphlet a few years before on Americanism and Zionism. I say that of course in all humility; I was only expressing the common and practically unanimous view. It asserted as I now assert, that the Jews scattered throughout the world are a living nationality in the sense of a people with a common inheritance, a common tradition and for the largest part a common religion. It asserted as I now assert, that there is no political tie binding together the Jews of the world, but that politically the Jewish citizens of the United States are exclusively American citizens. (Great applause and cheers).

It asserted as I now assert, that the question of recognition of the Jews in any country as a separate and distinct group was a question to be decided in each of those countries and that when in Paris, we asked for national rights for the Jews in the new and enlarged states of Eastern Europe, we asked it for them as we asked it for every other national group in each of those countries because as we then asserted, equality of treatment to which the Jew is entitled means equality as an individual with all other individuals and equality as a group or nationality with each other nationality within that country. But we asserted then as we assert now, that in the United States of America and in the countries of western Europe, there is no group nationality political right, and we asserted and claimed none for the Jews in America, as no group in America asserted or claimed such rights for itself.

We asserted then as we assert now, that in Palestine the Jews, when the time came, that they would be the dominating element, the Jews would form a political nation in Palestine (applause). But that the thought of a political status of the Jews of the world was an impossible conception.

Delegate: Who ever thought of that?

Mr. Lipsky: I arise to a point of order.

Judge Mack: Fellow Zionists, if what I have said—

Mr. Lipsky: I arise to a point of order.

Judge Mack: State your point of order.

Mr. Lipsky: My point of order, Mr. Chairman, is very simple and it is as follows:

The Chairman: A point of order is always proper.

Delegate: Not in an address.

Mr. Lipsky: I make my point of order on the ground that on the agenda of this convention appears an item called a message from the president. A message from the President has been circulated among the delegates containing a report of the administration for the year. This report the delegates have read. It assumes that this report was the report of the administration on its activities for the year. Now, at the very moment when the convention opens, the President introduces not the official report distributed to the delegates as the report of the Executive Committee but enters into a discussion of theoretical questions, negotiations, personal observations, editorials in newspapers, remarks by individuals over the telephone, telegrams sent here and there, and he expects us to sit here and listen to such an argument. (Applause and cheers.)

Judge Mack: The chairman rules the point of order not well taken. (Applause.)

Fellow Zionists, I say to you that if you approve of the principles that the chairman has just stated as laid down by your Executive Committee a year and a half ago, you will manifest it at the proper time. If any of you disapprove of those principles, it will be in order to state so frankly and openly. In the meantime, I refrain from reading the balance of the sentence from the first part of which I have just read. You have all had it. And I stated then that if that sentence had not appeared, I should not have found it necessary to say what I have said, or to call upon you to make good what Mr. Harris has just said, that we are all as I hope we are all of this opinion.

Delegate: We are.

Judge Mack: Fellow Zionists, we want no legalized political Ghetto here or in Palestine. (Applause.) We want a living, breathing Jewish Nation in Palestine and of Palestine. (Applause.)

And to what are all of our efforts directed? To build up in Palestine upon the foundations of solid rock and not on quicksand that Jewish civilization in the fullest sense of the word, not a cultural center alone, not a series of colonies alone, but a full pulsating Jewish life for the restored Jewish people in the Jewish National Homeland. (Applause.) I know that you are unanimous on that proposition, Minority and Majority, in the World Organization and American Organization, and every other Zionist Organization. The question is how shall it be done? The question is shall it be done thoroughly, carefully, firmly, with a solid foundation on business principles. (Laughter.) Call that if you will Amerikanische Hollaendische Geschaefts-Zionismus, but I say again, shall it be done on the sound bed rock of economic progress, driven by the spur of an intense Jewish national feeling, or shall it be done wastefully and slipshodly, in a hurry and bustle without adequate safeguards. (Laughter.)

Fellow Zionists, there is not one of us, no matter whether he works for this cause 24 hours a day, no matter whether he gives his maaser, his double maaser or triple maaser, or his whole fortune, who is doing the greatest work for the upbuilding of that land. (Applause and cheers.) The Chaluzim (applause and cheers), not my Chaluzim, not the World Leader's Chaluzim, not your Chaluzim, but our Chaluzim, University men and women, working on the roads in Palestine, they are doing the foundation work honestly, soundly, fundamentally, for the great future of the Jewish people. Let us take that as our guide and our example in the economic and the financial and political work that we are to do. Let us go at it with the same zeal, the same devotion, but also the same fundamental correctness with which they are attacking their job.

And how, how can we help them best? My friends, there have been charges and counter-charges levelled against many of us. We thought that Mr. Ussichkin had levelled a most serious charge against us, but he manfully, publicly declared that we had misunderstood his words and every one of us has frankly accepted his statement because we know that whatever else we may think about Ussischkin, he is a downright frank and honest man in every respect. (Applause and cheers.) And I single him out because I am told that he is laboring under the impression that perhaps someone in our midst had thought of charging him or the Zionist Commission of which he is the head with certain things as to which nobody ever dreamed.

Delegate: Who is that someone?

Judge Mack: I say that he may have thought that someone did that. I say that nobody, in word or speech, spoken or written so far as I know, and I think I know what has been said and written on this subject, has ever charged him or the Commission of this or anybody else.

Delegate: Mrs. Sobel did it.

Delegate: Frankfurter did it.

Delegate: Brandeis did it in London.

Delegate: He said that in Boston.

Judge Mack: Never, I know better. I say he never said anything of the kind. The charges that have been made have been diversions from the budget to other budgetary purposes. The charges that have been made have been the use of trust funds for purposes, Zionist purposes, never any charge of bad intentions, always the charge that they were used for Zionist purposes, but wrongfully used even though the intention was of the best and even though the purposes were Zionist wrongfully because the funds were not given for these purposes. And those are the only charges that have ever been made in regard to these diversion of funds.

Friends, we can't build up Palestine even on the basis of honest intentions combined with unbusiness-like actions and the Geschaefts-Zionismus, of which I am proud to be an adherent, desires as I trust everyone of you desires, that the foundation of the future Homeland shall be laid stout and strong in accordance with the best and soundest principles. (Applause.) Unless that is done our Chaluzim will suffer and without these Chaluzim there will be no Jewish Homeland.

My friends, I have rendered to you in writing the account of the President's Department up to a week or so ago. I regret the form that it had to take. I have rendered to you verbally today the necessary continuation of that report. I regret from the bottom of my heart the form that it had to take, but it is my duty to report facts, negotiations, and to leave the result in your hands. (Applause and cheers.)