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Zionist Organization of America, reports and minutes, 1931-1932.

MINUTES OF MEETING OF
ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE OF AMERICAN PALESTINE CAMPAIGN
Held In Federation Building, Wednesday, September 9, 1931 at 4:30 P.M.

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PRESENT: Messrs. Morris Rothenberg (in the chair); Harry Glucksman, Abraham Liebovitz, Solomon Lowenstein and Robert Szold.
By invitation, Mr. Leavitt.

Excuses for absence received from Messrs. Louis P. Rucker, James Becker, Rabbi A.H. Silver, Mrs. S.J. Rosensohn, Joseph C. Lyman, Herbert Lehman, Mrs. Edward Jacobs, Felix M. Warburg and Dr. Cyrus Adler.

CAMPAIGN ACTIVITIES:

Mr. Rothenberg reported that up to the present time there have been held 82 campaigns in 25 States. The total subscriptions produced by these campaigns is approximately \$975,055.28. The cash income to date is \$631,625.76, which includes Hadassah's share of \$269,993.10. The national expenditure up to date is \$57,050.53. The sum of \$36,358.33 has been advanced by the National Treasury for local campaigns. The sum of \$256,535.31 has been remitted to the Keren Hayesod and the sum of \$269,933.10 by Hadassah. The American Palestine Campaign has paid to Mr. Warburg on the Keren Hayesod debt to him, the sum of \$30,000, (included in remittance reported) and has made special appropriations to the Mizrachi of \$3,035.31, Gewerkschaften \$145., and Hadassah \$1600, representing their share of proceeds of several local campaigns as per local agreement. The total remittance to Palestine from proceeds of the American Palestine Campaign is \$526,528.41.

Mr. Rothenberg explained that every effort is being made to secure fall campaigns and to collect the proceeds of campaigns already held. The national office has succeeded in obtaining pledges for fall campaigns in 109 cities located in 23 states, but it is impossible to say whether all of these commitments will actually be carried out in view of the prevailing economic situation in this country. Constant pressure is being brought to bear upon these communities and they are being visited and frequently revisited by field men, as well as in some instances by the National Chairman. Besides the efforts of the territorial field men, Mr. George Greenspun, whose duties have been confined largely to the national office, checking the work of the field men, was sent on an organization tour covering a large area in the upper Michigan peninsula and contiguous territory. He visited 35 cities and obtained promises for 29 campaigns, the majority of which will consist of appeals in connection with the high holy-days. Following Mr. Greenspun's activity in the above mentioned territory, which covered a period of more than three weeks, Mr. Rothenberg stated he sent Mr. Greenspun to Texas where, until then we had been unable to make any progress largely owing to the activities of the Jewish National Fund which had pre-empted the ground. Mr. Greenspun visited most of the important cities and succeeded in obtaining commitments in all of the important Jewish centers in that State for campaigns later in the Fall, Mr. Rothenberg thought, however, that Texas will require

further following up later. From Texas Mr. Greenspun went to Denver, Colorado, with which we have had a great deal of negotiation relative to a campaign. The leaders interested in the A.P.C. requested a field man to come to Denver and as a result of Mr. Greenspun's visit a campaign was definitely fixed for November.

A special effort has been made in connection with the coming Holy Days, and synagogue appeals have been organized wherever possible throughout the entire country, including the Greater City of New York. It is estimated that we shall have in all about 80 synagogue appeals. Too much, however, cannot be expected from this type of appeal, as in many instances the appeal includes not only A.P.C. and J.D.C. but is also being used to cover local needs in view of the serious shortage in funds by local institutions.

In connection with the Chicago situation, Mr. Rothenberg recalled that at the last meeting of the Administrative Committee he reported that as a result of his personal visit to that city, Judge Fisher had agreed to initiate a function for the American Palestine Campaign, dependent upon the attendance of Mr. Felix M. Warburg. Mr. Warburg has consented to visit Chicago and a banquet was arranged in his honor for June 9th. Owing to the unexpected death of Mortimer L. Schiff, Mr. Warburg cancelled his engagement and in consequence thereof, the function was given up. Mr. Rothenberg then prevailed upon Judge Fisher to make a canvass among those who had agreed to come to the dinner, and as a result of that, the sum of \$5,000 was sent to the American Palestine Campaign. Judge Fisher has agreed to endeavor to make another effort to obtain funds during the early fall.

Mr. Rothenberg called attention to the announcement of an appeal to be made throughout the country for the President's Emergency Relief Committee. He thought that it would constitute a serious obstacle to our fund raising during the next two months. Many communities which had committed themselves to an early fall campaign for the A.P.C. are reluctant to go on at this time feeling that the Gifford Campaign should take precedence. The likelihood therefore is that many campaigns will be postponed to the latter part of the year, thus further curtailing income in the next succeeding months.

Dr. Lowenstein and Mr. Glucksman thought that as the Gifford Campaign would be a national appeal for local needs, inevitably it would take precedence over other campaigns.

The National Chairman stated that he is continuing to visit cities wherever his visit might result in campaigns or in the obtaining of a substantial sum of money, and that occasionally it is necessary for him to visit a city to obtain funds already collected. Some communities insist on holding on to funds until a larger sum can be remitted, and in some cases for other reasons.

Realizing that the larger part of the work has already been done, retrenchment in expenses has been further contemplated and put into effect. Some field men have been dropped and a number of additional field men will be released immediately following the holiday appeals.

The members of the committee present expressed gratification over the results thus far achieved, in view of present conditions. In that connection, the following letter was presented:

"Dear Mr. Rothenberg:

.....I cordially appreciate the efficient manner in which you are handling the Campaign affairs. Though I have said it to you before, I want again to take this occasion to tell you how splendidly everyone feels you have managed the difficult task which you have undertaken.

Sincerely yours,

(signed) Felix M. Warburg"

Mr. Rothenberg stated that he had received letters expressing similar sentiments from Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Mr. James Marshall and others.

MR. FROMENSON:

Mr. Rothenberg informed the committee that Mr. Fromenson, Secretary of the Administrative Committee, left for his vacation on July 1st and was away for a period of four weeks; he returned for a short while to his duties when unfortunately he took ill and has been confined to his home since. A letter was presented from Mr. Fromenson, in which he stated that in view of his incapacity, he felt he ought receive no further compensation from the American Palestine Campaign until he had sufficiently recovered and is again able to render service.

Mr. Rothenberg explained that insofar as Mr. Fromenson's work in the office is concerned, in order that the campaign interests might not suffer, he has taken it over, personally answering all correspondence and generally covering the duties performed by Mr. Fromenson, with the exception of publicity work, for which we have a part time man. In view of the need for economy, Mr. Rothenberg said that for the present it would not be necessary to engage anyone in Mr. Fromenson's place, but that should the task become too heavy, he would engage additional help.

It was decided to accept the suggestion made by Mr. Fromenson in his letter, and to express to him through the National Chairman, appreciation of the fine attitude shown by Mr. Fromenson and best wishes for his speedy recovery.

PAID SPEAKERS:

Mr. Rothenberg pointed out that occasionally it becomes necessary to engage speakers and to compensate them for their services. At times it is impossible to obtain volunteer speakers but that in the aggregate, the money disbursed in this way was small.

Dr. Lowenstein stated he was glad that the subject was brought up for discussion as he felt unwilling to sign checks in payment of addresses delivered by persons who he thought might be expected to give their services without charge, without the express authorization of the Administrative Committee. It was decided that the matter of occasionally using paid speakers should be left to the discretion of the chairman.

TREASURER:

The following resolution was adopted on the death of Dr. Lee K. Frankel who has acted as Treasurer of the American Palestine Campaign:

"The Administrative Committee of the American Palestine Campaign expresses deep sorrow at the death of Dr. Lee K. Frankel, whose deep interest in the upbuilding of Palestine was influential in uniting Jewish forces in this country for that work. He helped to organize the American Palestine Campaign and his interest and cooperation therein greatly contributed towards its accomplishments. His passing removes from the councils of the movement for Palestine a leader who will be sorely missed. To his wife and family the American Palestine Campaign extends heart-felt condolences in their grief which American Jewry shares."

A resolution was moved, seconded and carried that a Treasurer be elected in the place of Dr. Frankel.

Dr. Solomon Lowenstein was nominated and duly elected.

Mr. Harry Glucksman was nominated as Associate Treasurer and duly elected.

The following resolution was then adopted:

"RESOLVED that the American Palestine Campaign is hereby authorized to open from time to time, reconcile an account or accounts for and in the name of the American Palestine Campaign with the National City Bank of New York at Thirteenth Street and Fifth Avenue, New York, and from time to time to deposit the funds of the American Palestine Campaign therein, the same to be subject to withdrawal by check, drafts or orders, signed by Dr. Solomon Lowenstein, Treasurer, or by Harry L. Glucksman, Associate Treasurer, and countersigned by the National Chairman, Mr. Morris Rothenberg, and that the said Bank may rely upon the authority herein conferred upon said designated persons until delivery to it of a certified copy of a resolution of this Committee revoking or modifying the same; and that such authority shall include checks drawn to the order of any said persons.

AGENCY DELEGATION TO AMERICA - EMERGENCY ACTION:

The chairman read the following cable which had been received:

"LONDON
SEPTEMBER 10 1931

ZIONISTS
NEW YORK CITY

JERUSALEM CABLES QUOTE 15000 DOLLARS PROMISED AMERICA ALREADY USED
THOUGH NOT BEEN RECEIVED STOP 6000 BILLS TO BE COVERED SOUTH
AFRICA UNPAID FROM TOMORROW AFTER HOOFIEN PAID TODAY 11000 stop
OFFICIALS AND TEACHERS HAVING SHOWN EXTRAORDINARY PATIENCE NOW
ABOUT TAKE EXTREME MEASURES STOP COLONIES MEANWHILE RUINING THEIR
CREDIT INCURRING WASTEFUL EXPENSE STOP CHITTIN WITHOUT WATER
OTHERS FORCED SELL INVENTORIES STOP IF SURVIVE PRESENT MOST
DIFFICULT WE MAY BE ABLE MAINTAIN CREDIT AND CONTINUE ACTIVELY IF
RECEIVE NORMAL REMITTANCES FUTURE UNQUOTE NEED URGENTLY UNTIL
FRIDAY IN ADDITION TO 15000 AT LEAST FURTHER 20,000 CABLE IMMEDIATELY

ZIONIEURO"

In this connection, it was also suggested that a delegation might come to the United States to help raise emergency funds.

The subject of an emergency effort was discussed and the suggestion was approved that in a number of large cities where campaigns had already taken place, an emergency conference be called, to which should be invited the larger givers and an effort made to obtain additional funds. The general opinion of the meeting was that although this effort might not result in new funds, it might be instrumental in the collection of outstanding pledges.

It was decided that the chairman be authorized to send a cable, explaining that the gravity of the situation was fully realized by the Administrative Committee, and that the utmost exertions were being made to obtain funds; that in view of serious economic conditions prevailing here, it is not possible to make definite advance estimates of remittances. The chairman stated that he was cabling \$5,000 from the A.P.C. and \$5,000 U.P.A. collections.

In connection with the coming of a delegation to the United States, it was the sense of the meeting that in view of the fact that most of the large cities have already held their campaigns, it would be inadvisable for a delegation to come here at this time, but that this did not apply to the coming of the President of the World Zionist Organization who would undoubtedly be helpful if he came to this country.

The suggestion was made by Mr. Glucksman that an effort be made to approach Mr. Rockefeller with reference to a contribution to meet the emergency. He stated that either Dr. Wise or Mrs. Moskowitz could arrange for a delegation to meet with Mr. Rockefeller.

OFFER OF LIEUT. COMMANDER KENWORTHY:

The chairman presented the following letter from Lieut. Commander Kenworthy:

August 18th, 1931

"My dear Mr. Rothenberg:

Your letter of August 3rd has been forwarded to me in Ireland, where I am staying for a short holiday.

I had a talk in London with Mr. Neumann, of the Zionist Executive, about my programme, and I offered a clear fortnight after December 13th to speak exclusively for you, for a fee of 1500 dollars. Mr. Neumann considered this reasonable, and the arrangement was to include all expenses. He will no doubt have now seen you in New York.

If you should want to use my services before December 13th, you should communicate with Mr. William B. Feakins, Times Building, New York, but my individual fees for lectures are 300 dollars minimum, fees including Mr. Feakins commission and my expenses, and depend on distance etc.

My engagement to speak for Dr. Wise is a separate and independent booking.

I think the most satisfactory arrangement would be for me to devote myself entirely to your Organization after Dec. 13th as suggested above. This would be independent of Mr. Feakins' organization.

I am very much looking forward to seeing you and my other good friends in the Palestine Campaign Movement.

With kind regards,

Sincerely yours,

(signed) J.M. Kenworthy"

It was the consensus of opinion that under the present circumstances, the American Palestine Campaign would not be warranted in making the expenditure ~~and this is a fact~~ involved and to so inform Mr. Kenworthy.

1932 EFFORT:

Mr. Rothenberg called attention to the necessity for giving immediate consideration to fund-raising efforts during 1932, pointing out that unless plans are worked out immediately, time will again be lost and money forfeited.

It was suggested that the chairman address a communication to the Administrative Committee of the Agency, asking it to give this matter consideration.

It was further suggested that the chairman take steps leading towards the formation of a committee representing the various elements interested in the 1932 effort, and that the committee should include representatives of Hadassah, the National Fund, the Mizrachi and the Labor group.

Meeting adjourned at 5:30 P.M.

MINUTES OF MEETING OF Z.O.A. ADMINISTRATION, HELD ON MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 14, 8:00 P.M., AT THE ZIONIST OFFICES, 111 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK.

PRESENT: Messrs. Robert Szold (in the chair), Israel B. Brodie, Jacob de Haas, Mrs. Edward Jacobs, Judge Julian W. Mack, Emanuel Neumann, Dr. Nathan Ratnoff, Morris Rothenberg, Nelson Ruttenberg, Dr. Stephen S. Wise; Abram S. Magida; by invitation, Miss Juliette Benjamin.

PLACE AND DATE OF Z.O.A. CONVENTION:

Upon motion duly made, and seconded, it was decided

THAT the Z.O.A. Convention be held in Atlantic City, N.J., beginning Sunday, November 8, 1931.

REPRESENTATION AT CONVENTION:

Dr. Ratnoff raised the question of representation of the American Jewish Physicians Committee at the Convention.

Mr. Neumann was of the opinion that the practice hitherto has been that the Convention would recommend to the Credentials Committee that the delegates of the various organizations be seated and that would be done. He suggested that someone be asked to look up precedents on the matter and report back at the next meeting of the Administration.

The Chairman authorized Mr. de Haas to look into the matter and report back at the next meeting.

Mr. de Haas presented several resolutions to be considered in connection with the Convention, as follows:

- 1 - RESOLVED THAT the Organization be authorized to recognize as in good standing and entitled to vote, those members who have paid only half-year dues in 1931.

Mr. de Haas pointed out that the Constitution of the Z.O.A. provides that a member can pay for half a year and be considered in good standing. He said there are about 230 members who, up to date, have paid for six months; the others have paid for one year. Of course, pressure is being brought upon these 230 to pay up in full, but with little success.

Mr. Brodie suggested that these half-year members be recognized as in good standing, but that this action be not published.

After further discussion of the matter, Mr. de Haas withdrew this resolution.

- 2 - Mr. de Haas then read the following resolution on Augusta, Ga.:

WHEREAS, the Augusta, Ga. Zionist District have on June 10, 1931, remitted dues from 68 members at the rate of \$1.00 per capita and have pleaded that the economic situation in the city does not permit them to pay any more this year; and

WHEREAS, the information the Organization Department has of

this community confirms this fact; it is recommended

THAT, without creating a precedent, the 68 members for whom \$1.00 each was paid, be entitled to recognition as members in good standing of the Zionist Organization of America,

This resolution was lost.

- 3 --Mr. de Haas then presented the following resolution, which was adopted:

WHEREAS, Section 5, Article 5 of the Constitution reads:

"In municipalities in which the Jewish population is too small for the organization of a District of fifty or more registered members, such registered members shall be designated as Members-at-large, and they may organize themselves into a society, or upon any other basis approved by the Administrative Committee. Members-at-large, when so organized, shall be entitled to elect a delegate to the annual convention or to any special convention, subject to the provisions herein."

BE IT RESOLVED that the Organization Department, in accordance with precedent, be authorized to carry out and adopt the following regulation:

THAT the members in a group of contiguous areas be considered members-at-large and that they be united and authorized to elect delegates to the 34th annual convention of the Z.O.A. on the regular basis.

MR. SOKOLOW'S VISIT TO AMERICA:

The question of Mr. Sokolow's being invited to come here at this time was brought up. Discussion on this matter ensued along two lines:

- 1 -- Whether Mr. Sokolow should come here for the American Palestine Campaign;
- 2 -- Whether Mr. Sokolow should be invited to come for the Convention and thereafter.

Mr. Rothenberg explained the situation with regard to the American Palestine Campaign, which is now being conducted on the basis of an Emergency Campaign. Mr. Sokolow has the idea, he said, that he can raise a considerable sum of money in connection with the Emergency Campaign, which he (Mr. Rothenberg) doubted very much, as all the large Jewish cities, with the exception of Chicago, have already had their Palestine Campaigns for 1931, and Chicago, he believed, is almost a hopeless situation as far as raising money is concerned. He felt, therefore, that there is very little, if anything, that Mr. Sokolow could do in connection with the Campaign at this time, which would only tend to embarrass Mr. Sokolow and embarrass the Administration for having invited him here.

Mr. de Haas concurred with Mr. Rothenberg's views on the matter, and felt that the Administration ought not to encourage Mr. Sokolow or anyone else to come here now, at this season of the year, under any circumstances, to raise money. The campaign, he said, must run its natural way. He felt, however, that it would be advisable to invite Mr. Sokolow to come here after the Convention for a month or two, to do what he can throughout the United States to raise the spirit of the Zionists and to increase the strength of the Organization.

It was Dr. Ratnoff's opinion that Sokolow would be very useful in connection with raising the \$250,000 Emergency Fund through parlor meetings arranged throughout the United States. Dr. Ratnoff believed that it is possible to get 2500 Jews to give \$100 each for this purpose.

Mr. Rothenberg felt that it would be humiliating to Mr. Sokolow if he were booked for parlor meetings and the people stayed away.

Mr. de Haas agreed with Mr. Rothenberg.

Dr. Wise felt that if we bring Sokolow over, we would have to get a quarter of a million dollars.

Mr. Rothenberg said that he would be willing to have Sokolow come if he could be certain that a surplus of \$100,000 above the \$250,000 quota could be raised by his coming.

Mr. Brodie was of the opinion that we ought not to take any chance at all which might result in humiliation to Mr. Sokolow.

Mrs. Jacobs felt that there is nothing humiliating about the economic situation; it is just deplorable.

Mr. Rutenberg did not think it fair for Sokolow to have him come. He might interpret the present situation as lack of interest on the part of Zionists throughout the country.

Mr. Rothenberg suggested that no mention be made to Mr. Sokolow that his coming here is for money-raising purposes, but that when he comes here he be used for that purpose. This will give the Europeans an idea of just what the financial situation here is, he believed.

It was agreed that a letter be sent to Mr. Sokolow, setting forth the situation, and inviting him to attend the Convention, and to remain for several weeks thereafter. Dr. Wise agreed to draft the letter.

EMERGENCY FUND MEETING:

The Chairman then suggested that consideration be given to the possibility of holding an Emergency Fund Conference in connection with the U.E.C. meeting. The situation in Palestine is so desperate, he said, that we have a duty to inform all persons who are interested in Palestine of the situation and ask for their assistance.

Upon motion duly made and seconded, it was decided

THAT an Emergency Fund Conference or Conferences be called --- the time and place to be worked out by the officers of the American Palestine Campaign.

Mr. Szold suggested that consideration be given to the proposal that all fund-raising efforts for the next year be pooled, --- the American Palestine Campaign, the Jewish National Fund, the Z.O.A. Deficit Fund, the Z.O.A. Membership Campaign, the Palestine Savings Associations, the Agency needs, and all other Zionist fund-raising activities. It would save tremendously in cutting out competition; it would save in duplication. Together with the Jewish Agency we should formulate a plan for the coming year.

NEXT MEETING OF ADMINISTRATION:

It was decided that the next meeting of the Administration be held on Wednesday, September 23, and that it be devoted to consideration of Convention matters, as well as matters to be presented for consideration by the National Executive Committee.

YOUTH MOVEMENT:

Mr. de Haas reported that a great deal of work has been done during the last few months by Mr. Rutenberg, as Chairman of the Special Committee on the matter; Mr. Cornfeld, and others, in the organization of a youth movement. There are at present 500 young men and some young women who are organized and who are willing and desirous of having some kind of organization, which can properly be affiliated with the Zionist Organization of America. There are eleven groups in New York City, without counting two or three groups outside of New York. The membership dues are one dollar, including the Shekel fee. The age limit is between eighteen and twenty-five years. For the ensuing year, however, the fifty cents that they remit for affiliation fee goes back to their council in order to enable them to promote its operation, it being understood that this youth organization will make no appeal either at the Z.O.A. Convention or elsewhere for any subsidy.

Dr. Wise suggested that the youth movement be named Federation of Young Zionists, or Federation of Zionist Youth.

Mr. Rutenberg gave a general report on the whole matter. He spoke of the Masada Movement which has proved a failure, due, he believed, to the fact that Masada has adopted the \$6 membership dues, on the same basis as the Zionist Districts.

After a lengthy discussion of the youth movement, it was moved, seconded, and carried

THAT Mr. de Haas' memorandum on the new Zionist youth movement be circulated among the members of the Administrative Committee for action at the next meeting.

RESOLUTION ON DEATH OF MRS. RATNOFF:

The following resolution was unanimously adopted:

"The Administrative Committee of the Zionist Organization of America expresses its deepfelt sympathy with Dr. Nathan Ratnoff in his great sorrow. Our sympathy goes out to one whom we cherish as a friend and comrade, who we hope will gather some measure of peace and strength through unchanging devotion to our great Cause."

RESOLUTION ON DEATH OF DR. LEE K. FRANKEL:

The following resolution was unanimously adopted:

"The Zionist Organization of America desires to record its sorrow in the passing of Dr. Lee K. Frankel, a distinguished Jewish leader, who had rendered important service to the Jewish Agency, even prior to its founding. American Jews will long remember Dr. Frankel's valuable service in surveying Palestine prior to the creation of the Jewish Agency, and his continued interest in the development of the Agency. We note Dr. Frankel's name upon the records of our Organization with gratitude and sorrow."

COMMUNICATION FROM SAN JOSE:

Mr. Szold read the following communication from San Jose, Central America:

"There exists in San Jose, Central America, a number of Zionists who were active in the old country and who would like to organize themselves for Zionist work here. May we ask you to facilitate the process of legalizing our local organization in Central America. We want to affiliate as a part of the Zionist Organization of America. Will you therefore get in touch with the Cost Rica Government and secure authorization to create a branch of your organization?

"Will you also send us a copy of your constitution in Spanish which we may give to the local authorities? Will you also send us literature and material to start Zionist work on such lines as the J.N.F., Keren Hayesod, etc.? We would appreciate an early answer so that we may start work as soon as possible.

"Will you also send us a complete account of the 17th Congress?

(Signed) H. RUBINSTON
" MOSES NOVEMINSKY

The Chair authorized Mr. de Haas to take up this matter with the World Zionist Organization and get their attitude on it. If they approve of it, we can open negotiations with them.

KADIMAH ZIONIST CLUB OF BOSTON:

Mr. de Haas then submitted the following resolution:

WHEREAS, the Kadimah Zionist Club of Boston was an integral part of the Boston Zionist District during the past three years; and

WHEREAS, the Boston Zionist District was recently dissolved and the local District form of organization was reestablished in Boston, subdividing the city into five geographical areas, and the Kadimah Zionist Club did not receive thereby the status of a regular District though moneys of its members have been remitted;

BE IT RECOMMENDED, in pursuance to an application received on June 8, from the officers of the Kadimah Zionist Club, and in accordance with Section 1, Article 5, and Section 1, Article 6 of the Constitution of the Z. O. A., that the aforementioned Club be recognized as a regular District in addition to the other five now functioning in Boston.

It was reported that Mr. Stone and others in Boston agreed to this recommendation.

Upon motion duly made and seconded, it was decided

THAT the Z.O.A. Administration recognize the Kadimah Club as a regular society.

VISIT OF MR. CHURCHILL:

Mr. de Haas reported that Mr. Winston Churchill is coming here, and asked whether the Z.O.A. ought to make any effort to get him to speak at some large gathering.

Mr. Szold expressed himself in favor of a Z.O.A. gathering for Mr. Churchill.

Judge Mack was of the opinion that Mr. Churchill would make a favorable impression on the non-Jews.

Mr. Brodie felt that anything that helps to crystallize non-Jewish public opinion in America is important.

It was the consensus of opinion that the Zionist Organization of America work out some arrangement for giving a reception to Winston Churchill.

Meeting adjourned at 11:20 P.M.

MINUTES OF MEETING OF Z. O. A. ADMINISTRATION, HELD ON WEDNESDAY EVENING,
SEPTEMBER 23, 8:00 P.M., AT THE ZIONIST OFFICES, 111 FIFTH AVENUE.

PRESENT: Messrs. Robert Szold (in the chair), Jacob de Haas, Mrs. Edward Jacobs, Judge Julian W. Mack, Rabbi Louis I. Newman, Samuel J. Rosensohn, Abraham Tulin, Dr. Stephen S. Wise; Abram S. Magida; and Miss Juliette Benjamin, by invitation.

ZIONIST YOUTH MOVEMENT:

Mr. de Haas submitted the following resolutions which had been prepared by himself, as Chairman of the Organization Committee; and Nelson Ruttenberg, as Chairman of the Committee on Youth:

WHEREAS, at a joint conference of representatives of the youth Zionist Organization and the Junior Hadassah, held on September 9, it was agreed that there be established a National Youth Council to be called the Federation of Young Zionists, in which both the Youth Zionist Organization and the Masada are to be equally represented and in which, in order to assure complete coordination, Junior Hadassah, Avukah and Senior Young Judaea, and such others as may be coopted by the Council, are each to be represented by one or two representatives in an advisory capacity and that such Federation of Young Zionists shall become an affiliate of the Zionist Organization of America and subject to its guidance and control, and members of the Administration of the Z.O.A. or its designees shall be appointed on the Executive Committee of the Federation of Young Zionists;

WHEREAS, it was agreed that the out-of-town groups to be formed shall be limited to young men; and

WHEREAS, it was agreed that neither the Young Zionist Organization nor the Masada nor its joint council make any demand for any subsidy from the Z.O.A.; and

WHEREAS, it was further agreed that the Council of the Federation of Young Zionists shall turn over to the Z.O.A. \$1 per capita per member as affiliation dues including the Shekel;

BE IT RESOLVED

1. THAT the Administration approve the formation of the Federation of Young Zionists;
2. THAT the affiliation dues of \$1 including the Shekel for group affiliation shall be accepted and that the fifty cents per member received for Z.O.A. purposes shall be turned back to the Council or Executive of the Federation of Young Zionists for the promotion of its work throughout the country for this year and for the year following, without prejudice to any agreement that may hereafter be entered into between the Federation of Young Zionists and the Zionist Organization of America;
3. THAT applications for affiliation with the Zionist Organization of America by other youth organizations shall hereafter be transferred to the Federation of Young Zionists;
4. THAT the Federation of Young Zionists either through its Executive

or its component groups in a manner to be decided by itself, shall be entitled to elect delegates to the general convention of the Z.O.A., in the proportion of one delegate for every one hundred members of the Federation of Young Zionists.

In explanation, Mr. de Haas declared that between 350 and 500 young people are already affiliated with the groups in the Youth Zionist Organization, which will be part of the proposed Federation of Young Zionists. He pointed out that although the Z.O.A. will receive only the net amount of five cents per capita (this being the 10% discount allowed it by the W.Z.O. on all Shekolim sold through us) -- an amount which will not cover the nominal expenses in connection with building up the youth organization -- the latter is not asking for any subsidy now and will not ask for any subsidy in the future. He pointed out further that the Constitution of the Z.O.A. provides that the Organization can make any arrangements it chooses with any group or organization under its power. He believed that if the present plans work out, within two or three months the proposed Federation will probably become a group that will be able to render considerable service to the Z.O.A. in a variety of ways. He added that this new movement would not have been necessary if Young Judaea had been so organized from the beginning as to allow for immediate transference of membership from Young Judaea to the Z.O.A. upon the attainment of a specified age level.

After further discussion of the matter, it was moved, seconded, and carried

THAT the resolution on the Federation of Young Zionists be adopted in principle, and that it be submitted to the National Executive Committee at its meeting on October 11, for final approval.

REPRESENTATION OF ORGANIZATIONS AT CONVENTION:

Mr. de Haas presented the following resolution:

THAT the following affiliated pro-Palestinian national organizations and Palestine fund-raising organizations be given delegates with voting rights: Keren Hayesod, Young Judaea, American Jewish Physicians Committee, Histadruth Ivrit, Junior Hadassah, Avukah, Jewish National Fund;

THAT the following organizations be invited to send a representative or representatives, without voting power: Progressive Order of the West, Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations, Federation of Palestine Jews, Rabbinical Assembly of America, Jewish Legionnaires, I.O.B.A., United Synagogue of America, I.O.B.S., American Jewish Congress, I.O.B.B.

After thorough discussion of the matter, it was moved, seconded, and carried that this resolution be recommended to the National Executive Committee.

COMMITTEE ON CONVENTION ARRANGEMENTS:

It was recommended that a Committee on Convention Arrangements be named. The Chairman named Messrs. Jacob de Haas and Nelson Ruttenberg, and Mrs. Judith Epstein (representing Hadassah) to constitute a Committee on Convention Arrangements, to be responsible for arranging the program and other details of the Convention.

BALFOUR DAY, NOVEMBER 2:

Dr. Wise brought up the subject of Balfour Day, November 2, and called the attention of those present to the anti-Zionist demonstration which is being planned for that day in Albert Hall, London.

It was the consensus of opinion that Balfour Day should be commemorated in some manner -- either in New York or in Washington, D.C. -- in order to counteract the harmful effects of the London demonstration. It was suggested that possibly Senator Borah and one or two other national figures could be secured for this occasion. Newton D. Baker was considered most favorable, and Dr. Wise suggested that the meeting might even be arranged in Cleveland, with Mr. Baker and Rabbi Silver as the speakers, and a national radio hook-up arranged, so that the meeting could be broadcast all over the country.

It was decided that the following cable be sent to London:

"CABLE YOUR ATTITUDE TOWARD GENERAL CELEBRATIONS BALFOUR DAY
THIS COUNTRY PARTICULARLY IN VIEW REPORTED ALBERT HALL MEETING"

PROPOSED AGENDA FOR NEC MEETING:

Discussion arose as to the order of business to be followed at the NEC meeting on Sunday, October 11. It was thought appropriate that a report be rendered on what transpired at the Congress, -- the report to be opened by Mr. Brodie (Chairman) and followed by Mr. Neumann.

PROPOSED REORGANIZATION PLAN:

A plan for the reorganization (or consolidation of the activities of the various affiliated bodies) of the Z.O.A., was presented for discussion.

It was generally agreed that this plan deserves most careful consideration, and in view of the lateness of the hour it was decided to postpone further discussion on it until the next meeting of the Administrative Committee.

NEXT MEETING OF ADMINISTRATION:

It was decided that the next meeting of the Administration be held on Wednesday, September 30, 8 P.M., at the Jewish Club.

Meeting adjourned at 10:45 P.M.

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE
ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA, HELD SUNDAY, OCTOBER 11, 1931,

2:30 P.M., JEWISH CLUB, 23 West 73rd St., NEW YORK CITY.

PRESENT: Messrs. Israel B. Brodie, (in the chair), Isaac Allen, Charles A. Cowen, Jacob deHaas, Benjamin Evarts, Harry P. Fierst, David Freiburger, Abraham Goldberg, Israel Goldberg, Mrs. Edward Jacobs, Lawrence N. Levine, Judge William M. Lewis, Louis Lipsky, Judge Julian W. Mack, Morris Margulies, Emanuel Neumann, Rabbi Louis I. Newman, Dr. Nathan Ratnoff, Bernard G. Richards, Dr. A. J. Rongy, Bernard A. Rosenblatt, Mrs. Sol Rosenbloom, Samuel J. Rosensohn, Morris Rothenberg, Hon. Nelson Rutenberg, Norman Salit, Mrs. Archibald Silverman, Abraham Spicehandler, Elihu D. Stone, Robert Szold, Mrs. Robert Szold, Abraham Tulin, Dr. Israel Wechsler, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Leo Wolfson, and Morris A. Zeldin.

COMMUNICATIONS:

The Chairman read communications from the following; as per attached.

1. Telegram from Rabbi Goldman of Chicago.
2. Letter from Rabbi James G. Heller.
3. Letter signed by Judge Harry M. Fisher, Rabbi Solomon Goldman, Max Shulman of Chicago.
4. Letter from Dr. Harry Friedenwald of Baltimore.
5. Letter from Rabbi Barnett Brickner of Cleveland.
6. Letter from Prof. Gustave Klausner of St. Louis.

MINUTES OF THE PREVIOUS MEETING

The minutes of the previous meeting were adopted as circulated.

REPORT ON CONVENTION:

The Chairman called upon Mr. Jacob de Haas to report on the arrangements for the forthcoming annual Convention.

Mr. de Haas reported as follows:

1. Time and Place: The Convention will be held on November 8, 9, 10 in Atlantic City.

2. Tentative Program: The Convention will be held jointly with Hadassah and therefore the following program is suggested in order that both bodies may meet:

Sunday afternoon	- opening session
Sunday evening	- second session
Monday morning	- no session
Monday afternoon	- third session
Monday evening	- Dinner (with Hadassah)

Tuesday morning - no session
Tuesday afternoon- fourth session
Tuesday evening - fifth and closing session.

Mr. de Haas added that every effort will be made to have a business Convention, with the elimination of all unnecessary formalities, in order that a maximum amount of work may be accomplished.

3. Appointment of Board of Elections: Mr. deHaas stated that for the purpose of regulating the elections and facilitating the work of Committee on Credentials, it is customary to appoint a Board of Elections. Mr. Nelson Ruttenberg has been Chairman of such Board for a number of years, and it is proposed that he be chairman this year also, and that a member of Hadassah and Mr. deHaas shall serve with Mr. Ruttenberg on such Board. This has been approved by the Administrative Committee, and Mr. deHaas asked for the approval of the Executive Committee.

4. Representation of Organizations: Mr. deHaas reported also that it has been customary to invite a considerable number of organizations to attend the Convention through their representatives, and that the Administrative Committee had adopted the following resolutions to be recommended to the National Executive Committee:

- (a) THAT the following affiliated pro-Palestinian national organizations and Palestinian fund-raising organizations be allowed delegates to the Convention with voting rights:

Keren Hayesod
Young Judaea
American Jewish Physicians Committee
Histadruth Ivrit
Junior Hadassah
Avukah
Jewish National Fund

- (b) THAT the following organizations be invited to send a representative or representatives, without voting power:

Progressive Order of the West
Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations
of America
Federation of Palestinian Jews
Rabbinical Assembly of America
Jewish Legionnaires
I.O.B.A.
United Synagogue of America
I.O.B.S.
American Jewish Congress
I.O.B.B.

It was moved by Judge Lewis, and seconded and carried:
THAT the above report on the Convention be
accepted.

REPORT ON ORGANIZATION OF YOUTH MOVEMENT:

The Chairman called upon Mr. deHaas to report on the organization of the Youth Movement.

Mr. de Haas stated that during the past year an effort has been made to organize the youth between the ages of 18 and 25 into a body which would later become affiliated with the Zionist Organization. The creation of such a new youth movement was necessitated, partly, by the lapse of time in membership between Young Judaea and the Z.O.A. As a rule, Young Judaea members failed to become members of the Zionist Organization when they reached the specified age. The same is true, in a good measure, of the members of the Junior Hadassah, who fail to affiliate with the senior organization. This new youth movement is a group of young people who have previously not been connected with the Zionist Organization but who have begun to interest themselves in the Zionist idea and want to find their way into the Z.O.A. They were handicapped in several directions: (1) They cannot pay the \$6 dues; (2) they are not interested in the typical Zionist District. After a great deal of discussion several groups were established in various parts of New York City, and in order to establish these groups firmly, a Federation of Junior Zionists has been worked out. It was decided that whereas in New York City the groups might consist of both young men and women, the groups outside of New York City would be confined entirely to male members. This arrangement was made in order to avoid conflict with Junior Hadassah. These groups are at present time paying into their own Organization a \$3 due. They do not intend at any time to come before the Z.O.A. and ask for a subsidy. The movement itself is without funds, so that in order to get it started it was proposed that the fee for affiliation of these groups with the Z.O.A. shall be \$1 per capita. Out of that dollar, fifty cents is to go to the Shekel; the other fifty cents is to be turned back by the Z.O.A. to the Youth Organization in order to provide them with a working fund. This arrangement is to be in effect for one year.

Mr. deHaas asked for support and approval of this proposition. He said he considers this one of the hopeful things that have occurred this year. If this is adopted, we shall be able to make room in this plan for another movement which is now in progress, the Maccabees and which is an attempt to bring the youth into Zionism by interest in sport.

Mr. de Haas stated that he personally has been very much inspired in the last year, by meeting these young men who are giving their mind and their attention and a great deal of their time to the attempt to bring a new generation into the Zionist movement. He therefore, personally has welcomed every effort that they have put forward.

Mr. deHaas asked that the Executive Committee approve the recognition of this new body, and to agree that its affiliation due shall be a per capita of \$1, of which 50¢ shall be paid to the Shekel and the other 50¢ to their National Board, on which the Administration of the Z.O.A. is to have adequate representation. They are to be given representation at the Convention, on the basis of 1 delegate for every 100 members who have been paid for.

Mr. Elihu D. Stone stated that it was a good thing to have such youth movement, but that so far as representation at the Convention is concerned, this should be deferred until next year.

The Chairman suggested that the question be divided in two:

1. General approval of the Executive Committee regarding the formation of this youth organization.
2. Whether or not this organization should have voting power at the Convention.

Mr. Margulies moved, and it was seconded and carried

THAT this question be divided as suggested by the Chairman.

At this point it was agreed that further discussion of the question be deferred until later in the meeting.

MESSAGE OF MR. ISRAEL COHEN OF LONDON:

At this juncture the Chairman welcomed Mr. Israel Cohen, the General Secretary of the World Zionist Organization, who had just arrived in New York en route to Canada on a Zionist mission. He added that the Executive Committee would be glad to have a statement from Mr. Cohen and a message from his and our associates abroad.

Mr. Cohen expressed his gratitude for the cordial welcome extended him, and then made the following observations:

In the first place, he was very happy to be present at this meeting of the Executive Committee. He added that although he has been officially connected with the Zionist Organization since 1910 and has discussed Zionist problems in all other parts of the world, this, the first he has come to America. Everyone abroad is deeply interested in what is being done by the Jews of America. London can no longer be regarded as the nerve centre of world Jewry, although a certain amount of leadership in Jewry emanates from there, but the hegemony of Jewry has now established itself in America because of the tremendous influx of Jews to the United States during the last quarter of a century, and the services rendered and to be rendered by American Jewry for the upbuilding of Palestine and the alleviation of suffering, which have won for American Jews a prominent place in the history of Israel. This is needed now more than in the past because of the wave of economic depression all over the world.

Mr. Cohen said, the present political outlook for Palestine is most favorable, since a Government which includes J. MacDonald, Lord Reading, Sir Herbert Samuel, Mr. Thomas and Ormsby-Gore cannot be suspected of antipathy or indifference toward Zionist aspirations in Palestine. During the short period in which the National Government has been in power, there has been fundamental change in the attitude of the Colonial Office toward Zionist problems in Palestine. The Colonial Secretary, Mr. Thomas, had not been in office for more than a few days when he found it necessary to make known directly and clearly to the officials in the Colonial Office that he was mostly deeply interested in Palestinian problems, particularly from the Zionist point of view, and there has since been a change of attitude on the part of these officials toward Zionist problems which is clearly perceptible.

Mr. Cohen added that it is difficult to say how long this will continue particularly since a general election will take place shortly, the outcome of which no one can foretell because of the fact that the traditional parties have been broken up into sub-parties and former friends are now political foes. One thing is certain, however, and that is that the new Government will be so intensely pre-occupied with measures for the improvement of the home situation that it will have no time nor thought for problems outside England, and consequently is not likely to concern itself with questions in Palestine. Therefore, the much discussed Development Scheme is not likely to develop beyond the stage of discussion especially in view of the present financial condition of England.

Mr. Cohen then spoke about the particular mission which has brought him across the Atlantic. The Executive has found it essential to send him to Canada partly in the interest of strengthening the Canadian Organization and partly in behalf of the Executive in order to help raise funds for the continued maintenance of its work.

Mr. Cohen referred also the serious loss that Jewry sustained through the death of Sir John Monash who had been so closely associated with Zionist work in Australia.

In conclusion, Mr. Cohen stated that far be it from him to express his view on the merits or demerits of the present controversy in American Zionism, but on behalf of the World Zionist Organization he must say that this time when the position in Palestine is so seriously jeopardized on economic grounds, and the progress of Zionist work in Palestine is so very seriously threatened by external forces, Zionists should not indulge in anything like fratricidal warfare. When the upbuilding of Palestine is being attacked by hostile forces, it is not the time for the builders of Zion to neglect their work. This is the time for fraternal concord, friendly deliberation and energetic cooperation on the part of all Zionist forces, so that we may be able to overcome the obstacles in our way and assure further progress for the land of Israel.

The Chairman then expressed the gratitude of this National Executive Committee meeting to Mr. Cohen for his message.

Mr. Tulin then moved, and it was seconded and carried unanimously

1. THAT a vote of thanks of this Committee be extended to Mr. Cohen.
2. THAT the Chairman appoint a committee to draw up appropriate resolutions on the death of Sir John Monash, and communicated to his family..

The Chairman asked Mr. Tulin to draft appropriate resolutions.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY ZIONIST DISTRICTS:

Mr. Brodie read the following resolution adopted by the Zionist District of Columbus, Ohio:

The Zionist District of Columbus, Ohio, at its last regular meeting, adopted the following resolution:

"Whereas, there has arisen dissension and strife within the leadership of the Zionist Organization of America; and

Whereas, it seems to be the consensus of opinion in the Zionist ranks that the interests of our movement can best be served by a united and co-operative effort on the part of all Zionist leaders in America as well as elsewhere, without domination by one group over another; and

Whereas, any continuation of the strife and controversies within the Organization will not only weaken but ultimately result in the demoralization and destruction of whatever vitality and prestige now remain in our movement;

Be it, therefore, resolved that we, of the Zionist District of Columbus, Ohio, urge the Administration and opposing groups to get together on a common basis and to exert their utmost efforts toward a united Zionist Organization, bereft of any dominating groups or influences."

Be it further resolved that copies of this resolution be forwarded to the office of the Zionist Organization of America and to Mr. Louis Lipsky of New York City.

Zionist District of Columbus.

By: Robert L. Mellman (signed)
Chairman, Resolutions Committee.
October 8, 1931.

Mr. Brodie then read the following resolution adopted by the Zionist District in Detroit, Mich:

The Executive Committee of the Detroit Zionist District adopted the following resolution:

"The Executive Committee of the Zionist District of Detroit, at a special meeting convened on October 1, 1931, having given due consideration to the state of affairs now existing in the national administration of the Zionist Organization of America, unanimously records its disapproval of the attacks emanating from certain quarters which are calculated to split wide open again our Zionist ranks and to render more difficult all constructive efforts for the development of the Jewish National Home in Palestine.

"We recognize that the achievements of the Administration since the Cleveland Convention have fallen considerably short of the high hopes entertained at that time, but we deplore the attempt to charge the Administration with the entire responsibility, disregarding utterly the unprecedented circumstances with which our leadership has had to contend during the intervening period.

"We submit that there is ample room within the Zionist movement for all persons and groups honestly interested in promoting the ultimate aims of Zionism and that all efforts which may render impossible or ineffective the participation of these elements do irreparable injury to the Cause itself.

"The Detroit Zionist District urges the spokesmen of all factions and the responsible leaders of our movement to avail themselves of every possible means to effect an honorable disposition of the threatened conflict within the Organization and to bring to the Convention at Atlantic City a comprehensive program upon which all Zionist elements may unite in peace and harmony for effective action in Palestine, towards which cherished ideal our primary concern is directed".

Simon Shetzer
Chairman, Detroit District.

Mr. Brode then read the following resolution adopted by the Zionist District in Philadelphia, Pa.

"At a meeting of the Zionists held in Philadelphia Tuesday evening, September 22, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

"RESOLVED THAT it is the sense of this meeting of Philadelphia Zionists that we regret any accentuation of factionalism in the Zionist movement and that we trust that the forthcoming Convention will succeed in eliminating any group domination in the administration of the Zionist Organization of America.

"RESOLVED FURTHER THAT Rabbi Max D. Klein, the President of the Philadelphia Branch, Zionist Organization of America, be requested to present the views of this meeting to the leaders of the opposing groups, in the hope that a harmonious and united Zionist leadership may be established in this country.

"The meeting at which these resolutions were adopted was the second meeting at which Zionist affairs were discussed. These meetings were attended by about one hundred Zionists who have, for many years,

Dr. Wise moved that the substance of the resolution be embodied in a telegram to Dr. Sokolow and his associates.

The resolution was seconded by Dr. Wechsler and unanimously adopted.

REPORT OF CHAIRMAN OF AMERICAN PALESTINE CAMPAIGN:

Mr. Rothenberg reported on behalf of the American Palestine Campaign. He stated that when the Allied Jewish Campaign was dissolved on January 1, 1931, it was necessary to set up anew the machinery which was to conduct the operations of the Campaign this year. Officially the American Palestine Campaign began on January 1, 1931, but actually the work this year did not begin until the Einstein Dinner on March 4. There was considerable disorganization as a result of the dissolution of the Allied Jewish Campaign. The Zionists did not know exactly what their duties were. The non-Zionists were hesitant. That, added to the prevailing economic depression, did not create a psychology that was particularly favorable towards fund-raising. Nevertheless, the A.P.C. organized the machinery, and despite the fact that we have had unprecedented economic conditions in this country, despite the competition of the concurrent campaigns of the J.D.C., the Jewish National Fund and the Mizrachi, the American Palestine Campaign has succeeded in raising up to the present time, in pledges, over one million dollars. Of this sum, approximately \$670,000 was raised in cash. The American Palestine Campaign this year is composed of the Keren Hayesod and Hadassah. Hadassah's share of cash raised is \$279,000. In all previous campaign years, the collections on pledges made in the preceeding year's campaign were always part of the current year's campaign. Therefore the collections on the pledges made to the Allied Jewish Campaign, the United Palestine Appeal, and the Keren Hayesod are properly a part of the funds raised this year for Palestine. These collections amount to about \$205,000; so that actually there was raised in cash for the Agency budget this year the sum of about \$878,000. About \$750,000 was remitted to Palestine, of which over \$500,000 went to the Keren Hayesod, and the balance to the Hadassah Medical Organization.

As a basis of comparison of achievements, Mr. Rothenberg cited the fact that the American Palestine Campaign had raised this year more money than the Joint Distribution Committee, which in previous years had always outstripped the Palestine collections.

Competition in Zionist fund gathering such as prevailed this year must not be permitted to occur again. It is unfair to the workers for the Keren Hayesod, that they be put in the position that if they go out for funds necessary to meet the budget in Palestine, they should be regarded as disloyal to the Jewish National Fund and vice versa. Nor is there any logic in a situation in which the Mizrachi, while obtaining funds from the Keren Hayesod, makes it more difficult for the Keren Hayesod to obtain its funds.

The divisions of moneys as between the Keren Hayesod and the Jewish National Fund, as well as the Mizrachi is a matter that should be determined by the central body at Jerusalem or London, and not by us here. They know the urgency of the funds needed as between the several funds and must take the responsibility for saying how the division is to be made. It is for them to decide what is most needed at the time, for them to say

how much of the collections made in the United States and elsewhere should go to the Keren Hayesod and how much to the Jewish National Fund and to the Mizrahi. They do not take that responsibility, and we are always forced here to take that upon our own shoulders, which places us in an embarrassing situation.

Mr. Rothenberg concluded his remarks by expressing his gratification at the resolution passed this afternoon, because the present differences which have arisen in the Zionist Organization has added to the Campaign burdens. He further expressed the sincere hope that this resolution which was adopted today will mean more than fine phraseology.

Mr. Rothenberg pointed out that in addition to the difficulties he had outlined, the Hoover Campaign for the Unemployed, which is about to be launched, threatens the Campaigns that are still to take place in several communities. Not only the American Palestine Campaign, but other national fund-raising efforts will undoubtedly be brushed aside for some time, he believed.

In closing, Mr. Rothenberg said that although we have been unable to meet all the demands of the Agency Executive for funds, still, if the Agency Executive has not broken down until now, it has been due to the fact that, despite all the obstacles with which it has had to cope, the American Palestine Campaign has been able to give to Palestine a very appreciable sum of money in these difficult times.

Upon the motion made by Judge Mack, a vote of thanks was extended to Mr. Rothenberg in appreciation of his splendid work as Chairman of the American Palestine Campaign.

The Chairman called on Mr. Zeldin, who spoke in Yiddish of the competition between Zionist funds, -- Keren Hayesod, Jewish National Fund, Mizrahi, etc. He said the Sectional Directors in Greater New York over which territory he has charge, worked harder this year than ever before, because this year it was harder to get money. They had to work day and night to accomplish what they did. He expressed the belief that if the Jewish National Fund had remained part of the United Palestine Appeal the results would have been far better. What is needed, he urged, is coordination between the various Zionist funds, and he suggested that one of the duties of the Committee of Six be to work out a plan to reorganize and coordinate the various Zionist fund-raising bodies, and to submit this plan to the Convention.

Mr. Stone stressed the fact that those who appeal for funds should point to actual achievements in Palestine instead of constantly referring to the depression and pessimism as to the situation.

Mr. Zeldin moved that a committee should be appointed, representing all fund raising agencies and representatives of the ZOA, for the purpose of cooperating with regard to all fund-raising efforts for next year.

Mr. Neumann suggested that the National Executive Committee recommend to the Administrative Committee, or direct it, to take the initiative in bringing about a conference of representatives of all Zionist fund-raising agencies. In this connection, the non-Zionist part of the Jewish Agency must be borne in mind, with whom it will be necessary to negotiate

in these matters. As a matter of fact, something has already been started in this direction. He added that the question of the relation of all Palestinian fund-raising agencies and the fund-raising agencies of other Jewish bodies creates a very complicated situation, and that this must be taken up as soon as possible.

It was finally moved, seconded and carried

THAT the Administrative Committee be directed to take the initiative in bringing about a conference of representatives of all Zionist fund-raising agencies, for the purpose of coordination and in order to avoid duplication, complication and competition.

Miss Kussy called attention to the fact that in many communities the Zionist groups are organized and conduct all the fund-raising, whereas the JDC is not, but the funds collected by the Zionists are shared by the JDC.

EMERGENCY APPEAL

Mr. Neumann stated that it is his duty also to bring up the matter of the Emergency Appeal which the Zionist Executive has issued for £100,000 in accordance with the instructions of the Congress, in order to tide the Executive over this difficult period in connection with the Palestine budget. In some countries this action has already been started, but it has not been decided what action to take in this country.

In this connection, Mr. Neumann re-read the telegram from Rabbi Goldman of Chicago, which had been read by Mr. Brodie at the beginning of the meeting. Mr. Neumann added that perhaps this Executive Committee is not prepared to deal with this matter at this meeting, and therefore the Administrative Committee should be requested to give attention to it as soon as possible. He said that he should like to see the Committee of Six which has just been appointed and which is to submit plans and recommendations to the Convention, to consider also ways and means for a fresh start both for the present campaign in progress and the impulse for the new work following the Convention.

Mr. Rothenberg stated that it is very difficult to start any emergency action at this time, because whatever has been done has been on the basis of the serious situation in Palestine, and now there is this new cry of alarm which is no different from what the public has been told already, and which will not result in new contributions. He added that if there were some person about whom this Emergency Campaign could be dramatized, if Mr. Sokolow would come here and he were made the centre of this Emergency Campaign, it might be practical to conduct such effort. It must be borne in mind, however, that most large cities have already had their campaigns and it is doubtful therefore whether any considerable sums of money will be secured even by Mr. Sokolow. It might injure Mr. Sokolow's prestige if he came here for money and got very little. Mr. Rothenberg doubted therefore if this Emergency Campaign can be conducted parallel with the present campaign. However, perhaps if Dr. Wise and Dr. Silver were willing to give some weeks time and travel about the country for the purpose, it might result in new money, but there enters into the situation the complication of the outstanding pledges amounting to \$300,000 to \$400,000. This question therefore can

not be dealt with here but must go to the Administrative Committee and a special sub-committee for the consideration of all these problems.

Mr. Rothenberg pointed out also in connection with the telegram from Chicago that in that city only about \$10,000 has been raised for the Z.O.A. during the past two years and practically nothing has been done for Palestine.

CONTINUATION OF DISCUSSION ON YOUTH ORGANIZATION:

The discussion then reverted to the question of the Youth Organization, as follows:

Mr. Szold stated that he now had the Constitution of the ZCA before him and recalled that the question had been divided in two:

1. A motion for the general approval of the Organization.
2. The question as to whether or not this Youth Organization should have representation at the forthcoming Convention.

Mr. Szold suggested that the Committee take action on the first part of the question and defer action on the second part.

Mr. deHaas read the following from the Constitution:

Article V Section 2: "The organization of Zionist societies shall be encouraged by the National Executive Committee and officers of the Organization."

Article VIII Section 8: "The duties of the Executive Committee shall be to decide all questions of policy and administration, subject to the Constitution and resolutions adopted by the Annual Convention, or any special Convention."

Article X Section 5: "Delegates to the Convention shall be elected by members of the organization, in accordance with rules established by the Executive Committee, provided, however, that every district shall be entitled to at least one delegate, and that the rules adopted shall be uniformly applied to all constituent bodies."

Article X Section 7: "The Executive Committee shall have the power to grant to Jewish National Organization, endorsing the objects of the World Zionist Organization, and agreeing to pay a specified per capita tax, special representation in the conventions of the Zionist Organization of America."

The Chairman pointed out that these provisions afford ample opportunity for the Executive Committee to take action on the first part of the question, calling for the approval of the formation of the Youth Organization as reported by Mr. de Haas.

It was moved, seconded and carried that such approval be given.

With regard to the second part of the question, Mr. Szold suggested that it should not be acted upon now.

Mr. Neumann suggested that the Youth Organization be entitled to elect delegates to the Convention, but whether or not they should be seated should be passed upon by the Board of Elections of the Convention.

Mr. Cowen moved that this part of the question be tabled. The motion was defeated.

Mr. Stone rose to a point of order. He said this is not yet a national organization but is still in the process of formation.

Mr. deHaas stated that he thought this Executive Committee would welcome and encourage these groups of young people who are willing to affiliate themselves in some way with the ZOA. He pointed out that they already have formed a national organization with a national council and 9 groups in New York and groups in Philadelphia, Chicago, etc. New groups are being formed every week. He also called attention to the fact that without a resolution has been adopted today giving voting rights to groups not affiliated with the ZOA without any question being raised. This has been done every year, but when it comes to this new group which is expected to be helpful to the ZOA, obstacles are being put in the way. This he considered most discouraging and not in good faith. He felt this new group should be treated at least as well as other groups who do not accept the program of the ZOA and do not place themselves under the authority of the ZOA.

Mrs. Silverman advocated representation for this organization. She pointed out that at the Zionist Congress at Basle the absence of youth from among the General Zionists was most conspicuous, but that youth was represented in great numbers among the Revisionists, making it a throbbing part of Zionism. Moreover, the American leaders mentioned this fact and stated that this vital influence is needed in American Zionism. She could not therefore understand Mr. Stone's attitude. Furthermore this group is to be part of the ZOA since it is to pay the shekel. They should not be taxed without being allowed representation, and the finest way to introduce new blood and vitality and new leadership into the movement is by the creation of this youth movement and its affiliation with the ZOA.

Mr. Stone then rose to a question of personal privilege. He stated that he is in favor of youth groups, but that the other organizations which are to have representation at the Convention are of long standing and tradition. This new Youth organization should accomplish something before they are rewarded with the privilege of representation at the Convention.

Col. Evarts said that he was strongly in favor of bringing the youth into the movement, and that they should receive ample representation but that the Convention should rule on this question.

Mr. Szold suggested that the question of seating such delegates should be referred to the Board of Elections and the Convention.

Mr. Cowen said that either they come in as regular members of the ZOA or only as guests at the Convention, but that it would be harmful to the youth to give them extra privileges, and he therefore disapproved of such representation.

Dr. Salit pointed out the lack of a sympathetic attitude on the part of the NEC toward the Intercollegiate Zionist Association years ago,

and that apparently the same situation obtains today. He added that there is no practical reason why this youth organization should not vote at the Convention. The Zionist Organization is not so wealthy in human resources, that it can afford to spurn any movement that give promise of adding strength to Zionist ranks in this country.

Mr. Shubow pointed out that Mr. deHaas and Mr. Cornfeld have attempted to expand the Zionist Organization through the creation of this youth movement which is willing to render service to the cause of Zionism and which should therefore not be alienated.

Mr. Stone then withdrew his amendment and moved that this matter be referred to the Committee of Six.

Mr. Salit rose to a point of order. He felt that the NEC should proceed to a vote on the original motion.

Mr. Tulin objected to referring this to the Committee of Six, since this should not be regarded as a controversial matter, and the Executive Committee should be glad to give this group representation.

It was finally moved, seconded and carried

THAT the Youth Organization be requested to elect delegates to the Convention (1 for every 100 paid up members) but that the question of seating these delegates be left to the Board of Elections and the Convention.

ORDER SONS OF ZION DELEGATES:

Mr. Allen stated that in behalf of the Order Sons of Zion, he should like to inform this Executive Committee of the manner in which the Order is electing its delegates to the forthcoming Convention of the ZOA, and asked for the approval of this Committee for such action. He pointed out that in view of the fact that the ZOA has no direct contact with the respective Camps of the Order Sons of Zion, and in view of the fact that the Order, as such, pays dues for a certain number of members, the Order will group its Camps in such way as to entitle them to full representation at the Convention; viz, one delegate for every fifty members for whom it pays dues. The Order proposes to group together all Camps having a membership of less than fifty (or a fractional balance) in order to make up the full number to which the Order is entitled.

A protracted discussion followed.

Mr. Spicehandler stated that the arrangements which the ZOA has with fraternal organizations for representation at Conventions, are made on the ground of interest in Zionism and not because of any manipulations in connection with election of delegates.

Mr. Cowen expressed amazement that the ZOA has not a complete list of all its shekel payers, including the members of the Order Sons of Zion who should have direct and personal loyalty to the ZOA.

Mr. Lipsky stated that there ought to be some clarity with regard

to the action of the Order in the past. The Order is treated in the same manner as Hadassah. Election notices have always gone out from the ZOA office to the individual Chapters of Hadassah and the Camps of the Order, and it is assumed that the Chapters and Camps elect delegates exactly as the Zionist Districts. The individual members of the Order Camps and Hadassah Chapters are members of the ZOA through their Camps and Chapters, but for the Order Sons of Zion as such to say that its central office should elect delegates for all camps with a membership of less than fifty, whom it will group together, is introducing something quite strange and not in keeping with the understanding between the ZOA and the Order. The Central Office of the Order cannot automatically elect such delegates. This must be done locally, and it is the duty of the Executive Committee to inform Mr. Allen that what he proposes to do is not legal.

Mr. Allen replied that he did not say that the headquarters of the Order Sons of Zion would elect the delegates but that it would suggest the names of the representatives for such fractions.

Mr. de Haas pointed out that the ZOA has no list of the Order Sons of Zion Camps nor Hadassah Chapters, because both these bodies are treated as group membership at a special rate. Moreover it would be too expensive for the ZOA to keep an accurate record of such list. He added that what has been done in the past was for contiguous Camps having less than fifty members, to vote together. There is a clause in the Constitution of the ZOA which provides for the creation of units of so-called "membership-at-large" in contiguous territory, and that under that clause it is permitted to combine Camps, Districts and Chapters in order to have this kind of voting.

Mr. Goldberg was of the opinion that the Order had the right to suggest the names of its representatives to its Camps, just as the ZOA has the right to suggest to the Districts the names of its proxies.

No decision was reached on the matter.

RECOMMENDATION TO ENLARGE ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE; COMPOSITION OF NEC AND QUESTION OF DUES:

Mr. Szold reported that various members of the Administrative Committee have been considering for some time the question of the Organization as an organization, the composition of the Administrative Committee and the National Executive, the question of membership dues, the relation of the fund-raising campaigns to the Organization, the relation of the Jewish National Fund to the Organization, etc. Mr. Szold pointed out that it is quite obvious that at this late hour and in view of the fact that a great many members of the NEC have already left the meeting, and since these questions require considerable thought and discussion, they cannot be decided here.

Mr. Szold moved therefore that the Executive Committee at its next meeting which will take place immediately before the Convention, shall take into consideration the matter of recommending to the Convention the following:

1. THAT the Administrative Committee be enlarged.
2. THAT the National Executive Committee be composed of representatives of each Zionist District, resident

in that District and elected by that District, plus the members of the AC.

3. THAT the Committee consider the proposal that the dues shall be \$3 to be paid to the National Organization; the Districts to charge their members with such additional dues as they may decide, and that this \$3 shall not entitle the member to the New Palestine, which should be charged separately

Mr. Szold added that the above recommendations may also be considered by the Committee of Six,

Mr. Margulies proposed that the dues remain at \$6, but that in addition there be a general membership of \$2 a year, to include 50¢ for the Shekel, 50¢ for the District, and \$1 for the ZOA, and that representation at the Convention for such general membership be on the basis of one for every 100 members instead of one for every fifty members. He pointed out that any interference with the present \$6 dues would mean a loss to the Organization since the source of revenue from the present membership of 10,000 to 12,000 would be destroyed.

It was decided to submit the above recommendations to the next meeting of the National Executive Committee to take place before the Convention.

NEXT MEETING OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:

After some discussion, it was moved, seconded and carried

THAT the next meeting of the National Executive Committee take place on Saturday evening, November 7th, in Atlantic City, at 9 P.M. and that the report of the Committee of Six be submitted to that meeting.

Meeting adjourned 8 P.M.

Respectfully submitted,

For the Secretary.

COPY OF TELEGRAM

1931 OCT 11 PM 1 01

AA40 57 - CHICAGO ILL 11 1056A

ROBERT SZOLD
THE JEWISH CLUB 74 ST

REGRET INABILITY TO BE PRESENT AT MEETING STOE NEWS ABOUT PALESTINIAN
SCHOOLS MOST DISTURBING CABLES WE RECEIVED HERE SPEAK OF COMPLETE
BREAKDOWN UNLESS IMMEDIATE ASSISTANCE FORTHCOMING HOPE EXECUTIVE
COMMITTEE WILL CONSIDER PROBLEM SOME OF US FEEL SPECIAL SESSION OF
OF CONVENTION BE DEVOTED TO MATTER STOP IF INADVISABLE SPECIAL NATIONAL
CONFERENCE BE CONVENED SHORTLY AFTER CONVENTION KINDEST REGARDS

SOLOMON GOLDMAN

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Y

CINCINNATI, OHIO

October 8, 1931

Mr. Robert Szold,
111 Fifth Avenue,
New York City

Dear Mr. Szold:

It is with the greatest regret that I shall be unable to come to the meeting of the National Executive Committee and equally unable to attend the Convention.

Will you kindly express to the National Executive Committee my sorrow at my enforced absence, and to the Convention also? The reason is that I have been ordered by the doctor to take a leave of absence for a period from three to six months. I am sailing from New York on the 23rd of this month.

In the meantime, as Judge Mack may have told you I am seriously concerned as to what is going to happen at the Convention. I am writing an open letter about the matter which will probably be published in "The Zionist". I hope that real peace will come out of the present situation. There has been enough quarreling and the times call for a sinking of our differences and for joint co-operation.

With very friendly greetings, I am

Yours sincerely,

(signed) James G. Heller

JGH:M

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Y

CHICAGO, ILL.

October 8, 1931

Mr. Robert Szold
Zionist Organization
111 Fifth Avenue
New York

Dear Mr. Szold:

"We, the undersigned Chicago members of the National Executive Committee regret exceedingly our inability to attend the meeting of the Executive Sunday, October 11th.

"We take this means, however, of expressing our hope that the deliberations will bring forth such understanding amongst the leaders as to make clear the way for an harmonious and fruitful Convention.

There is no time nor can we afford the energy to spend in connection with personal differences that our leaders may entertain. While it is true that the economic conditions have handicapped Zionist efforts in the country, we must also admit that the strife in our ranks for the past decade did not help our cause. The necessary constructive efforts are sufficient to tax us all to the limit and we regret it as an inescapable duty of every responsible Zionist to avoid adding burdens to that already too burdensome task.

This is not only our personal view, but also expresses the sentiment of the entire Chicago Executive Committee.

Sincerely yours,
(signed) Harry M. Fisher

(signed) Solomon Goldman

(signed) Max Shulman

C
O
P
Y

CLEVELAND, OHIO

October
sixth,
1931.

Zionist Organization of America,
111 Fifth Avenue,
New York City, N. Y.

Gentlemen:-

I regret that it will be impossible for me to attend the National Executive Committee meeting on Sunday, October 11th.

Besides my Temple duties on that day, I am scheduled to open the session of the Community Religious Forum in the afternoon, and to open the Jewish Welfare Fund Campaign in Youngstown in the evening.

I trust that the proposal I made in my letter to THE ZIONIST printed in its issue of October 2nd will receive the serious consideration of the Executive Committee.

Sincerely,

(signed) Barnett R. Brickner

BRB:VEK

C
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P
Y

GUSTAVE KLAUSNER
5601 Washington Court
Parkview 7218
Saint Louis

September 25, 1931.

Mr. Israel B. Brodie
National Executive Committee,
111 Fifth Avenue,
New York City

My dear Mr. Brodie:

I regret very much my inability to attend the National Executive Committee meeting on Sunday, October 11. It is impossible for me to go away from school.

Very cordially yours,
(Signed)

Gustave Klausner

GK:SW

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE OF THE

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA, HELD WEDNESDAY EVENING,

OCTOBER 28, 1931, AT THE JEWISH CLUB, 8:30 P.M.

PRESENT: Messrs. Szold (in the chair) Brodie, deHaas, Fierst, Mrs. Jacobs, Newman, Ratnoff, Rosensohn, Ruttenberg; Mrs. Epstein and Miss Benjamin by invitation.

CONVENTION PROGRAM:

1. Dinner: Mr. deHaas stated that before the Convention program can be definitely fixed, he must know the decision of the Administration with regard to holding the dinner on Sunday or on Monday evening.

A protracted discussion ensued as follows:

Mr. Szold reported that Mr. Newton D. Baker will not be available for either Sunday or Monday night. Mr. Szold called attention to the fact that the original cause for having the dinner on Monday night, was to accommodate the Hadassah delegates as many of them were not scheduled to arrive in Atlantic City until Monday morning. On the other hand, the Committee of Six feels that the prime consideration is to raise money at this dinner and that more money could be raised on Sunday night than on Monday night. Dr. Wise especially urged this.

Mr. deHaas stated that it is not proposed to appeal for pledges but for cash contributions of \$5 and \$10 which are to be solicited in advance of the dinner. He pointed out also that a special price per cover has been secured on the understanding that there would be about 400 persons, including the Hadassah delegates, at the dinner.

Attention was called to the fact that Hadassah might resent it if this dinner were not a joint affair.

Mrs. Jacobs replied that if Dr. Wise and others believe that more money can be raised on Sunday night, Hadassah will agree to that arrangement, although of course they will not be able to participate because their program calls for a "regional institute" for Sunday evening. Both she and Miss Benjamin urged, however, that if the dinner is held on Sunday night that the program for Monday night be so arranged that matters of major importance do not come up before the Convention in order to permit Hadassah to have its reception that evening.

It was finally moved, seconded and carried

THAT the dinner be held on Sunday night and that the program for Monday night be so arranged as to permit Hadassah to have its reception, and matters of major importance should not be on the agenda that evening.

2. Number of Delegates: Mr. deHaas estimated that there would be about 200 men delegates and 200 Hadassah delegates. He added that thus far the names of 110 ZOA delegates have been received. It is expected that there will be about 150 ZOA delegates and 50 Officer Sons of Zion delegates.

3. Avukah Luncheon: Mr. Abraham H. Cohen appeared before the Committee in behalf of Avukah. He stated that it has been the custom for Avukah to have a luncheon at the Zionist Convention and that the subscriptions raised at this affair constitute a substantial part of its annual budget. He added that it is unfortunate, that Avukah is not stronger than it is, but that since it is the only student Zionist Organization, its maintenance is essential.

In the discussion which followed, the primary importance of raising funds for the maintenance of the ZOA was pointed out to Mr. Cohen. It was stated that if a similar effort is undertaken by Avukah, the ZOA would most likely suffer. The consensus of opinion therefore was not in favor of a luncheon such as planned by Avukah.

No definite decision was taken and the Chairman promised to communicate with Mr. Cohen further on this matter.

FINANCE COMMITTEE:

In connection with raising funds for the Organization, Mr. Fiers called attention to the meeting of the Finance Committee scheduled for tomorrow evening, and urged that the members of the Administrative Committee attend that meeting in order to take up this matter as well as the budget for the coming year.

Mr. Rosensohn stated however that at tomorrow's meeting the Finance Committee will work out a budget which will be taken up with the Administrative Committee at the last meeting before the Convention and at that meeting it will be essential for the members of the Administrative Committee to be present.

CONTINUATION OF DISCUSSION RE CONVENTION PROGRAM:

The Committee continued the discussion regarding the program for the Convention.

It was decided that if possible the following items should be on the agenda for Sunday afternoon:

1. Greeting of representatives of the local district and local Hadassah.
2. Nomination and election of the praesidium.
- 3.- Nomination of the Committee on Committees.
4. Report of Board of Elections.
5. Chairman's address.
6. Telegrams and messages.
7. Presentation of the Annual Report of the Administrative Committee.
8. Presentation of the Annual Report of the Treasurer.
9. Report of Committee on Committees.
10. Report of Committee of Six.

Sunday evening:

Dinner:

Speakers: Mr. Emanuel Neumann, Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, Dr. Stephen S. Wise to make appeal. Judge Mack to preside.

Mr. deHaas raised the question as to whether this should be a testimonial dinner to Justice Brandeis, and after some discussion it was decided not to mention Mr. Brandeis' name in connection with this affair.

It was decided also not to make any announcements at this time regarding the speakers at the Dinner, as it will no doubt be necessary to add other speakers to the list.

With regard to the rest of the program for the Convention, it was decided to place on the agenda for Monday night, the presentation of the report of the American Palestine Campaign, Memorial for departed, etc. Organization problems would probably be taken up Monday afternoon, as well as the continuation of discussion of the Report of the Committee of Six and the Report of the Economic Committee. Nominations and elections are scheduled for Tuesday. All other items are to be listed and fitted in wherever possible.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE OF SIX:

Mr. Rutenberg reported that the Committee of Six has held three meetings and is still discussing various matters which are to be presented to the Convention. The three major questions are:

- 1.. The Program upon which all Zionists may unite for future activity and strengthen the Organization and the Movement.
2. The structure of the new Administration.
3. The personnel of the new Administration, in order to bring together all forces.

Mr. Rutenberg added that the Committee is to meet again next Sunday, and that on the whole the Committee can report progress as indicated by the temper and spirit manifested.

Mr. deHaas pointed out that as far as he knew, the Committee of Six has not as yet considered many of the major problems which should be presented to the Convention, and which he thought the Committee of Six should discuss. Among these are three questions of vital importance; viz:

1. Character and amount of dues.
2. Budget
3. Form of Organization.

Mr. Rutenberg believed that these were matters for the Finance Committee.

But, Mr. Brodie stated that the Committee of Six would discuss the form of Organization and the dues.

CABLES FROM LONDON:

The Chairman read the following exchange of cables with London since the last meeting of the Administrative Committee.

1.

"London OCTOBER 22, 1931

ZIONISTS NEUMANN NEWYORK

JEVAGENCY WIRES QUOTE AFTER CERTAIN ARRANGEMENTS HERE
FINANCIAL SITUATION AS FOLLOWS ONE 29th OCTOBER 31st
OCTOBER 3500 1st NOVEMBER 10th NOVEMBER 4000 11th NOV-
EMBER 20th NOVEMBER 3700 21st NOVEMBER 30th NOVEMBER
3600 TWO SALARIES ARREARS COMPENSATION DISCHARGED TEA-
CHERS OFFICIALS APPROXIMATELY 8000 DUE MIDDLE OF NOVEM-
BER THREE SMALL EXPENSES 1500 FOUR SALARIES UNDISCHARGED
TEACHERS OFFICIALS AND SUBVENTION INSTITUTIONS 12500
STOP BEGINNING OF FEBRUARY SITUATION BILLS EASIER STOP
PLEASE COMMUNICATE IMMEDIATELY AMERICA SECURE BILLS
SMALL EXPENSES TALLING 16500 END OF NOVEMBER WHILE
OTHER PAYMENTS FAILING SOUTH AFRICA TO BE SECURED BY LOANS
REPAYABLE TO MONTHLY INSTALLMENTS BEGINNING OF MARCH STOP
WITHOUT SUCH DEFINITE ARRANGEMENTS IMPOSSIBLE EXECUTE DIS-
CHARGE AND MAINTAIN POSITION TEACHERS OFFICIALS BEING 5
MONTHS WITHOUT SALARIES FUNDS ENTIRELY EXHAUSTED 29th OCTO-
BER UNQUOTE INFORM: ROTHENBERG

ZIONIBURO

2.

"NEW YORK OCTOBER 22 1931

ZIONIBURO
LONDON

TO SPEED PREPARATIONS NEW CAMPAIGN IMPORTANT REACH DE-
CISION KERJESSOD AND KAYEMETH CABLE WHETHER YOU UNDER-
TAKE SECURE AUTHORITY SETTLEMENT STOP KAYEMETH HERE
PROPOSE TWENTY PERCENT NET UP A PROCEEDS RETAINING NORMAL
REGULAR COLLECTIONS BUT GIVING UP SEPARATE CAMPAIGNS
NEUMANN

3.

"LONDON OCTOBER 26 1931

ZIONISTS NEWYORK

NEGOTIATION WITH ANGEL GOLDMAN STOP BELIEVE HEXTER PAR-
TICIPATION DEFINITE STOP DIRECTORS KERJESSOD OURSELVES
CONSIDER LARGER DELEGATION DESIRABLE SUGGEST INCLUSION
REBECCA SIEFF GOLDSTEIN CABLE

ZIONIBURO

In connection with the above Mr. Sæold reported that Mr. Neu-
mann had written to London, in accordance with the decision of the last
meeting, advising of approval with regard to Sokolow and Goldmann, and ex-
pressing the views with regard to Angell, and that therefore the London
Office should be informed, in reply to the above cable, to await Mr. Neu-
mann's letter.

4.

"LONDON OCTOBER 26 1931

NEUMANN ZIONISTS NY

TO BALANCE EDUCATION BUDGET PALEXECUTIVE PROPOSES ALL MEMBERS EXECUTIVE OFFICIALS EXECUTIVE AND INSTITUTIONS SHOULD CONSENT CURTAILMENT ONE MONTHS SALARY STOP MEMBERS EXECUTIVE HERE FAVOUR PROPOSAL REGARDING EXECUTIVE STOP CABLE YOUR VIEW AND WHETHER POSSIBLE OBTAIN CONSENT OFFICIALS AMERICA

ZIONIBURO

5.

" LONDON OCTOBER 26 1931

ROTHENBERG ZIONISTS NY

REFERRING OURS TWENTYFIRST NEUMANN URGE YOU MAKE ALL EFFORTS REMIT MINIMUM L 3000 BEFORE OCTOBER TWENTYNINTH AND L 13500 DURING NOVEMBER CABLE

ZIONIBURO

6.

"JERUSALEM OCTOBER 27 1931

ZIONISTS NEUMANN NEWYORK

327 PLEASE DO YOUR UTMOST TO EXPEDITE REMITTANCE BEFORE OCTOBER 29th

SENATOR

7.

"LONDON OCTOBER 27 1931

NEUMANN ZIONISTS NEWYORK

FOLLOWING FROM ARLOSOROFF SENATOR QUOTE HADASSAH ORDERED WITHDRAWAL BANK RATNOFF FUNDS TRANSFER TO AMERICA STOP THIS COMBINED WITH SIMILAR ACT OTHER INSTITUTIONS MAY CREATE SERIOUS PRECEDENT PUBLIC AND PRIVATE FUNDS WITH GRAVE RISKS FINANCIAL INSITUIONS AND COUNTRY STOP COMMUNICATE IMMEDIATELY NEUMANN REQUEST HADASSAH AVOID ALL RASH MEASURES UNWARRANTABLE PRESENT PALESTINE CONDITIONS TRY AT ONCE SECURE CANCELLATION ORDER ALTHOUGH MONEY READY FOR PAYMENTS UNQUOTE WE EMPHASIZE URGENCY YOUR IMMEDIATE ACTION NECESSARY OTHERWISE HADASSAH ENDANGERING ALL YISHUB AND AGENCY

LOCKER

In connection with the above, Mr. Brodie suggested that Hadassah should transfer these funds to the PEC.

Dr. Ratnoff explained that this referred to joint funds of the American Jewish Physicians Committee, and that it was not intended to withdraw this money from Palestine but to make it withdrawable only upon the written authorization from New York.

8.

"NEWYORK OCTOBER 28 1931

ZIONIBURO
LONDON

CABLING TODAY JERUSALEM POUNDS EQUIVALENT SEVEN THOUSAND DOLLARS (STOP) RELAY JERUSALEM

ROTHENBERG

9.

"LONDON OCTOBER 28 1931

ZIONISTS NEUMANN NEWYORK

JEWAGENCY CABLES QUOTE RELUCTANTLY CONSIDERING PAYMENTS JUNE SALARY BY BILLS UNAVOIDABLE PAY SALARY ARREARS HALF COMPENSATION DISCHARGED OFFICIALS TOTALLING 7900 CASH WHICH MUST BE REMITTED BY THIRTEENTH NOVEMBER OTHERWISE WILL NOT LEAVE STOP ON TWENTYNINTH OCTOBER SHALL BE FORCED STOP PAYMENT BILLS THUS AUTOMATICALLY CANCELLING WHOLE BUDGET BASED MAINTENANCE OUR CREDIT UNQUOTE PROSPECTS STOPPING PAYMENT BILLS OBVIOUSLY VERY DANGEROUS FROM ECONOMIC POLITICAL VIEW URGING YOU ROTHENBERG ALL FRIENDS DO UTMOST REMIT IMMEDIATELY MINIMUM L 3500 AND MOBILISE FUNDS ACCORDING OURS TWENTYFIRST STOP OUR CABLE RE HADASSAH READ FIFTH WORE RATNOFF FUNDS INSTEAD AVAILABLE.

ZIONIBURO

In connection with the above, Mr. Rosensohn urged that a full report on the matter of fund-raising for next year be submitted to the next meeting.

REPORT OF MR. BRODIE RE PALESTINE WINE:

Mr. Brodie reported that Palestine wines are now being sold in this country for \$18 and \$20 a case by the Alex D. Shaw Co., and by Mr. Horowitz of the Mizrach Wine Co., and that the Palesine Wine Growers have sent Mr. Rappaport as their representative to America. The Rabbis and Zionists have been urged to use Palestine wine not so much for the sake of the Palestine winegrowers, but in order to promote an industry which affects thousands of Jews who are growing grapes and who might be forced to cut down their grape vines and use the land for other crops at a great loss.

Mr. Brodie reported further that Mr. Nachum Weinberg, formerly of Brooklyn, now living in Rishon le Zion, owns the land on which the wine cellars are located. He has invested about \$250,000 in Palestine, including a refrigeration plant, water works, etc. He together with Mr. Fred B. Bloom and Rabbi Kowalsky, began negotiations with representatives of the Wine Growers Association to take over the contract which Mr. Shaw has here and which expires on January 1, 1932, and to sell the wines at half price now charged by Mr. Shaw, in order to help increase the volume of sales in this country. It is understood of course that they would abide by the rules and regulations of the Prohibition Department, and they ask for a letter to be written by the EOA, similar to the one which was written for Mr. Shaw, asking the Zionists throughout the country to cooperate in this matter which means so much for Palestine.

A discussion followed.

Mr. deHaas urged that before this Committee approves this, some investigation ought to be made regarding some of the individuals named by Mr. Brodie.

Mr. Brodie moved that the Chairman of the Economic Committee be authorized in his discretion to give a letter of introduction to Mr. Bloom

in connection with this proposal.

This was not carried since it was the consensus of opinion that the Organization, as such, should have nothing to do with this matter.

MEMBERS OF STAFF TO ATTEND CONVENTION:

Mr. deHaas asked for authorization to have certain members of the staff whose presence and services are necessary to attend the Convention as has been customary every year.

Mr. Rosensohn raised some objection, but it was finally decided to authorize Mr. deHaas to designate the members of the staff whose presence he deems essential at the Convention, but to keep within the budget for that purpose.

MEETING ADJOURNED 11:30 P. M.

Respectfully submitted,

IDA FLATOW

Letter to be sent to all the Districts and registered Zionist Societies simultaneously with the sending out of all the other letters referred to in this communication. This letter is to be signed by the Board of Officers.

IMPORTANT: You are directed to read this official communication at a special meeting called without delay of the members of your organization.

STRENGTHEN THE AMERICAN ZIONIST FRONT

To the Chairmen and Executive Committees of
Zionist Districts and Chartered Groups:

The true Zionist considers his duties in relation to the wall of national strength that must be maintained here in America, as well as the national front in Palestine, where the Homeland is being created. The maintenance of both fronts is equally important and essential.

It is a source of genuine satisfaction to know that notwithstanding the lack of adequate Galuth support and in spite of the general economic depression, the National Home has during the past two years withstood all trials and tests, and has shown surprising recuperative powers and ability to resist all attacks. Unemployment in unusual proportions does not exist in Palestine, and we are still in a position to bring into the country a reasonable number of Jewish settlers. The industry and commerce of Palestine show progress. What should inspire us is the spirit of our pioneers, which has been admirable.

The Annual Convention of the Zionist Organization of America, held in Atlantic City during the first week in November, adopted a program which is calculated to serve as the strengthener of the bond between American Jewry and the Yishub. All controversies were subdued and eliminated, and a united administrative front was created. There never has been a greater need for personal sacrifice and devotion. Every Zionist present in Atlantic City was made to feel that the Zionist movement is an indispensable factor for the maintenance of Jewish life in Galuth, and for the establishment of the National Home in Palestine.

The first task is the building up of the manpower of the Zionist Organization.

First: You are directed to call a special meeting of the members of your organization, and to place on the agenda the question of conducting a membership campaign for the Zionist Organization of America during the months of December and January. You are to appoint all the necessary committees and inform National Headquarters of the

names of the members of this committee, as well as of the name of its chairman.

Second: In the preparations for the membership campaign, please take notice:

- A. That a letter has been sent by national headquarters to all delinquent members, calling upon them to pay their dues before the end of December, 1931, and advising them that if they do so, they will be regarded as members in good standing for 1932.
- B. That the Administration is prepared to send a letter and bill to each member in the District in good standing as of 1931, calling upon him to pay his dues for 1932. In this matter the Administration will be guided by your own desire, which we will ask you to indicate upon the enclosed card.
- C. The Administration has also sent a letter to all life members, appealing to them, in view of our financial condition, to give up their rights as life members and to resume their positions in the Zionist Organization as sustaining members.

Third: These various actions on the part of the national office are incidental to the organization, on your part, of membership campaigns to be carried on during December and January. You are to re-enforce the communications of the Administration by impressing upon life members, members in arrears, and members in good standing the importance of their complying with our specific appeals.

The national office will provide you with every possible assistance in the way of literature, speakers, etc., but the building up of the organization depends primarily upon the individual devotion of Zionists, upon the loyalty and discipline of the Zionist district organizations, and success can be achieved only if there is a spirit of cooperation between National Headquarters, the districts and the individual members.

The immediate program, therefore, is the creation of manpower in the Zionist Organization. But you will also be called upon soon to aid in other phases of Zionist work -- the Keren Hayesod campaign, the work of the Jewish National Fund, the work of the Palestine Economic Committee. You will be asked to give your whole-hearted support locally to the Hebraic movement, and to the development of youth organizations in your community. But the work for membership and the strengthening of the Organization is to be regarded as of primary importance from now on and until you receive further notice from this office.

We appeal to you for your loyal cooperation, and ask you to organize the membership campaign without delay, to go forward with determination and confidence, and to begin with enthusiasm the work of revival in Zionist ranks.

With Zion's greetings,

(Signed) BOARD OF ~~DIRECTORS~~ *officers*

Letter to be sent to all members who are in good standing
for the year 1931

- - - - -

ANTICIPATE YOUR 1932 DUES

GIVE THE NEW ZIONIST ADMINISTRATION A HELPING HAND

Dear Fellow Zionist:-

A new Administration has assumed direction of Zionist affairs in America. There is important work to be done. A comprehensive program was adopted at the Atlantic City Convention, but the new Administration finds itself handicapped financially. It is compelled to set up a balanced budget, and to continue activities that have been approved by the Atlantic City Convention. But the work cannot be inaugurated, and we shall be unable to pull through successfully, unless individual Zionists and Zionist Districts give us their immediate fullhearted and loyal support.

As a first step to ease our financial burden, the Administration asks one little bit of cooperation of you personally. You have paid your dues for 1931, and we are grateful to you for having discharged your duty in that respect. Now, anticipate the payment of your dues for 1932 by sending us your check for \$5. before December 25, 1931. This will enable the new Administration to proceed with its work without excessive worryment and harassment due to financial difficulties.

Thanking you in advance for your cooperation, we are

With Zion's Greetings,

Officers
(Signed) BOARD OF ~~DIRECTORS~~.

(TO DELINQUENT MEMBERS)

Dear Friend and Fellow Zionist:-

Never has the Zionist Organization of America had greater need of cooperation and support from loyal Zionists. The American front has to be held intact for Zionism and for the upbuilding of the National Home in Palestine.

There is no doubt that the economic depression has undermined the morale as well as the power of giving on the part of many of our Zionists. But we must manage to pull through to the better times that are ahead of us.

Your membership dues have not been paid for 1931. We urge you again not to delay further paying your dues for 1931, and placing yourself on record as a member in good standing. As an inducement to you to act immediately, we are prepared to give you credit for your 1932 dues, if your remittance is received not later than December 25th, 1931.

There is a great deal of work ahead of us. We cannot permit Zionism to slacken and thus weaken the morale of our pioneers in Palestine. Balance your account with Zionism by paying your dues without delay.

DON'T LAG BEHIND. BE A ZIONIST IN GOOD STANDING.

With Zion's greetings,

Cordially yours,

Judge Julian W. Mack,
Honorary President

Louis Lipsky,
Dr. Stephen S. Wise,
Honorary Vice-Presidents

Judge William M. Lewis,
Chairman, Nat'l. Committee

Harry P. Fierst,
Treasurer.

Robert Szold,
Chairman, Adm. Committee

Morris Rothenberg,
Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver,
Vice-Chairmen, Adm. Com.

Jacob de Haas,
Vice-Chairman, Nat'l. Com.

Louis P. Rucker,
Chairman, Finance Com.

(Letter to be sent to life members)

November 25, 1931.

About four years ago, in response to an appeal made at our annual convention, you became a life member by the payment of \$100, and thus were entitled to all the rights and privileges of membership in the Zionist Organization, without any further payment of dues. This privilege was accorded to about three hundred Zionists who came forward with their contributions of \$100, under the impression that these contributions would result in eliminating the existing deficit.

Unfortunately, the purpose in mind could not be accomplished, and we are still grappling with the deficit. The field of special appeal is greatly limited and becomes more and more restricted.

At the first meeting of the Board of Officers, it was unanimously agreed to issue an appeal to all life members voluntarily to resume their places in the Zionist Organization as sustaining members, paying \$25 per year.

In view of the fact that most of the life members were formerly sustaining members, paying \$25 per annum, the voluntary return of the life members to the sustaining membership class may enable us at this time to relieve our financial embarrassment very materially.

The Board of Officers therefore appeal to your generosity and to your high Zionist loyalty to become a sustaining member for the year 1932. We would be greatly obliged to you if you were to forward your sustaining membership dues before December 25, 1931.

With Zion's Greetings,

(Signed) BOARD OF ~~DIRECTORS~~ *Officers*

MEETING OF Z.O.A. ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE, HELD ON SUNDAY, JANUARY 3, 1932
AT THE JEWISH CLUB, 23 WEST 73RD STREET, N.Y.C.

The meeting was called to order at 11:45 A.M., with Mr. Szold in the chair.

PRESENT: Miss Juliette Benjamin, Robert Bernstein, I. B. Brodie, Bernard S. Deutsch, Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, Benjamin Evarts, Harry P. Fierst, David Freiburger, Abraham Goldberg, Mrs. Samuel Halprin, I. Hassin, Rabbi Max D. Klein, Joseph Kramer, Rabbi I. H. Levinthal, Louis Lipsky, Morris Margulies, Emanuel Neumann, Louis P. Rucker, Dr. Abraham Rongy, Samuel J. Rosensohn, Morris Rothenberg, J. I. Rudavsky, Hon. Nelson Ruttenberg, Hyman R. Segal, Bernard Shelvin, Mrs. Archibald Silverman, Abraham Spicehandler, Hon. Elihu D. Stone, Robert Szold, Abraham Tulin, Mrs. A. H. Vixman, Philip Wattenberg, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Leo Wolfson, Dr. Samuel Wurzel.

In opening the meeting the Chairman referred to the protracted discussion which took place at the last meeting of this Committee with reference to membership. He stated further that he was glad to report that from all over the country he sees signs of increased activity. Districts that last year were fairly inactive are on their own account beginning to work again. The office undertook to carry out, to the best of its ability, and with the maximum of energy possible within the means at its disposal, the instructions with reference to membership. During the month of December, about \$5500 came in for membership. ~~During the month of December~~ This includes the \$500 that was presented by Mr. Stone, at the last meeting, by way of advance on dues from Boston, and \$1,000 from Baltimore. It also includes the individual payments of persons who were delinquent last year, a certain number who paid in advance for the coming year, and a certain amount from the districts.

Mr. Szold then called attention to the written report which had been circulated among the members in advance of the meeting, in which the membership figures have been given in full.

Mrs. Epstein inquired if there is any definite policy about districts sending out bills and bills being sent out directly to the individual by the National Office.

Mr. Magida stated that there were certain districts throughout the country to which bills were sent directly, in most instances at the request of the district.

Mr. Margulies pointed out that this was unnecessary in the case of District #7, New York, which is a very active district, - to which Mr. Magida replied that District #7 had failed to attend to this matter in the past.

Mr. Szold pointed out that the general rule is that bills are not sent out from the office to members in the districts except upon request by the district, or upon failure of a district to function.

The Chairman then proceeded with the business on hand, calling attention to the three most important items on the agenda, namely, the Campaign, membership, and finances. He suggested that as a matter of

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procedure for today it would be in order to take up certain matters of administration and organization first, and then reserve for this afternoon a report from Mr. Sokolow and some of the matters of what may be called larger interest.

The Convention in Atlantic City, he recalled, provided for a National Committee of 150. On that National Committee 78 members were elected at Atlantic City. The Administrative Committee was authorized and directed to make arrangements for the election of the additional 72 members and organization of the National Committee. Mr. Hassin, on behalf of this Committee, has prepared a plan which he is now ready to submit.

Mr. Szold then called on Mr. Hassin.

METHOD OF ELECTION OF NATIONAL COMMITTEE:

Mr. Hassin read the following resolution adopted at the Convention, with reference to the election of the National Committee:

"There shall be a National Committee which shall constitute the supreme authority of the Zionist Organization of America between Conventions, and shall be the successor to the National Executive Committee.

"The National Committee shall consist of 150 members to be elected as follows: 73 to be elected by this Convention, the remainder of 77 to be elected by the various districts of the Zionist Organization of America, by the camps of the Order Sons of Zion, and by the Hadassah Chapters.

"The method of election and apportionment of the 77 additional members shall be determined by the Administrative Committee elected at the 1931 Convention, and such determination shall be made within one month following the date of the adjournment of this Convention.

"Until the entire National Committee is elected, the 73 members elected by the Convention, as aforesaid, and such additional members as may be elected by the various districts, Camps and Chapters, as herein provided, shall, for all intents and purposes, constitute and be the National Committee, with all the rights, powers and duties appertaining to the full National Committee."

Mr. Hassin reported that in looking over the list of members elected on the National Committee at the Convention, it was found that the Convention had elected 78 instead of 73 members, thus leaving 72 additional members to be elected at large. It was decided to give one-sixth, or 12 places out of the 72 to Hadassah, and six to the Order Sons of Zion. The remaining 54 members for the Z.O.A. are to be elected. Based on the total membership for 1931, there is to be one member

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on the National Committee for every 240 members of the Zionist Organization of America. Accordingly, the following assignments have been made for the various districts throughout the country. Extra assignments have been made to New York, New Jersey, and to Connecticut, because it is believed that the predominant attendance at the National Committee meetings will be from the Eastern Seaboard. Also, an extra member has been assigned to Chicago because of the size of the community, rather than because of the strength of the organization there. The same principle was followed in the case of Philadelphia. In the case of St. Paul and Minneapolis, it was felt that it would be possible to call a joint meeting of the two districts for the purpose of electing one representative for both.

Assignments on National Committee for Z.O.A.

Alabama			Missouri	
Birmingham	1		St. Louis	1
			(4 rep. from Kansas City	
California			elected at Convention.	
Los Angeles	1		Therefore found it un-	
San Francisco	1		necessary assign addi-	
			tional members.)	
Connecticut				
Region	2		New Jersey	
			Jersey City and No.Hudson	1
Washington, D. C.	1		Paterson	1
			Newark	1
Delaware				
Wilmington	1		New York State	
			New York City	10
Illinois			Buffalo	1
Chicago	4 & 1		Mt. Vernon	1
			Capital city district	1
Indiana				
Indianapolis	1		North Carolina	
			Wilmington	1
Iowa				
Des Moines	1		Ohio	
			Cleveland	1
Louisiana and Texas	2		Cincinnati	1
			Toledo	1
Maryland				
Baltimore	2		Oregon	
			Portland	1
New England and Massachusetts	3			
			Pennsylvania	
Michigan			Philadelphia	2
Detroit	1		Pittsburgh	1
			Scranton	1
Minnesota			Uniontown and Greensburgh	1
St. Paul and Minneapolis	1			
			Rhode Island	
			Providence	1

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South Carolina	
Charleston	1
Virginia	
Norfolk	1
West Virginia	
Charleston	1
Wisconsin	
Milwaukee	1

Mr. Hassin reported further that the Order Sons of Zion will distribute the six members among the various Camps and will see to it that there will be an election of these six members. He suggested that notice be sent to the districts telling them of their allotments.

Mr. Szold explained that the theory is that this body (National Committee) shall be elected by the local districts or regions, and that the representatives shall be representatives from the particular localities.

Mr. Bernstein (of Philadelphia) asked if the members of the Administrative Committee are ipso facto members of the National Committee. He was informed by Mr. Hassin that the National Committee consists of only 150 members.

Mr. Ruttenberg suggested that the list of the 78 (elected at the Convention) be sent to the various districts, so that there will be no duplication in the new elections.

Col. Evarts moved that the report presented by Mr. Hassin be accepted. Seconded.

Mr. Stone felt that Hadassah should not be handled in a circumventive manner. He suggested that in the interests of orderly procedure, Hadassah's membership on the National Committee should also be referred to the special committee on Hadassah-Z.O.A. Relations, so that the Committee may be in a position to deal with all phases of the relationship between the two Organizations.

Mr. Wolfson expressed the opinion that until there is a change in the status of the affiliated Organizations, the status of Hadassah remains as it is under existing agreements, and cannot be abrogated merely by a motion.

Mr. Stone thereupon withdrew his amendment.

Mr. Lipsky called attention to the fact that whereas there is clarity as to what the Order Sons of Zion intends to do in the matter of distribution of membership and elections, a state of ignorance exists as to what Hadassah intends to do. He urged the importance of making it a point that the number of members be distributed among the various Chapters,

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and that the Chapters themselves hold the elections.

The Chairman then called for the question.

Mr. Hassin's report was accepted.

Mr. Margulies suggested that this body should go on record instructing the Chairman of the National Committee to convene a meeting of this body.

The Chairman stated that it would be in order for Mr. Hassin to communicate with the Chairman of the National Committee and cooperate with him in putting into prompt execution the plan which has been here adopted.

Mr. Margulies was of the opinion that it is up to the Administrative Committee to see that the elections are held.

The Chairman did not think it is up to the Administrative Committee to do so, but agreed that it could be done.

Mr. Rucker stated that the office will attend to all the details of notifying all the districts and seeing that the proper members are elected to the National Committee. The Chairman (Judge Lewis) will convene the meeting.

Mr. Rosensohn moved

THAT the Administrative Committee directs that all elections for members shall be held on or before February 1, and that thereafter the National Committee shall have been constituted and the districts notified of that ruling. In case there be any vacancies, the Administrative Committee shall exercise its power and fill vacancies in any district.

Mr. Lipsky pointed out that the Administrative Committee cannot fill vacancies of the National Committee any more than the National Committee can fill vacancies in the Administrative Committee.

Mr. Ruttenberg called attention to the fact that at the Convention the National Committee was given the power to fill its own vacancies.

Mr. Stone (who was Chairman of the Constitution Committee at the Convention) agreed that the Convention provided that each body is to fill its own vacancies.

The amended resolution was then adopted as follows:

THAT the Administrative Committee directs that all elections for members shall be held on or before February 1, and that thereafter the National Committee shall have been constituted and the districts

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notified of that ruling;

THAT the National Committee be empowered to fill vacancies in those places where the elections are not held.

REPORT OF FINANCE COMMITTEE:

The Chairman then called upon Mr. Rucker to report on behalf of the Finance Committee.

Mr. Rucker recalled that at the last meeting of the Administrative Committee the budget was presented in two parts -- one with regard to the probable income and the other on the improbable income. Mr. Rucker therefore was very glad to report that the American Palestine Campaign had agreed to allot the sum of \$20,000 during 1932 for services, so that the budget has been revised to the amount of \$92,000. As a preliminary step in getting this budget in line, the Finance Committee has already reduced the payroll of the Z.O.A. from \$48,000 to \$30,000. This involved drastic cuts and discharges, and further reductions may be ~~made~~ necessary when the membership campaign is over. He added that the members of the staff discussed at the last meeting of the Administrative Committee have been retained but at a reduced salary.

Mr. Rucker reported further that the Finance Committee is struggling with the difficult problem of the deficit which at the end of 1931 amounted to approximately \$150,000, of which \$50,000 has been capitalized at a bank and \$71,000 is due the Brooklyn Eagle, leaving about \$30,000 owing to various firms and persons who are constantly pressing for payment. Mr. Rucker pointed out if the Organization could secure an extra \$15,000 in income in 1932 which is not anticipated in the present budget, that portion of the deficit which is now being pressed for payment could be capitalized and the operation of the Organization would be greatly facilitated.

A protracted discussion ensued as follows:

Mr. Kramer inquired what Mr. Rucker meant by "capitalization".

Mr. Rucker explained that that means grouping the small debts and turning them over to some bank, and then arranging to repay the bank at fixed intervals instead of a number of creditors. In connection with the amount now due to the bank, Mr. Rucker pointed out that the sum of \$5,000 was due on January 1, but that, after considerable difficulty he had induced the bank to accept \$2,000. He has also arranged to repay the amount due at the rate of \$1,000 a month on the 5th of every month. An arrangement has also been made with the Brooklyn Eagle to pay on account of the amount due it, at the rate of \$1,000 a month. Mr. Rucker again urged that the members of the Administrative Committee devise ways and means for raising the \$15,000 to \$20,000 necessary to capitalize part of our indebtedness which is now pressing.

In reply to an inquiry by Mr. Brodie, Mr. Rucker stated that at the present time there is no provision in the budget for the economic work.

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Mr. Brodie then asked whether his understanding is correct that notice has been given to the Secretary of the Economic Bureau?

Mr. Rocker replied that he would not want to convey a wrong impression about this matter. He reported that Mr. Szold had taken this question up with Mr. Brodie with a view to having the Bureau financed ~~and finding some way of keeping it under Zionist auspices~~ otherwise than entirely by the Z.O.A., and finding some way of keeping it under Zionist auspices.

Mr. Kramer asked Mr. Rocker what means he would advise for raising the sum of \$30,000. He suggested that every member of the Administrative Committee should secure at least twelve sustaining members, or raise \$100.

Mr. Rothenberg suggested that all the arguments which were advanced as reasons for the American-Palestine Campaign contributing to the Zionist Organization, in his judgment, apply with equal if not with greater force to the Jewish National Fund. This matter should not be allowed to slide along. He pointed out that in the American-Palestine Campaign there are some elements that are not wholly sympathetic to Zionism and yet they contribute to the campaign, and part of that money is being allotted to the Zionist Organization because of the belief on the part of the leaders that for the interests of the campaign there should be a strong Zionist Organization and that it should be maintained. How much more true is that ~~with~~ with respect to the National Fund since practically all of its money is raised by Zionists. It is, therefore, unjust to ask the American-Palestine Campaign to contribute \$20,000 to the Z.O.A. and ask nothing from the Jewish National Fund. Under the circumstances prevailing today when the Zionist Organization is struggling to maintain itself, the Committee should adopt the same firm attitude with regard to the J.N.F. as to the American Palestine Campaign.

Mr. Evarts inquired as to what action had been taken on the resolution adopted at the last meeting of the Administrative Committee, calling upon the Jewish National Fund to allot a sum of money to the Z.O.A. for its services.

Mr. Szold replied that he had conferred with the President of the J.N.F. but without definite result.

Mr. Hassin inquired as to the status of The New Palestine and the Yiddish page in The Day, under the new budget.

Mr. Rocker replied that the Yiddish page in The Day is being maintained, the Palestine Department is being maintained, and there is an appropriation of \$5,000 for The New Palestine.

Mr. Margulies pointed out that he made the motion at the last meeting with regard to the contribution from the Jewish National Fund, and that it was his intention that a committee be appointed to negotiate this matter, as there is no question but that the J.N.F. should make such contribution for services rendered by the Z.O.A. and its workers and districts.

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Mr. Lipsky expressed the opinion that the Z.O.A. should not be a party to National Fund work unless the National Fund agrees to such contribution for services rendered. He then moved the following resolution which was seconded:

THAT the Administrative Committee decide that we should not enter into the work of the National Fund and we should not instruct our Districts or members to work for the National Fund under National Fund auspices unless the National Fund agrees to pay the Z.O.A. a reasonable amount of money for services rendered by the Zionists. If the National Fund will not agree, the Zionist Organization will organize a collection for the National Fund and produce money for the National Fund without the National Fund office having anything to do with it.

Mr. Ruttenberg asked whether the J.N.F. had made any contributions to the Z.O.A. previously.

Mr. Szold replied that regularly every year for many years past, according to his information, the J.N.F. has contributed directly to the expenses of the office of the World Zionist Organization in London.

Mr. Rosensohn pointed out that in 1925, 1926 and 1927, when the U.P.A. included the J.N.F., a definite contribution was made by the U.P.A. to the Z.O.A.

Mr. Rothenberg stated that the J.N.F. did contribute indirectly to the publicity service of the Z.O.A. and toward the maintenance of The New Palestine.

Mr. Lipsky also stated that at various times the National Fund had contributed to special numbers of The New Palestine and ~~toward~~ toward the maintenance of the Publicity Department of the Z.O.A., also on occasion when demands were made for certain specific purposes, but there had been no regular subvention on the part of the J.N.F. for the Z.O.A. Now, however, the emergency situation requires that the Z.O.A. should have a definite sum of money allotted to us for services rendered.

Mr. Deutsch stated that regardless of what was done in the past, the J.N.F. must make such contribution now when the present situation practically means standstill for the Z.O.A. unless funds are forthcoming.

Mr. Ruttenberg stated that he is not antagonistic to this request for a contribution from the J.N.F. However, the J.N.F. as it is constituted, includes several parties -- the Mizrachi, Poale Zion, Zeiri Zion, and Order Sons of Zion, as well as the Z.O.A. A majority of the J.N.F. Directors are Z.O.A. representatives, and if the Zionist Organization believes that such contribution should be made, its representatives should be present at the meeting of the Board when the matter is considered, and present their arguments.

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Mr. Rucker pointed out that these arguments advanced here do not hold good with regard to the other constituent bodies in the J.N.F., as they have their own fund-raising campaigns.

The Chairman then put Mr. Lipsky's motion to a vote and it was carried.

Mr. Ruttenberg desired to be recorded as not voting.

The predominant sentiment expressed as to the amount to be requested from the J.N.F. was \$10,000.

Mr. Ruttenberg suggested that a communication be sent to the J.N.F. embodying the terms of the above resolution and that at the next meeting of the Board of Directors of the J.N.F. an opportunity be given for the presentation of this proposition and a vote thereon. He then reiterated his remarks about having the Z.O.A. members on the Board present at such meeting.

Mr. Tulin was of the opinion that the exact wording of this resolution should be quoted in the letter to the J.N.F. Moreover, he did not think it fair to put this matter up to Mr. Ruttenberg, but to see to it that the representatives of the Z.O.A. attend the meetings of the J.N.F. Board of Directors.

Mr. Ruttenberg then withdrew his suggestion about the letter to the J.N.F.

At this point, Mr. Brodie rose to express his dissatisfaction with the report of the Finance Committee, in relation to the economic work. He spoke as follows:

"It would be ~~xxx~~ disingenuous to say that I am shocked by the report of the Finance Committee in relation to the economic work. I feel very sad about it. The situation is a difficult one. The obvious answer that can be made to an argument that this work -- without exaggerating its importance -- is probably the most important work of the Zionist Organization for the continuance of its own life, for its vitality and strength, for its revitalization, is that we haven't any money, and therefore the work must cease. I want, once and for all, to make it perfectly clear to the gentlemen at this meeting and the gentlemen at the last meeting who stated, 'Let the P.E.C. take over this work', that this idea shows a complete misconception of the objects which underlie this work. The P.E.C. has a policy which does not meet our specific problem. In other words, we believe that while it is doing a splendid type of work in Palestine -- ~~xxx~~ it is doing an excellent job within the realms of its province -- it is not doing that dynamic job which it is essential that a body like our Economic Committee should undertake. Our work goes farther. It should be a little bit more courageous; it requires a little bit more courage, a little bit more vision, than the plan which the P.E.C. has in connection with its work. I per-

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haps ought to say here that I am not criticizing the P.E.C. I am a member of its Board of Directors and a member of its Executive Committee; but the P.E.C. is further removed from the objects which we are trying to turn into living facts in relation with our work than the Z.O.A. is. It is the duty of the Z.O.A. to initiate this work of private initiative, to formulate it on broader lines than the P.E.C. undertakes at the present time. What I feel sad about is the easy way in which Mr. Stone, at the last meeting, and, I am sure, the regretful way in which Mr. Rocker stated, 'Well, get a subsidy from the P.E.C.' I assure you, I would rather let this work go under, here and now, than attempt to put myself, or the work of this Committee, under the direction or jurisdiction of the P.E.C. Therefore, I am taking this position with reference to this work, - work which has been recognized very warmly at the Congress, on the basis of the report which the American delegation made, which is of far-reaching effect in giving direction to our movement, - work which the Zionist Convention in Atlantic City, by almost a unanimous vote, after an hour's talk, passed a favorable resolution on.

"You are taking the responsibility now, by eliminating this work, of either having it ended here and now, or of putting the more heavy responsibility of raising the money for it upon the shoulders of one or two individuals. I think there is a great misconception as to the amount that is necessary in connection with this work. In order to make that clear I would have to take up more time than your patience would permit. You probably have read the report of the Economic Committee to the Convention; you are probably familiar with the savings groups which we hope to create. As a result of this group-work a new interest has arisen in Zionist work generally. Members have spontaneously come forward. In Mount Vernon we got ten members and the Zionist District is alive again. In Newark, the other night, we had a meeting such as I have seldom attended. There were about 75 or 100 persons. All of this has led to action. In Far Rockaway, a number of members came spontaneously, and offered to join the Organization. This is creating nuclei not only for us, but for the Jewish National Fund, etc.

"This work will require at least \$10,000 for the United States, and probably between \$7500 and \$10,000 for the Palestine Bureau, which we hope to establish in conjunction with the Bureau here. This means about \$20,000. I and others are faced with the alternative of abandoning the work or going out and getting the money. Do not for a moment think that I can get it from the P.E.C. or from rich individuals. If this work fails and drops I want the responsibility placed where it belongs. I shall not, of course, without making a tremendous effort, permit the work to drop. If I do not succeed in raising the necessary funds, I shall be very sad about the loss which we will have suffered. If I raise this money, it will be necessary for me to organize a group which shall have the responsibility for the work. We shall, of course, have to go forward independently, just as the Jewish National Fund and the Keren Hayesod have done. I should like a close relationship between the Z.O.A. and ourselves. I should like to give representation to the Z.O.A. in the independent group if we succeed in forming an independent group. As I said before, I do not know whether I shall succeed.

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"In any event, let it be clearly understood that, under the resolution of the Congress which gave the right to groups to form themselves into bodies for stimulation of private initiative in Palestine we shall go ahead and form this group, and that, if it is formed, it will work sympathetically with, but independently of, the Z.O.A."

Mr. Wolfson expressed the opinion that it would be preferable if the Economic Bureau for which funds will be raised by Mr. Brodie would function within the Z.O.A. If Mr. Brodie is going to form a group to raise the necessary funds, why not have that group raise the money within the Zionist Organization of America, he asked.

Mr. Rosensohn inquired how the \$20,000 by which the original budget considered by the Administrative Committee was increased, had been allotted.

Mr. Rucker explained that the budget was adopted ~~in~~ last month in principle. However, it was subsequently found that the budget would have to be revised. As a result, part of the \$20,000 had been set aside as follows: \$5,000 will be expended on subsidies -- instead of \$2,500 -- as decided by the Convention; \$5,000 was allotted for printing The New Palestine; \$2,500 for the page in The Day.

Mr. Rucker was in favor of Mr. Wolfson's suggestion that if any money is raised for the Economic Committee that money should be raised under the ~~xxx~~ auspices of the Z.O.A. If other bodies are created, the Z.O.A. will be destroyed. There should be one Organization to do all the collecting and all the dispensing, and remit the net difference to Palestine. By eliminating all the overhead of the various organizations our expense would be much less.

Mr. Rucker suggested that Mr. Rosensohn be appointed a member of the Finance Committee.

Mr. Brodie declared that it would be futile to talk of allotting \$2,500, as that would be altogether inadequate for the work. He refrained from outlining the details of the work of the Palestine Economic Committee. He suggested, however, that if a sum of money can be appropriated, to be made part of a general fund, it will be helpful.

Mr. Rucker stated that he is keenly interested in the work, having read Mr. Brodie's report on the economic work very thoroughly. He asked Mr. Brodie for a solution of the present problem.

Mr. Brodie said he realized that it is a question of priority, that the economic work suffers from the fact that it is new and untried. He felt that if the Finance Committee believes the work is important enough it should be ~~xxx~~ perfectly willing to go further in the direction of a deficit to carry out the economic program. He assured those present that if he succeeds in getting the necessary budget for the economic work, there will be a stimulation in connection with Zionist membership that will astound them.

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Mr. Hassin expressed the view that money should be raised from among the members of the various Committees. He suggested that the districts should be informed of the state of finances of the Z.O.A.. Each member of the Administrative Committee and the National Committee should undertake to visit his own district and a number of other districts with the understanding that every one make himself responsible either to get or to give at least \$100. In this fashion, we should be able to raise fully \$20,000. He believed that at least \$10,000 could be raised from among the members of these Committees. He personally undertook to raise money from his own district.

Mr. Margulies heartily endorsed Mr. Hassin's general idea, but strongly opposed asking the districts to raise money. What should be done is to ask each of the 55 members of the Administrative Committee and the 150 members of the National Committee to make himself personally responsible for a minimum sum of \$100. Every member of these Committees ought to feel that he has not done his duty unless he has raised such a sum.

Mr. Hassin reiterated the belief that it would help to raise the necessary funds if the districts are apprised of the facts.

Dr. Wurzel felt that every method of raising money is a good method. However, there may be some districts -- especially out of town -- where raising money is a little more difficult. He suggested, therefore, that the Z.C. use its influence to arrange for a concert tour by various artists, -- these concerts to be held in various out-of-town districts for the purpose of raising money.

Mr. Rosenschn pointed out that we are losing sight of the fact that we have made arrangements with the American-Palestine Campaign on the theory that unless they make an appropriation we will have to go out on our own campaign, thus conflicting with the American-Palestine Campaign. Now, however, that the Campaign has made this appropriation, the Z.O.A. should confine its fund-raising efforts to the members of the Administrative Committee and the National Committee, in order not to interfere with the American-Palestine Campaign.

Mr. Spicehandler pointed out that at every meeting the Committee is told that certain activities cannot be conducted because of lack of funds. The members of the Administrative Committee are responsible for the work of the Organization and therefore it is the first duty of every member of the Administrative Committee and the National Committee either to give or get at least a minimum amount, say \$50, which he proposed as a tax upon each member.

Mr. Stone stated that it is the duty of every member between now and the next meeting to produce two sustaining members. This would produce an income of \$50 and is preferable to a direct tax upon the members of the Committee.

Mr. Abraham Goldberg pointed out that it is understood that such tax is a voluntary tax and that each member should contribute as much as pos-

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sible. With regard to the deficit and the budget, Mr. Goldberg thought that the way this matter is now being treated, there would soon be no deficit but there would also be no Organization. If the Organization is to continue, it will be necessary to create a deficit during the next two or three months to carry on activities. For instance, he stated, the budget includes an item of \$2,000 for 1932 for propaganda and travelling. He advocated that this sum be spent during the next six weeks in order to stimulate the Districts by propagandists who would visit them for that purpose. He repeated that he endorsed the suggestion of a voluntary tax of \$50 upon the members of the Administrative Committee, that he would be prepared to make his own contribution, but that is not sufficient. It is necessary to have immediately between \$3,000 and \$4,000 to carry on this work of propaganda in order to rouse the Zionists to life and activity, ~~and that is the only way~~ ~~to do it~~. In any case, the item of \$2,000 allotted for propaganda should be spent immediately.

The Chairman formulated the motion as follows:

RESOLVED that this Committee requires of every member to produce two sustaining members or \$100 before the next meeting.

Mr. Wolfson objected in principle to the idea that a man who assumes office in an Organization is taxed directly or indirectly.

Mr. Szold then put to a vote the motion of Mr. Stone

calling upon every member of the Committee to secure two sustaining members between now and the next meeting.

The above motion was lost.

Mr. Rocker stated that it should not be necessary to pass formal motions to raise money. Each member of the Committee realizes the situation and should do his utmost.

Mr. Lipsky pointed out that no method of raising funds should be regarded as exclusive. It is the duty of the Finance Committee to point out the lack of funds, and the duty of every Zionist to see to it that money is provided in every possible way. It is not advisable nor necessary for the Administrative Committee to decide the manner in which this should be done. Mr. Lipsky believed that money can be secured and the membership, ~~increased~~ both regular and sustaining increased, if every member of this as well as of the National Committee would lend his cooperation.

Mr. Lipsky stated further that he agreed with Mr. Brodie as to the importance of developing the economic work on the part of the Zionist Organization, but he felt it is not necessary to establish a special bureau. He stated, however, that the Administrative Committee, the National Committee and the whole movement ought to be impregnated with this idea of get-

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ting individual interest in Palestine, which in turn will help to produce new life in the Zionist Organization. He believed that the indirect is always the better way of getting money, and hence it is essential to create activity. In time of stress and emergency when people haven't any money, they have something which takes its place -- their lives, intelligence and sacrifice of time. If every Zionist did what he should in his city, it would not be necessary for the central office to spend a great deal of money on transportation expenses, since in each community there is at least one outstanding personality who could exert influence in behalf of Palestine. Consequently he felt that Mr. Brodie was wrong in emphasizing the need for maintaining a special bureau for economic work, since this bureau is but ~~xxx~~ incidental to the whole idea. The important thing is that the whole Zionist Organization should become conscious of the fact that this idea of economic work has to be placed in the foreground of Zionist activity. He added that what ought to be done here in connection with all the financial troubles of the Organization is to understand that during the present emergency what has to be created is individual activity on the part of conscious and responsible Zionists, and when this is created through the Administrative Committee and the National Committee, and the Districts, the movement will be alive despite the fact that money is very difficult to obtain. He added that the Zionist movement involves principle and ideal and this is predominant in times of stress, especially if the responsible Zionists in every city are alive to their responsibility. This is a time when money loses its value, and the movement has something to give that does not need money to produce results. Jews have something to give which does not always translate itself in terms of money. It is important to cease thinking only in terms of the budget. We must enable Zionists to recognize the ideal. Every member of the Administrative Committee should become the carrier of this idea. Then it will not be necessary to have all these discussions.

Mr. Tulin stated that he is in sympathy with the troubles of the Finance Committee and agrees with Mr. Lipsky that every Zionist should be galvanized into action, but there must be organized effort, for which process money is necessary. He realized, of course, that the Organization has no money. Hence the difficulty. Nevertheless, he would like to be recorded in protest against the lack of provision in the budget for economic work. If the recommendation of the Finance Committee on that subject is adopted, we will unwittingly take a very serious step backward, because the moral effect of eliminating the economic work, after it had been strongly endorsed by the last Congress and the second meeting of the Agency, as well as by the Convention, will be very bad. He agreed with Mr. Lipsky that the time has come when this work should come to the forefront of Zionist effort, for the economic work is the only thing which gives living content to Zionism and which achieves the end, the desire for which is created by Zionist propaganda. He added that he is convinced that Zionism can be revitalized in the United States today despite the depression, and that Zionism should be made concrete for Zionists. It is therefore a great mistake and danger to eliminate the economic work from the budget, and he desired to be recorded as opposed to any such action.

Mr. Rothenberg pointed out that the Finance Committee labored a long

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time before presenting this budget, and that it would be discouraging to the committee not to adopt the budget especially after all its hard work. On the other hand, he concurred fully with what Mr. Tulin said with regard to the importance of the economic work, because from what he knew of its program and progress, he felt sure that it opened a new avenue of hope with regard to Palestine. He believed Mr. Tulin was right in saying that if the Administrative Committee at this time shows no indication of its interest in maintaining this work, it would be interpreted as indifference. With regard to Mr. Lipsky's remarks as to there being no necessity for maintaining a special bureau for this purpose, he was of the opinion that someone must be directly responsible and see to it that all those interested are properly organized. That holds good in every undertaking. Therefore, a separate bureau is a necessity. He agreed with Mr. Tulin also that this work will be of direct benefit to the Zionist Organization of America as well as Palestine, since it is bound up with Zionist propaganda, which leads to a stimulation of wider Zionist ~~pr~~ education in this country and ultimately to work in Palestine. He added that it is reasonably certain that there will be additional income above the probable income estimated by Mr. Rocker. He then expressed his sense of obligation and appreciation to Mr. Rocker for his fine work and loyal interest shown, and suggested that the Finance Committee be charged with the request that out of the first receipts above the probable income indicated in the budget, ~~some~~ funds be appropriated for the Economic Bureau. He urged, therefore, that the motion to accept the report of the Finance Committee be accompanied with a charge to that Committee that the first lien on new money under probable income, shall be to provide for the work of the Economic Committee. With this in mind, there is justification for making plans so that this work is not abandoned.

Mrs. Vixman asked whether the acceptance of the Finance Committee's report does not nullify this program which the present Administration has undertaken, namely, the economic program. As the budget now stands, she pointed out, there is no economic program. Acceptance of this budget means the nullification of that program.

Mr. Rosensohn felt that just as the three organizations -- Hadoar, Avukah and Young Judaea -- cannot get on well without their appropriation, so the Z.O.A. cannot get on without its economic work. He suggested that instead of appropriating \$5,000 to these three organizations, \$2,500 should be allotted to them and the other \$2,500 should be appropriated by the Administrative Committee for the economic work.

Mr. Bernstein reported that in Philadelphia there is a fund over which some of the local people have control, and that he had more than a fair assurance that at the next meeting of the Administrative Committee he would be in position to present a check for \$1,000, which will not be ear-marked, and which will be in the nature of a contribution to the Zionist Organization.

Mr. Tulin expressed his agreement with Mr. Rosensohn's suggestion.

Mrs. Vixman declared that the \$5,000 provided as subsidies for the

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three organizations is in accord with the mandate of the last Convention.

Mr. Lipsky moved adjournment in order to enable the Finance Committee to discuss the various matters that had been brought out in the meeting.

Mr. Rucker here rose to record his personal vote against the present budget. He repeated the facts, which motivated the Finance Committee in taking such action as it has. The Organization had a deficit which is pressing. The pressing budget takes care of the deficit and at the same time allows for the \$5,000 subvention. He suggested that if ten people will come forward and endorse a note, he will go to a bank and attempt to borrow a sum of money to be returned in ten years. That will give the Organization the necessary funds with which to carry on all its activities. Otherwise, the Finance Committee will have to struggle as best it can under the circumstances. He protested against the whole procedure and asked that those present also record their protest. However, they should at the same time do something more than merely protest.

The Chairman called attention to Mr. Lipsky's motion to lay the matter of the Economic Committee appropriation on the table. The meeting was then adjourned at 2 P.M.

-- ADJOURNMENT --

SUNDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

The afternoon session was called to order at 3:30 P.M.

Before proceeding with the discussion on the budget, Mr. Szold asked that a motion be made to accept the minutes of the previous meeting.

It was moved, seconded, and carried that the minutes of the previous meeting of the Administrative Committee be accepted.

Mr. Szold then called attention to the fact that at the Convention there was a proposal made for an Administrative Committee and a Board of Officers of a certain number, and a Finance Committee of a certain number. However, in the general mixup of the Convention, the actual designation of the Finance Committee was not selected by the Convention as was intended. A motion was therefore in order that the Finance Committee, designated as follows, be approved:

Louis P. Rucker, Chairman; Harry P. Fierst, Edward Friedman, Isidore Goldberg, A. Liebowitz, Clarence Y. Palitz, Sigmund Thau, Philip Wattenberg, Joseph Weiss.

Mr. Wolfson moved that this Committee be approved as designated.

SECONDED AND CARRIED.

DISCUSSION ON BUDGET (continued):

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The Chairman then called on Mr. Rocker to continue the discussion on the budget.

Mr. Rocker reported that during lunch he had occasion to talk over the possibilities as to the manner of establishing an Economic Bureau. He moved that the budget be accepted as is, with the allotment of \$3,500 to an Economic Committee, on which the Z.O.A. would have representation, -- the \$3,500 to be granted to the Economic Committee when, as, and if additional moneys come in above the budget of \$94,000.

Mr. Stone proposed that the motion be amended to carry the clause: "Provided that this Committee comes under the control of the Zionist Organization of America."

Mr. Brodie felt that inasmuch as the sum required is \$20,000 and the Z.O.A. is unable to furnish that amount, the alternative is that he attempt to carry ~~the~~ out the plan to secure that money from a list of individuals who would form a group which would control the work and not be subject to the Z.O.A., and on which the Z.O.A. would have representation. He felt that the Organization should either furnish the budget or the major part of it, or should not hamper him in getting the budget for the economic work.

Mr. Stone declared that if what is proposed is to encourage private investment by individuals, we can give our moral support, but the work should not be conducted by a Bureau under the roof of the Zionist Organization. Otherwise, persons who would make such private investments might be inclined to hold the Z.O.A. responsible. He called attention to the American Zion Commonwealth, for which the Z.O.A. had no responsibility, but for which the Organization had to pay a heavy price. He felt that if the control is to be outside of the Z.O.A., we have no right to go to the Zionists and the Jews and tell them what to do.

Mr. Lipsky pointed out that what Mr. Brodie is proposing to do is really a matter of private initiative, not controlled and supervised by the Zionist Organization. It is in line with the position taken at the Basle Congress, that the Zionist Organization has nothing to do with this private initiative, except give it its sanction. The Zionist Organization is not responsible for it. The Zionist Organization is entirely free from these obligations arising out of private initiative. If Mr. Brodie takes that position, then he has to take the consequences of that position. The Zionist Organization has certain collective interests. Mr. Lipsky was of the opinion that the Zionist Organization ought to be directly responsible for private initiative, as well as for collective interests, for in the long run it is directly responsible. Every private undertaking has come back to roost in the Zionist Organization. The Zionist Organization has been held responsible for anything undertaken by private initiative, in connection with Palestine. If we are going to be held responsible for failure, we ought to be entitled to the credit for success. He thought that that was the new note which was introduced at the Basle Congress. The Zionist Organization is not going to be held responsible for the consequences. Every man who goes out and makes an investment takes the consequences of his act. The Zionist Organization is in no differ-

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ent position at the present time than it was during the last ten years. We are responsible for the collection and the expense of raising funds which have to do with national interest as opposed to private interests. Whatever Mr. Brodie may do on his private initiative is upon his own responsibility, or upon the responsibility of the individuals who are going to be associated with him.

Mr. Lipsky declared himself not in favor of Mr. Stone's motion.

Mr. Stone explained that it is understood that this is an individual enterprise by Mr. Brodie.

Mr. Rosensohn urged that we must admit the necessity for economic development in Palestine by private initiative. To say that it is not a function of the Zionist Organization to stimulate that activity is an absurd statement. All that has been proposed here is that the Zionist Organization accept the full responsibility for stimulating activity. That does not mean that we have accepted any responsibilities after we have stimulated it. The Z.O.A., the World Zionist Organization, the Jewish Agency must accept the full responsibility for stimulating private initiative in Palestine. That does not mean that we accept a single iota of responsibility for private investments. It should be made definitely clear to the public so that there should be no assumption that the Zionist Organization is financially in back of any man who goes into that organization.

Mr. Brodie accepted Mr. Lipsky's conditions, namely, that the work is to be carried on upon his own responsibility and that of his associates, without control by or responsibility of the Z.O.A.

The Chairman then repeated Mr. Rucker's motion, that when, as, and if those moneys are received, a sum up to \$3,500 be devoted as part of other moneys which Mr. Brodie and his Committee are endeavoring to raise for the purposes of that Committee; and that, the Z.O.A., for and in consideration of that grant, have adequate representation on that body.

Mr. Tulin moved the amendment that the Administrative Committee appropriate the sum of \$3,500 to the Economic Bureau with this representation in it, and that the appropriation should not be made conditional, either in the event, or as to time, of any new moneys coming in, but that this appropriation should stand on the same basis as any other unconditional appropriation in the budget. He felt that if this money is accepted as a conditional appropriation, thereby, consciously, the importance of this work is being subordinated to certain other work which has been selected and for which appropriation is being made unconditionally. He pleaded for the avoidance of this invidious labelling of economic work.

In answer to the ~~am~~ position taken by Mr. Lipsky that the Z.O.A. should not assume responsibility, Mr. Tulin declared that if we do not assume responsibility then we have no right to engage in any kind of propaganda for Palestine, because all of our propaganda has for its objective just one thing, namely, the settlement of Jews in Palestine. If we talk Palestine to people we are proclaiming our faith in Palestine, and we ask people to act on our faith.

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Mr. Tulin's amendment was seconded.

Mr. Margulies expressed the opinion that the first elements to be interested in this work are the Districts, and the Districts have to be approached through the Z.O.A.

Mr. Wolfson felt that it should be agreed, in principle, that this economic work is the work of the Z.O.A., that Mr. Brodie, in organizing his Committee, should be allowed to co-opt certain members in any manner he may see fit, and that such Committee should function as part of the Z.O.A. Under these circumstances, this appropriation of \$3,500 and such others as we may make from time to time would enable us to work out Mr. Brodie's plan.

Dr. Rongy felt that we are taking a very simple proposition and complicating it. He stated that in his own District so far they have \$3,000 subscribed to the savings organization. The District elected its own Board of Directors, which will supervise the investments of the moneys saved. What it hopes for the Z.O.A. to do is to act as consultant in the matter of investments. It may or may not take its advice. But, unquestionably, there will have to be somewhere in the Organization a Committee that will advise the savings groups how to invest their money. There should be a Board of Directors, with a Chairman, in a special organization or corporation.

Mr. Brodie stated that he will be very happy to function as Chairman of the Economic Committee, and to go right ahead with this work, if appointed; that he wants the Zionist Organization to get the credit for this work. Mr. Brodie gave no assurance of being able to raise the difference between the \$3,500 and the \$20,000, but felt that if he succeeds in doing so, he will be confronted with the necessity of having a separate group, some of whom are not Zionists, but who are as whole-heartedly interested as the Zionists themselves in the piece of work that we are trying to do. He added that if the Administrative Committee felt that he must not go ahead and should withdraw the money because it is not agreed that it would be just as effective to have a separate organization to carry on that work, he would still feel compelled to go out and try to create a separate group, because the Z.O.A. cannot supply the budget or its major part and the work must continue without interruption and must be adequately financed. The money must be raised within the next thirty days, or not at all. He therefore felt compelled to take the position as to an independent body, because it is clear that the Z.O.A. could not, even if it would, promptly provide an adequate budget. The work must be continuous. It may involve the publication of a little bulletin dealing with these specific subjects. It involves the securing of volunteers who will be able to go out and speak intelligently on the subject. Should the work be allowed to falter for the next thirty or sixty days, we are done for. He therefore could not take the position that he is willing to wait until the Zionist Organization is able to do it. He added that he will publicly give the Zionist Organization credit for it. He asked that a formal contribution be made to the economic work by the Z.O.A. in its budget. This is a practical, immediate, expedient question, he urged.

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The Chairman then restated Mr. Tulin's amendment and Mr. Rucker's original motion. He explained the difference between the two motions as follows: (1) Mr. Rucker's motion would leave this budget as it is, and would say that when new funds come in, as a first charge on those new funds, \$3,500 would be granted to this work. (2) Mr. Tulin's motion is that the present budget be enforced, and that there be added to the appropriations already made an additional appropriation of \$3,500 for the Economic Bureau.

Mr. Tulin added that Mr. Rucker's motion gives a conditional appropriation, whereas his amendment calls for an unconditional appropriation.

The Chairman then called for a vote on both motions.

Mr. Tulin's amendment won by a vote of 12 against 10.

Mr. Rosensohn moved that the budget be sent back to the Finance Committee to be balanced.

Mr. Rucker pointed out that it is not necessary to send the budget back for balancing, as the Z.O.A. expects at least \$3,500 from the Jewish National Fund.

Mr. Lipsky then asked how Mr. Rucker intends to proceed with this budget tomorrow.

Mr. Rucker pointed out that the \$3,500 for the economic work does not have to be spent immediately but in four or five ~~xx~~ months, to which Mr. Brodie agreed.

Mr. Lipsky pointed out that an attempt is being made, on a peculiarly technical basis, to prove that one group is in favor of this economic work and one group is opposed, which is not fair.

The Chairman reiterated that the proposition before the Committee and on which it is now about to vote is Mr. Rucker's report, to which there has been an amendment that \$3,500 be appropriated for the work of the Economic Bureau.

Mr. Evarts inquired when The New Palestine will be issued, pointing out that those who do not read the Yiddish press have no means of being kept informed, to which Mr. Rucker replied that he expects an issue of The New Palestine will be gotten out shortly.

The report of Mr. Rucker on behalf of the Finance Committee was then approved.

Mr. Rucker suggested that in view of the fact that the Board of Officers meets every week, the matter of The New Palestine should be left to it. He added that the question of the deficit is one that concerns every one. The Finance Committee has given considerable thought to this problem, and during the luncheon adjournment the suggestion was made with regard to floating a bond issue of \$100,000, payable in ten years. The bonds would carry 6% interest and the interest coupons could be utilized

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to pay the bond-holders' annual dues. If this sum could be raised, in cash, in bonds of \$100 or more, our indebtedness to our largest creditor might be cut in half and our total deficit materially reduced.

Mr. Tulin moved that the Chairman appoint a committee of three with Mr. Rucker as Chairman, to study this question and report the details to the next meeting of this Administrative Committee.

The above motion was seconded and carried.

At this juncture Mr. Sokolow, President of the World Zionist Organization, entered the room.

The Chairman introduced Mr. Sokolow.

(Mr. Sokolow's speech will follow)

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At the conclusion of Mr. Sokolow's address, the Chairman called upon Mr. Emanuel Neumann to report on his activities since the last meeting of the Administrative Committee.

MR. NEUMANN'S REPORT:

Mr. Neumann pointed out that the first question which Mr. Sokolow raised today was the financial one. He reported that he had, during the past few weeks, repeatedly raised that question before the members of the Palestine Campaign Committee. There was at first a great deal of reluctance to consider the question of the loan. He referred to the loan which he had negotiated for the UPA in 1926, in two banks, totalling \$150,000, to carry us over for two months until the Campaign got into swing. That loan was made without endorsements on the credit of the UPA as such. Since then, conditions have altered. Last year there was no such loan made in the bank, but there was a personal advance by Mr. Warburg of \$100,000 in advance of the new Campaign, which has since been almost entirely repaid in monthly instalments from the proceeds of the Campaign. This Fall, Mr. Warburg was again approached but he felt that his obligations were already heavy and he did not feel that he could go further in the matter at that time. The Palestine Executive has asked for £20,000, which at this time means only \$70,000 or less.

The question remains open as to the endorsers on this loan, for it is very difficult to find people willing to endorse. If a loan is made now, this money, in addition to the normal income which is coming into the Campaign, ought to carry the Executive over the next month or so. The obligations of the Executive due in February are much smaller, and the situation would be relieved by income from the new Campaigns.

Mr. Neumann stated that although he did not find any enthusiasm at the Campaign meetings for endorsing notes, he felt that here, at the meeting of the Zionist Administrative Committee, we can speak with a little more frankness and warmth on the subject. He added that while Mr. Sokolow was presenting the situation, Dr. Wise had suggested that a group of people be called together and that the question be put up to them. Dr. Wise is prepared to be the first one to endorse for \$1,000. A good many others would no doubt be found who would be glad to anticipate their contributions and pay in advance. Mr. Neumann further expressed the hope that Mr. Rothenberg, Mr. Szold and others in authority would help in getting together a group of that kind very soon, and be able to put this thing through. He hoped, too, that there will be members of this Committee who would also volunteer to do their pro-rata share. He thought ~~that~~ the bank would agree to accept endorsements for a limited amount. He pointed out that the Jewish National Fund has had no difficulty in borrowing. Mr. Neumann felt that if the National Fund can do it, certainly the Keren Hayesod can do it as well.

At this juncture, Mr. Neumann stated that he appreciated the many frequent reminders on various occasions and from various quarters that he is very much needed abroad, but that if he remained here it was first of all out of loyalty to the Executive, to his colleagues here, and, above all, to Mr. Sokolow who urged him to remain here for a while at least, and he did so at the repeated request of the Executive. Mr. Neumann pointed out

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also that it was impossible to wind up his affairs very quickly, especially in view of the fact that he had duties and responsibilities, including the presidency of the Jewish National Fund, and the selection of a new President was a rather complicated process of adjustment. He was therefore very happy that this has been accomplished and the new President of the Jewish National Fund, Mr. Nelson Rutenberg, had taken hold very energetically and had already won the respect and confidence of all.

Secondly, Mr. Neumann stated, there was the situation in America, about which the Executive in London was very much upset, and at a distance they were apt to magnify the controversy. It was felt therefore that it was of the utmost importance that matters here be adjusted and the organization emerge whole out of that situation, and therefore he was called upon by Mr. Sokolow and others to preserve the integrity of the Organization here, which he attempted to accomplish as best he could.

Then there was the question of the campaign and the need for funds. In that respect Mr. Neumann said he had done what he could to expedite matters. He pointed out that there is a Committee of the American-Palestine Campaign representing the Zionists and non-Zionist elements. The non-Zionist element, however, is not very well organized. The principals do not appear at meetings, which makes it difficult to progress because no one is inclined to take any radical steps that involve principle, and in order to get action, a great deal of prodding is required not only by him but by Mr. Rothenberg and all others interested. He was glad to report that the organization of the new campaign is under way, that a meeting of the American members and deputy members of the Council of the Jewish Agency is to be held on January 16, and the National Conference for the Campaign on January 17. It is hoped that at the meeting on the 16th some form of permanent consolidation may be worked out. Mr. Neumann added that the question of the chairmanship of the campaign is still open and that this will be solved and the work will proceed. He reported also that there have been negotiations with regard to the inclusion of the Jewish National Fund in the campaign, which was a very delicate task, since as former president of the Keren Kayemeth and member of the Executive he had to protect both the interests of the Jewish National Fund and the Keren Hayesod. Agreement has been reached, however, with regard to including the Jewish National Fund in the campaign and for a united front.

Finally, Mr. Neumann reported with regard to the organization of a Pro-Palestine Committee, about which he had reported briefly hitherto, and to which he can now add details. In this work he has been endeavoring to carry out what he conceived and what he knew to be Mr. Sokolow's policy and that of the other leaders who, in Basle, had pointed out the importance of going forward with this work. He has been doing what he could during the past few months. He consulted Dr. Adler, and learned that Mr. Sokolow had also spoken to Dr. Adler about this in Europe. Dr. Adler had taken the position at the time that he was in favor of the idea but was personally not inclined to undertake it.

Since his last report, Mr. Neumann stated, the things that were about to be undertaken have been accomplished, and an attempt is now being made to bring together in Washington a private meeting of leading members of both

**MISSING
PAGE (S)**

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mittee of protest in behalf of the Poale-Zion, against the method of cooperation between the Z.O.A. and the Poale-Zion.

Mr. Zuckerman regretted the lateness of the hour, and said that he was not at all sure that the matter which he was about to present could be dealt with at this meeting. He suggested that the best thing will be to have it referred back to the Board of Officers. He considered it very unfortunate that the Poale-Zion has to come to the meeting of the Administrative Committee of the Z.O.A. to plead for cooperation, instead of being invited by the Z.O.A. to create that cooperation in various fields, and declared that the Poale-Zion maintained that they are in the Zionist movement not as of sufferance, but as of right.

Mr. Zuckerman then proceeded to lodge the various complaints of the Poale-Zion against the Z.O.A. He said the Poale-Zion was dissatisfied with matters as they have been until now. They are called in only at a time when money is to be raised. For instance, they knew nothing about Mr. Neumann's activities in connection with the Pro-Palestine Committee, but they were asked to contribute to it. The Poale-Zion is not satisfied with the composition of the American Palestine Campaign. They want to be represented on Committees that have to do with the raising of funds for Palestine, inasmuch as the Jewish Agency embraces all Zionist groups and Parties. They also want to be represented on all Committees that deal with political matters. He criticized the manner in which the Campaign Conference was convened. Mr. Zuckerman stated further that the Poale-Zion is absolutely determined not to permit such a situation in Zionist circles to be continued; that they are going to do whatever they can in order to remind the General Zionists who seem to take it for granted that everything that has to do with Zionist activities concerns them only that there are other forces in the Zionist movement which cannot, under any circumstances, be ignored.

Mr. Zuckerman pointed out that the Poale-Zion has made many attempts since the Congress to build up a territorial verband in this country. He therefore asked that this matter be brought up either now, or that it be referred to the Board of Officers, with the instruction that the resolution that was adopted at the 15th Zionist Congress be considered.

The Chairman inquired if those present wished to discuss this problem at this time, in view of the lateness of the hour, and of the protracted discussion that would no doubt ensue.

Mr. Wolfson moved that this matter be referred to a special committee of five, which is to confer with the Poale-Zion Party and to submit its report to the Board of Officers for final disposition.

Mr. Margulies thought that Mr. Wolfson's suggestion is too involved.

Mr. Goldberg pointed out that Mr. Neumann conducted this activity for the creation of the Pro-Palestine Committee as a member of the Zionist Executive, and that the members of the Administrative Committee have today heard his report for the first time. He suggested that several Zionists be appointed as a constant committee, from Convention to Convention, to confer with the several Poale-Zionists (to be named by the Poale-Zion), and

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whenever anything of importance comes up, that these two groups get together and see if an amicable agreement cannot be reached.

Mr. Tulin reiterated Mr. Goldberg's statement that Mr. Neumann represents the Poale-Zion Party as well as the Zionist Party, just as much as Mr. Locker and Mr. Arlosoroff represent the general Zionist Party. He thought it might be useful to create a Verband. He suggested further that a Committee should be appointed to study and explore the possibility and advisability of creating such a territorial Verband, or any other form of cooperation, and report back to the Administrative Committee.

Mr. Wolfson amended his original motion that the procedure should not go through the Board of Officers, but through the Administrative Committee.

The Chairman then called the question.

Mr. Tulin's motion was seconded and carried.

The Chairman then appointed Mr. Wolfson and Mr. Goldberg as members of the proposed Committee.

CAMPAIGN FUNCTIONS:

Mr. Szold called attention to the two functions in the near future, namely, the reception to Mr. Sokolow on Thursday evening, January 7, and the Campaign Conference on Sunday, January 17.

Mr. Margulies also reminded those present of the membership function which was scheduled for Tuesday evening, January 5, at which U.S. District Attorney George Z. Medalie, the newly-elected Chairman of the New York Membership Campaign, was to be the guest of honor.

HADASSAH-Z.O.A. RELATIONS:

The Chairman called on Mr. Goldberg to report for the Committee on Hadassah-Z.O.A. Relations.

Mr. Goldberg stated that at the present time he could merely report progress; that a very interesting meeting was held, at which four or five members were present, and at least three ideas were developed. He hoped that at the next meeting of this sub-committee a definite understanding may be arrived at. If an understanding is not reached, there will be presented a majority and a minority report. However, the Committee is trying to avoid that possibility.

NEXT MEETING OF ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE: The date of the next meeting of the Administrative Committee was referred to the Board of Officers.

Meeting adjourned at 7 P.M.

Respectfully submitted,

TENTATIVE BUDGET FOR THE YEAR 5693.
FIRST DRAFT

A.	Obligations Keren Hayesod Lloyd's Bank Capital and Interest		L.P. 16,500
B.	Deutsche Bank, Berlin: Capital		1,000
C.	Amzic		30,500
D.	Anglo Palestine Bank: Various Loans on account of Amzic		2,750
E.	Jewish Colonial Trust, old debt of Zionist Organization		4,500
F.	Deutsche Bank: Loan Guaranteed by Wasserman and Warburg		2,500
G.	Administration and Propaganda: Keren Hayesod		20,000
H.	London		5,000
I.	<u>Jewish Agency, Palestine:</u> <u>Education:</u> (1) on account of previous years 25,000 (2) 5693 <u>25,000</u>		50,000
	<u>Colonization:</u> (1) on account of previous years 35,000 (2) 5693 <u>25,000</u>		60,000
J.	Immigration and Labour		20,000
K.	Administration		10,000
L.	Political Department		5,000
M.	Various Departments, such as Trade and Industry, Statistics, Information Bureau, etc		5,000
N.	Interest		7,500
O.	Compensation and Salary arrears for discharged officials and teachers		<u>15,000</u>
			<u>L.P. 255,250</u>

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I N C O M E:

A. Collections	LP 5,000
B. Keren Kayemeth	<u>19,000</u>
	24,000
C. Keren Hayesod	<u>231,250</u>
	LP. <u>255,250</u>

April 1932

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE BOARD OF OFFICERS OF THE ZOA HELD
WEDNESDAY EVENING, MAY 4, 1932, 7 P.M., FIFTH AVENUE HOTEL.

PRESENT: Messrs. Szold (in the chair) deHaas, Rothenberg, Fierst, A. Goldberg.

FINANCIAL SITUATION:

Mr. Szold submitted the following comparative statement of income and expense for the period from January 1 to April 1932, and January 1 to April 30, 1931:

	<u>1932</u>	<u>1931</u>
Membership Income - Net	\$ 35,596.14	\$ 46,446.39
Other Income	<u>11,797.32</u>	<u>10,458.25</u>
<u>TOTAL INCOME</u>	\$ 47,393.46	\$ 56,904.64
Administrative Expense Including Interest.	<u>25,385.14</u>	<u>39,540.10</u>
<u>EXCESS OF INCOME OVER EXPENSE</u>	\$ 22,008.32	\$ 16,364.54
<u>DEFICIT JANUARY 1st.</u>	<u>152,923.70</u>	<u>153,995.91</u>
<u>DEFICIT APRIL 30th</u>	\$130,915.38	\$137,631.37

CONVENTION:

With further reference to the forthcoming Convention, it was recommended that the Convention take place on July 3 and 4th in the City of Buffalo, and that the program be prepared accordingly in order to properly cover all the business before the Convention in a two day session.

It was decided to secure further information regarding railroad rates and to make this recommendation to the Administrative Committee at its meeting next Monday evening.

COMMITTEE ON RELATIONS WITH AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS :

Mr. Goldberg recalled that at the last meeting of the Board on Friday he had submitted a report of the meeting of the Committee on Relations with Affiliated Organizations held Sunday, April 24. Another meeting was called for last Sunday, May 1st, but that due to poor attendance that meeting did not take place. In the meantime some opposition seems to be developing in Hadassah with regard to the contribution of 50¢ per member. This matter, however, will be taken up at the next meeting of the National Board of Hadassah which Mr. Goldberg will attend.

With regard to the Order Sons of Zion, Mr. Goldberg reported that he is arranging to confer with Mr. Allen and Mr. Abramowitz and will report to the meeting of the Administrative Committee.

Mr. deHaas pointed out that logic and consistency demand the same treatment for the Order as for Hadassah.

With regard to the question of Youth, Mr. Goldberg stated that his committee had been unable to reach this matter, but that in a preliminary discussion, Hadassah had pointed out that the mixed youth organization was bound to hurt Junior Hadassah.

Mr. deHaas stated that the Organization has a certain obligation to this Young Zionist Movement.

MEMBERSHIP:

Mr. deHaas pointed to the serious drop in membership. He believed that there should be a very serious discussion in the Board of Officers as to what is going to be done with the ZOA and what policy is to be presented at the meeting of the Administrative Committee on Monday night in view of the approaching Convention and the critical situation especially with regard to membership. He called attention to the fact that in April 1926 there were 11,480 members; in April, 1927 - 12,992 members, which is followed by a steady decrease until April 1932 when the paid up membership is 4,969. He estimated by the Convention there will be an additional 2500 members, and that it is impossible to keep the Organization alive on 8,000 members. The total membership last year was 13,000.

Mr. Lipsky was of the opinion that if the total this year and last are compared, the indications are that the same proportion will be maintained, and if this proportion continues, Mr. Lipsky estimated that there will be between 10,000 and 11,000 members at the end of the year.

Mr. deHaas pointed out that the average drop in membership has been 8% each year but that this year the indications are that this figure will reach 20%. He believed that the continuation of the region and district arrangement is impossible, and that the \$6 due is doomed, but without this \$6 due the Organization will have no money at all. On the other hand, he is inclined to believe that the unit due which will include membership in the ZOA, the JNF, American Palestine Campaign, might be a solution to this problem.

Mr. Szold was of the opinion that Mr. Goldberg's subcommittee should take up also the question of dues.

Mr. deHaas did not think that this should properly come before the subcommittee but is an organic question which must be decided by the Board of Officers.

Mr. Fiorst suggested that a special meeting of the Board of Officers be called to consider this matter.

Mr. Goldberg believed that there should be a reformulation of the aims of the ZOA under the new circumstances which have been created since 1918. He

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did not favor a reduction in the dues, since he did not believe that the number of members would be materially increased even if the dues were reduced, but that the revenue would be decreased.

It was moved, seconded and carried

THAT a special meeting of the Board of Officers be called for Wednesday evening, May 18th, to discuss the form of Organization and the question of dues.

Mr. deHaas urged that a statement be issued as to the seriousness of this problem. He reiterated that the unit due as he had urged last year is the only proper appeal to Zionists who will then feel that they are not being pressed for payments to various Palestinian funds, and there ought to be a frank and full discussion about this in the Board of Officers.

Mr. Lipsky said that it is a mistake to assume that because of the fall in financial receipts by the Organization, which is a matter entirely beyond the control of Zionists and Jews, because of that, a crisis confronts the ZOA. Of course the financial difficulty must be overcome in one way or another, but the fall in the income does not indicate a critical situation in the Zionist movement under the circumstances. People have no money, and how to overcome that difficulty is a matter of adjustment, and a problem in and for itself. Whether at this time, with all these difficulties, the groupings which have been created -- National Fund, Keren Hayesod, Mizrachi, Gewerkschaften, can be overcome is doubtful. Then there is the third problem which is most important, because the other two are technical, and that is, facing the serious situation of Zionism. In the case of Russia, the Jewish people are being absorbed; in the case of this country, something is happening with the Jews which may seriously affect the Zionist movement as well as other Jewish movements.

Mr. Goldberg agreed with Mr. Lipsky as to the psychology of the situation.

Mr. Lipsky added that something which the ZOA should have done from the beginning, and which Hadassah has successfully established for its own members is that every dollar that the Hadassah members give for Palestine goes through its National office. Now, however, there is a whole complex situation especially in view of the partnership with the non-Zionists. He ventured the opinion that if a concerted effort were made, it might be possible to establish the ZOA along the lines of Hadassah, but that a large number of Zionists will secede if this is done.

Mr. Szold pointed out that it is essential to have an organized body of informed and disciplined Zionists, whether connected with fund-raising or not, so that as occasion may demand from time to time the Zionist voice may be heard. The Zionist Organization has performed a historic function, a medium capable of expressing Zionist opinion, on fundamental problems must be maintained.

Mr. Fierst called attention to the fact that last year three meetings of the Administrative Committee were devoted to Mr. deHaas' plan about a unit due and it seemed impossible to put this into execution.

AFFILIATION OF CLUBS :

Mr. Szold inquired whether affiliation of clubs with the ZOA was any different from District affiliation. He had in mind specifically the Judean League.

Decided that Clubs would affiliate with the ZOA only in the same manner as Districts.

RESOLUTION ON DEATH OF CYRUS SULZBERGER :

It was suggested that appropriate resolution be drawn up regarding the death of Cyrus Sulzberger who at one time was treasurer of the ZOA.

NEXT MEETING OF THE BOARD OF OFFICERS :

Decided that the next meeting of the Board of Officers take place on Monday evening, May 9, at 6 P.M., in connection with the meeting of the Administrative Committee at 8 o'clock the same evening.

CABLE FROM MR. NEUMANN AND DR. HEXTER:

Mr. Szold reported on the receipt of the following cable signed by Mr. Neumann and Dr. Hexter:

JERUSALEM MAY 1 1932

ZIONISTS
NEW YORK

484 ABSOLUTELY NEED TILL TOMORROW EVENING 10,000 DOLLARS STOP CREDIT PROSPECTS BARCLAY & COMPANY, LTD. OTHERS OPERATIONS GOOD BUT ESSENTIAL MAINTAIN POSITION DURING MAY TILL COMPLETION NEGOTIATIONS STOP THIS DEPENDING YOUR REMITTANCE (S) ACCORDING ANTICIPATED AMERICAN SHARE BUDGET

NEUMANN HEXTER

Mr. Szold inquired about the \$10,000 check which had been turned over to Mr. Sokolow at the Newark banquet on Sunday evening.

Mr. Lipsky replied that \$2,000 had been cabled to Palestine yesterday and that the \$10,000 from New Jersey had to be turned over to the Jewish National Fund in connection with the repayment of the loan made by the JNF to the Campaign several months ago.

COMMUNICATION FROM AVADIO RE SHEKEL ACCOUNT :

Mr. Szold called attention to a communication from Mr. Avadio urging a remittance on account of Shekolim.

Mr. Lipsky inquired whether Hadassah had sent any money for Shokolim, and Mr. Szold replied that Hadassah had during the year remitted \$4,000 and had recently remitted \$1,000 for this purpose. In addition the ZOA had made certain payments here at the request of the London Office, but they are now disputing some of these charges.

MEMBERSHIP TOURS:

Mr. Fierst reported that the membership committee had a series of meetings recently. This committee originally consisted of Mr. Rucker, Mr. Lipsky and himself, but in view of Mr. Lipsky's preoccupation with the American Palestine Campaign, he is unable to attend the meetings of the membership committee which has coopted also Mr. Magida and Mr. Maltin. The committee discussed ways and means of increasing the membership and decided to have Mr. Magida and Mr. Rucker undertake a tour of Eastern Pennsylvania which they have done this week, and have Mr. deHaas visit the South. Mr. Fierst reported also that Mr. Stone had volunteered his services to the ZO4 in this connection and it was suggested that Mr. Stone visit New England.

It was urged that in order to have Mr. Stone's visit effective, appropriate letters be sent to the communities concerned advising them of Mr. Stone's proposed visit and urging an immediate reply as to whether he will be properly received and will be assured of local cooperation.

Meeting adjourned 9 P.M.

Respectfully submitted

IDA FLATOW

MINUTES OF MEETING OF ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE OF THE ZIONIST ORGANIZATION
OF AMERICA, HELD ON MONDAY EVENING, MAY 9, AT THE JEWISH CLUB,
23 WEST 73rd STREET, NEW YORK CITY.

PRESENT: Robert Szold (in the chair), Miss Juliette Benjamin, Israel B. Brodie, Bernard S. Deutsch, Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, Benjamin Evarts, Harry P. Fierst, Abraham Goldberg, Mrs. David Greenberg, Mrs. Samuel Halprin, I. Hassin, Rabbi James G. Heller, Rabbi Max D. Klein, Joseph Kraemer, Morris Margulies, Louis P. Rucker, Dr. Abraham J. Rongy, Samuel J. Rosensohn, Morris Rothenberg, J. I. Rudavsky, Hon. Nelson Rutenberg, Hyman R. Segal, Abraham Spicohandler, Abraham Tulin, Mrs. A. H. Vixman, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Dr. Samuel Wurzel; by invitation: Nahum Sokolow, Dr. Nahum Goldmann, Dr. Haim Yassky, Mr. Dworkin, and members of the Youth Zionist Organization.

Excuses for non-attendance were received from Robert Bernstein, Philadelphia, Rabbi Barnett Brickner, Cleveland; and Rabbi Louis I. Newman.

The meeting was called to order at 9:00 P.M., with Mr. Szold in the chair.

The Chairman recalled the last meeting of the Administrative Committee which was held in conjunction with the National Committee meeting in Philadelphia on March 13. In view of the fact that the minutes of that joint meeting were too voluminous to be read, Dr. Wise moved, and it was seconded, that the reading of the minutes be dispensed with.

The Chair pointed out that there is a great deal of business to transact at this meeting, and expressed the belief that more than one more meeting of the Administrative Committee will have to be held before the Convention. One of the items that must be decided tonight is the time and place of the Convention. There are also other matters of considerable importance to be taken up tonight. The Committee that was appointed at the February meeting of the Administrative Committee to study the matter of relations with Hadassah, Order Sons of Zion and other affiliated Zionist Organizations, has met several times, and the Chairman of that Committee, Mr. Abraham Goldberg, will present a preliminary report this evening.

Mr. Szold expressed the view that in order to decide upon the proper relationship between the Z.O.A. and affiliated Zionist Organizations, we will have to decide, first, what is the best form of Organization for ourselves. There has been a good deal of searching of hearts and of minds as to the best form of Organization for the Z.O.A., which will best permit it to fulfill its functions. No one among us doubts the extreme necessity of maintaining a strong Z.O.A., but, as in times past, the function of the Organization emphasized one phase of the movement, so in the future, we may find that another phase of the movement must be emphasized. Furthermore, Mr. Szold believed it is the fervent wish of all that the coming Convention shall devote itself strictly to an objective consideration of organization problems, and that all other matters be laid aside. This, he pointed out, would be an unusual procedure. In that connection, he expressed the hope that the Administrative Committee will meet earnestly tonight and upon other occasions, so that all the problems of the American Organization will be thoroughly considered beforehand, that written reports should be circulated,

that arguments pro and con be circulated in writing before the Convention, so that when we meet in Convention discussion will have been formulated and will come to a head at the Convention.

The Chairman then referred to the Cook & Elliot matter. At the last meeting of the Administrative Committee, he said, the particular problem then before us was the judgment which was rendered in the now infamous case of Cook & Elliot vs. Z.O.A., which was started some years ago, which judgment threatened to disrupt the entire Organization. The judgment has now been settled, and that danger is out of the way. We all realize, however, that that was only one of the many dangers confronting us, and that we would not be doing our full duty to get rid of that one pressing problem only. Mr. Rucker will report this evening, and tell of our other problems. We must take to heart the distressing status of the World Zionist Organization to which we are indebted for Shkolnik. We have had tearful letters from the London Office asking that this account be settled. We owe money to the Jewish Colonial Trust from which we borrowed funds last year. The task that we set for ourselves has not been fully accomplished.

The Chairman reported further that since the last meeting there has been formed a preliminary organization of the American representatives of the Jewish Agency in this country. It is to be hoped that that Organization will bring to the support of the movement those forces that are not technically known as Zionists and have hitherto been described as "non-Zionists". The Chairman then read the following cable received from the Jewish Agency Executive in London: "Highly gratified formation American section Jewish Agency. Please convey Warburg, Mack, Adler, Wise, Stern, Szold, Rothenberg, other officers our best wishes for fruitful cooperation in the cause of Palestine."

At this point the Chairman called attention to the fact that Mr. Sokolow and Dr. Goldmann will have an opportunity to be with us this evening for the last time before their departure.

The Chairman then suggested that the first order of business be the date and place of the next Convention. He then called on Mr. Rothenberg, who suggested that the Secretary be requested to report on the facts in connection with the time and place of the Convention.

DISCUSSION ON TIME AND PLACE OF CONVENTION:

The Chairman called on Mr. Magida, who called attention to the tentative decision of the joint meeting of the National and Administrative Committees to hold the Convention in Buffalo at the end of June. Subsequently, a questionnaire was sent out to all the District Chairmen, and to the members of the Administrative Committee, -- about 300 letters in all -- asking for their opinions. There were 79 returns. The largest number voted in favor of Washington, D.C.; then came in the order named Buffalo and Philadelphia. After thorough discussion of the matter, the meeting of the Board of Officers held prior to this evening's meeting of the Administrative Committee, decided to recommend that the Convention be held in Philadelphia, July 3 and 4 and possibly 5, with an attempt being made to limit the Convention to two days.

Rabbi Klein said he considered the procedure of the Board of Officers a bit high-handed, inasmuch as Philadelphia has not given its consent.

Furthermore, he believed that any other place would be suitable than Philadelphia, from the point of view of the Zionist Organization, as well as from the point of view of the local Zionists who have had a rather strenuous year. They are now in the midst of preparations for the American Palestine Campaign which will continue until late in June, and he expressed the doubt whether the local Zionists will be physically able to prepare for a Zionist Convention in Philadelphia. However, he suggested the advisability of asking Philadelphia whether it feels itself able to receive the Convention this year.

Rabbi Heller asked if the decision about holding the Convention in Philadelphia is definite.

The Chairman explained that it was merely a recommendation on the part of the Board of Officers, who, until this evening, assumed that the Convention would take place in Buffalo, in view of the resentment upon the part of the Middle Westerners against the Easterners' always deciding that the Convention should be in the East. However, at the meeting of the Board of Officers this evening, it was felt that, balancing all of the difficulties against the advantages, and particularly in view of the fact that certain people in Buffalo do not want to have the Convention there either, Philadelphia was, after all, the most appropriate place. Therefore, the Board of Officers comes before the Administrative Committee this evening, laying before it the proposal that the place of the Convention be Philadelphia, that the Convention begin on Sunday, July 3, and that it conclude its business sessions in two days.

Mr. Magida added that the Chairman of the Washington District advised against holding the Convention there, because the hotel rates would be higher this year than normally, on account of the Bicentennial exercises. Boston advised that our Convention would suffer by comparison; the Bnai Brith people are holding their Convention there the end of June.

Mr. Tulin suggested that the Zionist Convention be postponed until after the meeting of the Actions Committee -- which he believed would be called in June, after publication of the French Report -- in order to allow the American members of the Actions Committee time to return here to participate in the Convention.

Mr. Deutsch moved that the Convention be postponed until October.
Seconded.

Rabbi Heller strongly opposed postponing the Convention until the Fall. He felt that there is a distinct problem in American Zionism which must be dealt with without delay, and that is, the disintegration of Zionism in this country. Furthermore, he believed it is not even necessary to wait until the Convention to have some well formulated plans to meet the situation. There is a general feeling throughout the country, he declared, that some decisive action must be taken in the way of building up an Organization in this country. He agreed with Mr. Tulin that it is desirable to have the American members of the Actions Committee present at the Convention, but felt that the Convention must not be delayed on their account.

The Chairman stated that while there is nothing in the Constitution of the Z.O.A. which says that the Convention should be held in June, there was a recommendation at the last Convention that the Convention be held in June, and the National Committee meeting suggested that it be held in June.

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Furthermore, it has been assumed right along that this Convention will be held in June, and there is no reason why it should be postponed. He agreed with Rabbi Heller that we have important American problems, and felt that if the Actions Committee meeting should be fixed for the same time as the Convention, some adjustment could be made.

Mr. Rothenberg urged that the Convention be not postponed from the point of view of the membership situation. He pointed out that the best time for securing membership is prior to a Convention. He agreed with the Chairman that the date of the Actions Committee meeting could in some way be adjusted.

Mr. Rothenberg felt that Rabbi Klein's apprehensions as to the burden placed upon the local community by the Convention ~~were excessive~~, were unjustified. Hitherto, the local communities have rendered very little assistance to the Conventions. Nor should the preparations for the Convention interfere in any way with the local Palestine Campaign. Somebody could be sent to Philadelphia from New York to arrange for the details for the Convention. Furthermore, he believed that Philadelphia was the most desirable city from the point of view of bringing a large delegation. If the Convention is held in the vicinity of New York we are certain of a fairly representative delegation from New York; Philadelphia, Wilmington, Baltimore, Washington, the Connecticut States, New Jersey, and there is a probability that Pittsburgh will send delegates. Some cities in Ohio have already stated that they would send delegates to Philadelphia.

Mr. Rothenberg moved

THAT the Convention be held on July 3 and 4;
THAT we attempt to close the Convention in two days;
THAT the city be Philadelphia,

which Dr. Wise amended as follows:

THAT the Convention be held on July 3 and 4, unless in the judgment of the Board of Officers events in the next week or ten days make a change necessary.

The Chairman then called for a vote, and the motion, as amended, was CARRIED.

Dr. Wise then moved that the Convention be held in Philadelphia.

Rabbi Klein rose to make it clear that nothing that he said previously was meant to indicate that Philadelphia Zionists would be unwilling to have the Convention in Philadelphia, as he did not know how they would feel about it. However, he felt that if the Administrative Committee thinks that Philadelphia is the most desirable place, Philadelphia Zionists might be persuaded to see the thing as the Administrative Committee does. He urged, however, that before such a decision is reached a communication be sent to Philadelphia, asking whether the Zionists there feel themselves able to have the Convention there. He added that he agreed with everything that Mr. Rothenberg said, and at the same time was opposed to everything that he said.

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Dr. Wise then amended his motion to read as follows:

THAT after consultation with the representatives of the Philadelphia Zionists, the Convention be held in Philadelphia.

Mr. Goldberg expressed the opinion that, judging from Rabbi Klein's remarks, Philadelphia will gladly have the Convention there if the Administrative Committee so decides.

Judge Lewis said he would be very pleased to have the Convention in Philadelphia, providing it is done in a somewhat different fashion. He would like the matter to be brought up to the Philadelphia Zionist Organization. He would also like an invitation to come from Philadelphia to the Administration, asking that the Convention come to Philadelphia. He did not consider ~~the~~ July 3 and 4 good dates for Philadelphia; the last week in June would be better. He would like to see this year's Convention an outstanding affair, not by the mere discussion, but by the tone and the atmosphere created. Committees have to be appointed., etc., etc. For this reason he would like to have an opportunity to discuss the whole matter with some of his colleagues in Philadelphia.

Mr. Margulies stated that Dr. Wise's motion does not preclude any of these negotiations that Judge Lewis spoke about.

The Chairman then restated the motion as follows:

THAT the Administrative Committee decide on Philadelphia as the Convention city, subject to an invitation from Philadelphia; that if that invitation does not come, the Board of Officers will have to decide on another city.

Rabbi Klein inquired what are the financial obligations upon a community with respect to the Convention, aside from those functions which the community itself undertakes. He suggested that inasmuch as it is too late for a written communication, a telegram be sent to Philadelphia stating that it is the desire of the Administrative Committee that the Convention be invited to Philadelphia.

Dr. Rongy declared this to be the first time in his experience that the Administrative Committee has asked a local community whether it wants a Zionist Convention or not.

Rabbi Klein replied that he considers this an absolutely logical procedure.

The Chairman then called the question, and it was unanimously agreed

THAT the Administrative Committee vote in favor of holding the Convention in Philadelphia, subject to arrangements that the Board of Officers would make.

Rabbi Heller expressed the belief that this Convention has a very serious and difficult task before it, which is, the resuscitation of Zion-

ist life in America. We ought not come to the Convention unprepared. The Administrative Committee ought to work out some plan in advance, in view of the conditions prevailing throughout the country. He moved that the Chair appoint a Committee of 7 members of the Administrative Committee who should be entrusted with the task of working out and presenting to the Convention a plan for the reorganization of the Zionist Organization of America, giving due consideration to the District plan, the Regional plan, and the whole question of dues.

At this juncture, the Chairman introduced Mr. Nahum Sokolow, who delivered his farewell address, on the eve of his departure for Europe.

ADDRESS OF MR. SOKOLOV

"I have been in America five times to raise money; I would like to come here once to make Zionists. It would require a whole year for that, if not more. I consider that this has been neglected, and we must start from the beginning because the a-b-c- has been forgotten especially in view of the commentaries on Zionism which have been made. On the other hand, I realize that everywhere there is great interest in Palestine, and judging by the number of relatives people whom I meet have in Palestine, it reminds me of Mariampol. Mariampol is a small place between Poland and Lithuania, and yet one heard from many hundreds of thousands of Jews that they come from Mariampol, because they think it is more aristocratic to come from Mariampol. Everywhere I go people tell me they have relatives in Palestine. It is very inspiring to hear that and one cannot help having the impression that it is a very great country with hundreds of thousands of Jews. Everywhere, I realize, there is a very great interest in Palestine, especially interest in middle-class settlement. Very much depends upon the middle-class experiment. I say this not only on the basis of my experience in America but on the basis of information I received quite recently from Warsaw. Mr. Lewite reported about a meeting in Warsaw of the Polish Palestine Co. which is organized for business between Poland and Palestine. This company is supported by the Government for business. As you know, Poland is very much interested in exporting; on the other hand, it is a very good market for Palestinian fruits if they could adjust conditions to Polish customs duty. The middle-class movement in Poland is connected with this Polish-Palestine Co., and Lewite sent me a report which is very promising. According to this report, quite a number of middle-class representatives of all industries in Warsaw and Lodz are interested. Tens of thousands of Jewish families, having a little capital and the implements necessary for their industry, and a great deal of experience, appear to be ready to go to Palestine. Some of them went to Palestine for Pesach, looked into the situation and found that the prospects are very bright. So we may have a really new impulse in Palestine -- a combination of the two middle-classes of Poland and America. The Russian market is closed to Poland, and they are looking toward Palestine. The more middle-class settlers we have in Palestine, the more development. The whole question of certificates -- whether 2,000 or more, does not matter. Let us have opportunities for work and show the Government what our workers will do. If these middle-class people go to Palestine, if a number of Americans will settle in Palestine, it will have a very great influence in the building industry, for instance, because there will be a lack of accommodations in Tel-Aviv and Jerusalem, and in the building trade, thousands of workers could be occupied. This is already going on. So there is no reason for being pessimistic about developments in Palestine.

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I am not going to make a great report. If you insist upon having things to worry about, I could find some things. We have before us, undoubtedly, difficulties. There is still an open chapter which I for myself do not like, I hate it -- if I could eliminate it from history, I would -- and that is the question of the French Report and the whole Development Scheme. I don't like any development schemes. I don't believe that any development scheme or other interference of the Government would help us. I am afraid it would disturb us in every way, even if they give up everything. This process is going on. It may be a report of which I don't expect any good. We are helpless. There is an expert and he will give a report. All I want to do is to prepare you, and beg you to prepare public opinion for the impression that that report of the expert is not yet a decision. The expert was sent out by the previous Government -- by Passfield -- and this might have been done under the influence of the person who sent him. He remained of those people and he will give that report. The report will be published every soon. I do not expect any good. If it contains anything not favorable to us, there is nothing to be done but wait. We are going to fight that report. We have been promised by the British Government several times, and to these promises I attach certain importance. I do not think that they would take back the word they gave that nothing would be decided without participation and deliberation of the Jewish Agency. When that report will be published, then there will be this period of deliberations, and we shall have to fight against whatever the report contains.

"That is all I want to tell you. I don't know whether I will have another opportunity to appear before you, before I leave. I may leave in two or three weeks, maybe earlier. I consider it my duty to thank you for your great hospitality and indulgence. I did not do all I wanted, but it is not an easy matter for me, day after day, to address meetings after meeting and be kept as a pawn and kept until after midnight -- I am always the speaker after midnight. It is a wonder I did not collapse under the strain -- and I am surprised myself -- but it is only due to Zionism that I can still stand on my feet. But you did whatever was in your power to make my stay comfortable -- all of America did. Every place I visited the spirit was very good, and I managed to get some money. How much will be raised, no prophet in Israel can predict. In some places I was very much depressed not by the small amount of money, but by the calculation I made which was simple. I was told in all these places that three years ago they gave \$75,000, and now only \$10,000. I came to the conclusion that if the contributions are reduced from \$75,000 to \$10,000 it would necessarily mean that the work in Palestine would also have to be reduced in the same proportion. I communicated some of these pessimistic ideas to one of my friends, and he said, "the \$75,000 was exaggerated, but the \$10,000 you have in your pocket, which is a reality, and the \$75,000 was a romantic fiction. I was very deeply moved by this noble interpretation, but I am still depressed by the idea that it will be less, and if the income will be less in America, I ask myself a simple arithmetical question, how are we going to keep up our work in Palestine? The Executive made it a principle that no school would be closed and no colony dissolved -- a very nice principle -- everybody agreed on this principle -- theoretically it was agreed, but how it can be done with little money, I don't know, myself. But it is a special Jewish art, how to starve and to work; how to starve still more; how to do more than what was done, with one-fifth of the money and one-third more people coming into the country. Well, we will look to the genius of Israel to help us accomplish our task.

"I would like to see you all again -- in the best of circumstances in Palestine; if not in Palestine, then sometimes again here."

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The Chairman then called upon Dr. Nahum Goldmann, who spoke as follows:

"I had promised myself that I had already delivered my last speech in this country. I want to take this occasion to say but one word. I came to this country somewhat afraid, because of the condition in which I thought I would find American Jewry and American Zionism. I am returning considerably reassured. I know that the Organization has many faults, and I was very much interested to hear that your next Convention is going to deal with these problems. If I would have time I would say a few words that according to our experience it is always the same in building up an Organization. But I have found one thing which was very reassuring and comforting. I think that Zionist feeling is much stronger in this country than it has been for many years. After all, the feeling of the masses and the attitude of the Jews to Palestine is more important than the Organization itself. A bad Organization can be improved, but when the masses are indifferent or disinterested in Palestine ~~it is~~ the task is much more difficult. I think that whoever has an opportunity to travel around the country as I have had will find that the human feeling for Palestine is much better today than it has been for some time. This increases your responsibility. I think that there is without question the possibility to build up a strong movement in every respect, and to build up a strong Zionist Organization, making use of this Jewish Zionist material which exists in this country, and I hope that you will succeed, beginning with the next Convention, in making a start towards building up a really strong Organization. That is my deepest wish for you before leaving the country. I would like to add one more personal word. I was afraid to come to this country from a personal point of view. We have many Zionists who have visited this country and who came back with many complaints that you receive people warmly at first, and then you neglect them. I think I have been treated by all of you very nicely. While these four months for me have not been very easy months -- I am not used to making Zionist speaking trips for three or four months, nearly night after night, and sometimes twice a day -- I think it was worthwhile for me, not merely from the Zionist point of view, insofar as I succeeded in stimulating to some extent Zionist feeling in this country, but I have the feeling that I have made some friends in this country, and after all experiences in life, and in Zionist life, in particular, it is a most valuable thing to know that you have some friends here and there. That is the only thing that is not affected by the depression. I think I leave this country a little bit richer in friends. I think it was worthwhile for me to have thus enriched my life. I hope, too, to see you again, maybe here, maybe in Europe, best of all in Palestine. I hope that whenever I have occasion to come back here I shall find a still stronger Zionist movement built up on the basis of the strong Zionist sentiment prevailing."

The Chairman then called on Mr. Abraham Goldberg, Chairman of the Committee on Affiliated Organizations, for a report on the work of the Committee up to the present time.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RELATIONS WITH AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS:

The Chairman recalled that at a previous meeting a committee was appointed by the Administrative Committee, on relations with Hadassah, the Order Sons of Zion, the Youth Organization, as well as to consider the form of organization from the point of view of relations with the Z.O.A.

Mr. Szold then called upon Mr. Goldberg, the Chairman of that Committee, to report.

Mr. Goldberg stated that the real question confronting Zionism at present is the reformulation of the functions of the Zionist Organization for the purpose of revitalizing the Zionist Organization. He could not touch upon this now because that did not enter into the purview of his Committee which had to deal first of all with technical questions, but he hoped that later on his Committee will deal with this question which is so important to the life of the Zionist Organization. His function in the Committee was to clear the way for that question and do away with the question of relations between the Z.O.A. and its constituent organizations, which is a technical matter.

The Committee had before it the question of relations toward Hadassah, Order Sons of Zion, and the problem of organization of the Youth Movement in this country which has been neglected for so many years and the time has come when something must be done in this connection.

Mr. Goldberg reported further that the Committee devoted itself primarily to the question of Hadassah, and that he is not in a position to report any definite decision, though some tentative understanding was reached in the Committee, but the Hadassah Board has not yet discussed this matter officially. When that is done, the Hadassah representatives on the Committee are supposed to bring back a report, and we will decide.

A similar situation exists with regard to the Order Sons of Zion, Mr. Goldberg stated. He has conferred with the Officers of the Order, made to them certain proposals. The Order is meeting this evening and these proposals will be considered and their representatives will report at the next meeting of the Committee.

Mr. Goldberg reported also that he had conferred with representatives of the Youth Organization in order to gather information which may help the Committee in formulating its views as to what should be done in this important matter.

Reverting to the relations with Hadassah, Mr. Goldberg pointed out that after the last Convention and pursuant to a resolution adopted at the Convention, a Committee was appointed by this Administrative Committee to deal with this matter. This was partly due also because of the question raised by members of the Administrative Committee with regard to the agreement existing between the Z.O.A. and Hadassah, but it must be clearly understood that Hadassah did not take the initiative in raising this question, although Hadassah, too, was not for other reasons satisfied with the status quo. The Committee therefore first dealt with the question whether or not to continue the status quo, whereby Hadassah is permitted to send one delegate for every fifty members to the Z.O.A. Conventions, and one out of every three Congress delegates. Various opinions were expressed in the Committee. One suggestion was that Hadassah be entitled to one delegate for every 100,

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or 200, or 300 members. The Hadassah representatives absolutely refused to consider that suggestion since they felt that that means putting their Zionism on a lower basis. On the other hand, some persons expressed the opinion that in view of the fact that Z.O.A. members pay \$6 and Hadassah members only 50¢ to the Z.O.A., their representation cannot be on the same scale. Others felt that the amount of money paid to the Z.O.A. should not be on the basis for representation. Another argument advanced was that Hadassah ipso facto has been an autonomous organization for many years, that separate literature is issued by the Z.O.A. and Hadassah, that both Organizations operate entirely independently, and therefore they should function as parallel organizations, with their separate conventions, instead of majorizing the Z.O.A. conventions on some questions. Most of those present at the meeting of the Committee were inclined to favor the proposal with regard to having Hadassah function as a parallel organization. Mr. Goldberg stated also that another argument advanced, which he does not share, is that whereas Hadassah has a certain specific purpose in connection with a particular piece of work in Palestine, which is somewhat philanthropic, to which its members devote much of their time, there is danger that many members come into Hadassah for Philanthropic reasons only, their Zionism being somewhat diluted, and therefore it is not advisable to have Hadassah representation over-rule Z.O.A. representation. On the other hand, Mr. Goldberg pointed out, Hadassah may be much stronger than the Z.O.A. just because it is directly connected with Palestine and imbued with the Palestine ideal. Hadassah representation pointed out, Mr. Goldberg said, that Hadassah does ~~not~~ lay a great deal of stress on Zionist ideology and does as much to develop this ideology as the Z.O.A.

Some of the members of the Committee were in favor of having the status quo remain, but then it is unavoidable that this question of Hadassah be the first order of business at the forthcoming Convention. The consensus of opinion, however, was, Mr. Goldberg stated, that the best possible arrangement would be for Hadassah to be a parallel organization, elect its delegates to the Congress on the basis of its shkolim, these delegates being either men or women, that Hadassah continues to pay to the Z.O.A. 50¢ per member for general Zionist purposes in which both Hadassah and the Z.O.A. are interested; viz., propaganda, etc., and to have a joint board on which both organizations would be equally represented which would meet regularly to consider questions of a general Zionist character which may come up from time to time. Hadassah is to send visitors to the Conventions of the Z.O.A., and vice-versa. Under these circumstances, it may be possible to get maximum results and satisfy many Zionists. Mr. Goldberg added that a compromise suggestion was that Hadassah should remain with the Organization, but instead of having representation on the basis of one for every fifty members, it should be one for 100 members, but in order to do that it is necessary to have the consent of Hadassah, and he is not prepared to say that Hadassah will agree.

With regard to the Order Sons of Zion, Mr. Goldberg reported that the logic of the situation demanded similar treatment as Hadassah, but the representatives of the Order were not present at the meeting of the Committee and it was decided therefore to postpone the discussion on this question to the next meeting. In the meantime, as stated above, Mr. Goldberg had conferred with the Nasi and Secretary and some members of the Administration of the Order. Mr. Goldberg added that it has been pointed out that the Order has in its ranks many non-Zionists who are interested in the Order only for fraternal reasons, and therefore the same argument holds good for the Order as for Hadassah. Finally, Mr. Goldberg stated that nothing has been definitely decided, that negotiations are still going on, and that he would like to have the views of the members of the Administrative Committee.

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Report on Youth Matter:

Mr. Goldberg pointed out the need for a strong Youth Zionist Organization in this country at the present time. He suggested that a call be issued after the Convention to all those between the ages of 18 and 25 to join the Youth Zionist Organization, at an annual membership due of \$3. He suggested further that in organizing the Youth Zionist movement the emphasis should not be laid on general Zionist activity, but rather on Zionist education. He pointed out that there is only one problem at the present time in connection with the youth movement, and that is that the Youth Zionist Organization, of which there are about 500 members in New York, want to be represented at the Zionist Convention. They were promised at the last Convention that this matter would be taken up and that they would be able to participate at this Convention. The question then remains: How to organize the Youth Zionist movement in order to insure the future of Zionism in this country.

Mr. Goldberg concluded his report for the Committee on Affiliated Organizations by suggesting a thorough discussion on all three questions, namely, Hadassah, Order Sons of Zion, and the Youth Zionist Organization, with special consideration of the latter.

Rabbi Heller felt that the problems presented in Mr. Goldberg's report are far too remote to merit an evening of discussion when there are problems of much more direct importance which have to be taken up now, so that they may be thoroughly considered before the Convention. He again urged the appointment of a special Committee on Organization Problems.

Mr. Goldberg agreed with Rabbi Heller that such a Committee should be appointed, inasmuch as the function of his Committee (on Affiliated Organizations) heretofore has been to consider the question of relationship between the Z.O.⁴ and the various affiliated Zionist organizations and groups.

Rabbi Heller pointed out that it would be an error to make new agreements with Hadassah, the Order Sons of Zion, and the youth movement at a time when the Zionist Organization is uncertain of its own policy, and urged that this meeting proceed to the discussion of the larger question.

The Chairman stated that he had on a previous occasion asked Mr. Goldberg whether his Committee could not go into these other larger questions, and Mr. Goldberg felt that his Committee was pretty well loaded up with work. Mr. Szold felt, however, that Mr. Goldberg's Committee ought to consider these other problems, inasmuch as they have already studied these organization matters, and suggested that a further sub-division of this same Committee be appointed, thus enlarging the original Committee, Mr. Goldberg continuing as Chairman. The function of the enlarged Committee would be to study all the problems involved, and report back to the Administrative Committee. Among the problems to be studied by this Committee should be the matter of dues, the function of the Organization, whether the Region is a good idea, whether the whole territorial idea is a good idea, whether the club idea would be better, etc. Mr. Szold believed, however, that before he appointed a further sub-division of this Committee, with Mr. Goldberg as Chairman, there ought to be a certain amount of discussion before proceeding to take any action.

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Rabbi Heller expressed the opinion that the Chair was reversing the logical order.

Mr. Tulin believed that the question of the relations with affiliated Zionist Organizations should be taken up after we have formed some idea of what our own Organization is going to do about re-organizing itself. He felt that the question before us is much larger than how much Hadassah should pay this year, and how many votes they should have. He declared that if we have ever been united we are united this year in the face of what Dr. Heller has not exaggerated, -- the threatened disintegration of the Organization. He therefore saw no point in considering or even discussing possible arrangements with Hadassah, the Order Sons of Zion, etc., until after the Committee to be appointed by the Chairman has brought in a comprehensive report looking to the revitalization of the Zionist Organization. He stated that he found the same conditions as Dr. Goldmann reported, in going around to various Zionist meetings, namely, the increase of Zionist sentiment everywhere. At the same time membership in the Zionist Organization has greatly decreased. There must be some reason for this paradoxical situation, he believed. After the Organization is rebuilt we can then take steps to regularize and arrive at a mutually satisfactory basis of cooperation of all the affiliated bodies.

Mr. Rosensohn felt that what is proposed now is not the revitalization of the Organization, but rather the cutting off of some 30,000 members from the Organization. In other words, the Zionist Organization of America, which has exercised its voice as representing over 40,000 duly recognized members of the Organization, can now only talk for about 10,000. He too urged that the first question to be considered should be, how to increase the membership of the Organization, and how to revitalize the entire Z.O.A.

Mr. Rutenberg agreed that this is not the time to consider the question of relationship with affiliated organizations; that the practical question is the reorganization of the Z.O.A. He felt that the District Organization plan has fallen down completely, and that some other method of organization must be found to replace it.

Mr. Rothenberg proposed that the matter of Hadassah-Z.O.A. relationship should be postponed, as he did not think that anything could be gained by a discussion of the problem at this time. Furthermore, he did not believe that this is the time, when the Organization is practically bloodless, to go through a major operation. He expressed his preference for continuing the status quo.

Mr. Golberg believed that his Committee ought to deal with both the major and minor questions, -- the major question to be given first consideration. He thought it would be a mistake to ~~in~~ leave out the question of relationship entirely.

Mr. Spicehandler declared that Hadassah has financially injured the Zionist Organization, and that Hadassah delegates misuse their power at Zionist Conventions. He believed that Hadassah and the Z.O.A. are one Organization, but that Hadassah delegates should not vote on questions which do not concern them directly, and on which they are not fully informed.

Rabbi Heller stated that it would be a misfortune to use this meeting for the injection of issues that are much too small to be dealt with at this

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time. We are face to face today with something that goes very much deeper into the problems and the realities of Zionist life than the question of relationship with Hadassah. We have before us the entire question of the functions and direction of the Zionist Organization. It is not only a question of what we are going to do here, but rather a question of the relation of the Jews in the Galuth to Palestine. We ought to deal with this major question and not let ourselves be diverted to smaller questions. He agreed that there is a certain Zionist sentiment in the United States, but it is so vague and so formless and so unorganized that it exists outside of the Zionist movement. The need for Zionism among the Jews today is greater than it has ever been. We are back to the same situation which Herzl saw at the time of the Dreyfus trial, and the same situation will have to be met through the same means. We must approach Zionist life largely through Diaspora nationalism. We must try to crystallize and to organize this sentiment. We cannot any longer promote Zionism by paroxysms of protest. This problem he regarded infinitely more important than the relation of Hadassah to the Z. O. A.

Mr. Margulies stated that although he is a member of Mr. Goldberg's Committee he does not quite agree with Mr. Goldberg's conclusions. Mr. Goldberg should merely have reported progress. No definite decisions had been reached. It is not necessary for the Administrative Committee to know all the discussions that took place but merely the suggestions presented. Mr. Margulies added that he does not see any conflict between what Dr. Heller proposes and what the sub-committee is trying to do, since what Rabbi Heller proposes is that a Committee be appointed to draw up a program for the Zionist Organization for the immediate future, which, however, does not interfere with the work of Mr. Goldberg's Committee which is to continue its efforts, meet again and consider also the problem of dues. The Committee suggested by Rabbi Heller could devote itself to a discussion of the program of the Convention, program of activities for the coming year, taking cognizance of the present situation.

Mr. Imber said that it is obviously essential to strengthen the work of the Organization and its constituents by means of suggesting a youth group.

Mr. Kraemer proposed that Committee be appointed to discuss the organic life of the Organization itself and bring in a report at the earliest possible moment.

Mr. Rudavsky suggested that this Committee should be in addition to Mr. Goldberg's Committee.

Mr. Goldberg suggested that Rabbi Heller should be Chairman of such Committee.

Mr. Tulin was of the opinion that there should be only one Committee and if necessary additional persons should be co-opted from the Administrative Committee.

It was finally decided that Mr. Goldberg's Committee should deal with the questions raised by Rabbi Heller, and that the following should be added to the Committee: Rabbi James G. Heller, Mrs. Rose Halpern, Nelson Rutenberg, Abraham Spicandler, Isidore Hassin, Jochanan Rudavsky.

DR. HAIM YASSKY: The Chairman then introduced Dr. Haim Yassky, head of the Hadassah Medical Organization, one of the most valuable departments in Palestine.

Dr. Yassky stated that he did not wish to take any time at this late hour to tell of Hadassah's work in Palestine. He desired only to say what Palestinians expect from America, and that is, to hear the words "Eretz Israel" mentioned more frequently than is the case in reports of meetings held in America.

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YOUTH ZIONIST ORGANIZATION:

The Chairman read the following form of resolution in reference to the Y.Z.O. that was presented for approval of the Administrative Committee:

BE IT RESOLVED

1. THAT the Youth Zionist Organization, consisting of twelve groups in the Metropolitan area with an approximate membership of 475, be recognized by the Zionist Organization of America as an affiliated group.
2. THAT the membership dues payable by the Y.Z.O. to the Z.O.A. be \$1 per member, including the Shekel, for all members up to the age of 25.
3. THAT for all members in the Y.Z.O. over the age of 25, the dues payable to the Z.O.A. be \$3, including the Shekel.
4. THAT the age limits for entrance into the Y.Z.O. be 18 to 25 and that the Y.Z.O. retain its character as a mixed organization of male and female members.
5. THAT all details regarding representation of the Y.Z.O. at the Zionist Convention and on the governing bodies of the Z.O.A. be determined by the Board of Officers of the Z.O.A.

The Chairman pointed out that it was specifically understood that no subsidy was to be granted by the Z.O.A. or was to be expected. At the last Convention the matter was postponed, and the Y.Z.O. in New York has gone ahead without an official status so far as affiliation with the Z.O.A. is concerned.

The Chairman called attention to proposal No. 3, that after the members reach the age of 25 they become members of the Z.O.A., on the basis of their paying \$3 to the Z.O.A. He thought that the figure of \$3 is based on a misconception, for such persons should not wish to pay any less than the regular members, i.e., \$6 per annum. The proposal that is now made on behalf of the Y.Z.O. is that all details regarding representation to the Zionist Convention and on the governing bodies of the Z.O.A. be determined by the Board of Officers of the Z.O.A. With reference to that proposal, Mr. Szold suggested that the Administrative Committee tonight decide that the Y.Z.O. in New York City, confined to the Metropolitan Area, be recognized on the basis of \$1 per member per annum, including the Shekel, that the age limit be fixed at 25, and that the representation at the Zionist Convention this year on behalf of the Y.Z.O. be the same as it was last year, which was 1 to 100.

Rabbi Heller moved that this agreement be ratified by the Administrative Committee and recommended to the Convention.

Mr. Cornfeld suggested that the question of the youth be considered with regard to the whole country, not only with regard to New York alone.

Mr. Hassin proposed that the matter of youth be referred to the

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Board of Officers to take such action as it sees fit.

Mr. Rudavsky was of the opinion that the Administrative Committee is absolutely within its rights to act on this application for New York, and that Dr. Heller's motion is absolutely in order.

Mrs. Jacobs believed that it is not according to proper procedure for the Organization to have allied to itself a youth organization. The youth organization ought to be affiliated with the districts in New York City.

Mr. Inber replied that recognition of the Y.Z.O. in New York will affect no other group in the United States or in New York City.

Mrs. Jacobs explained that the Y.Z.O. might become affiliated with the New York Zionist Region, which would not mean that this group is being excluded and shut off from the Z.O.A.

Rabbi Heller added that there is no national youth Zionist Organization to be affiliated with the Z.O.A. today, and that they have not been recognized as a national organization.

It was finally moved, seconded, and unanimously agreed

THAT the Y.Z.O. be recognized for the time being along the general lines of the form of resolution submitted, subject to the approval of the Board of Officers.

REPORT OF FINANCE COMMITTEE:

The Chairman called upon Mr. Louis P. Rucker, Chairman of the Finance Committee, to present his report. Mr. Rucker submitted the attached Statement of Operation for the period of October 1, 1931 to April 30, 1932, with comparative figures for January 1, to April 30, 1931 - 1932. Mr. Rucker explained that the Finance Committee spent about \$2,500 more than the budgetary allowance for the period. This is due to the fact that most of the large expenses of the Organization are incurred during the first six months of the year. However, as he expressed great hopes that for the next six months the Finance Committee will be able to operate within the budget as originally set up. He asked that the Administrative Committee approve the excess in expenditures for the budget thus far, so that the Finance Committee may proceed with its business. He added that the Finance Committee intends to inaugurate further economies in the office after the Convention.

In connection with the decrease in income from membership, Mr. Rucker reported on his recent tour with Mr. Magida in the interest of membership, and on his observation that the present situation is entirely due to our form of Organization and our failure to enlist the youth for the Zionist movement.

Upon motion duly made and seconded, Mr. Rucker's report was unanimously approved.

NEXT MEETING OF ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE: It was decided that the next meeting of the Administrative Committee be held on Sunday, May 22.
Meeting adjourned at 12 o'clock midnight. Respectfully submitted.

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

STATEMENT OF OPERATION

FOR THE PERIOD OF OCT. 1st 1931-APR. 30th 1932

AND COMPARATIVE FOR JAN. 1st - APR. 30th 1931-1932

	Oct. 1, '31- Apr. 30, '32	Jan. 1st- Apr. 30, '32	Jan. 1st- Apr. 30, '31
<u>INCOME:</u>			
Memb. Dues Z.O.A.	\$ 31,494.67	\$ 24,228.42	\$ 34,057.35
" " O.S.Z.	1,269.27	1,269.27	522.50
" " Hadassah	13,632.45	11,964.45	14,721.50
Shekel "	2,000.00		
" O.S.Z.	1,269.28	1,269.28	
" Others	63.00	14.50	1,509.55
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>\$ 49,728.67</u>	<u>\$ 38,745.92</u>	<u>\$ 50,793.40</u>
Less Shekel Accrued	5,557.03	3,149.78	4,350.01
<u>TOTAL INCOME MEMBERSHIP</u>	<u>\$ 44,171.64</u>	<u>\$ 35,596.14</u>	<u>\$ 46,443.39</u>
<u>OTHER INCOME:</u>			
A.P.C.	\$ 6,000.00	\$ 6,000.00	\$
Miscellaneous	690.20	78.89	150.20
Deficit Fund.	5,327.86	2,788.06	3,939.00
Emergency Fund 1931			3,141.50
Publications.	867.48	430.37	3,227.55
<u>TOTAL OTHER INCOME.</u>	<u>\$ 13,385.54</u>	<u>\$ 9,297.32</u>	<u>\$ 10,458.25</u>
<u>TOTAL INCOME.</u>	<u>\$ 57,557.18</u>	<u>\$ 44,893.46</u>	<u>\$ 56,901.64</u>
<u>EXPENSES:</u>			
National Admin.	\$ 10,706.01	\$ 5,854.72	\$ 7,644.68
Org. & Membership	10,908.18	5,424.38	8,427.95
General Admin.	10,662.55	4,754.19	8,405.83
Publications.	7,290.86	3,935.49	9,724.05
Interest.	4,206.72	2,819.47	1,763.93
Subvention.	716.66	716.66	2,833.66
Accruals, (Payroll, etc)	1,318.02	964.54	740.00
Regional Refund	915.69	915.69	
<u>TOTAL EXPENSES.</u>	<u>\$ 46,724.69</u>	<u>\$ 25,385.14</u>	<u>\$ 39,540.10</u>
<u>EXCESS OF INC. OVER EXP..</u>	<u>\$ 10,832.49</u>	<u>\$ 19,508.32</u>	<u>\$ 17,361.54</u>
<u>DEF. REP. BEG. OF PERIOD</u>	<u>\$144,347.33</u>	<u>\$152,998.66</u>	<u>\$149,565.91</u>
Less Subseq. Adjust.. . . .	100.54	74.96	
Addition. " "			4,430.00
<u>TOTAL DEFICIT REPORTED.</u>	<u>\$144,247.87</u>	<u>\$152,923.70</u>	<u>\$153,995.91</u>
<u>DEFICIT APRIL 30, 1931.</u>			<u>\$136,631.37</u>
<u>DEFICIT APRIL 30, 1932.</u>	<u>\$133,415.38</u>	<u>\$133,415.38</u>	

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

STATUS OF THE DEFICIT

<u>DEFICIT REPORTED JAN. 1st 1932. .</u> (Adjusted)	\$152,923.70	
Additional-Cook & Elliott judgement settled for.	16,000.00	
	<hr/>	
<u>ADJUSTED DEFICIT JAN. 1st</u>		\$168,923.70
 <u>DEDUCT:</u>		
Surplus in operation - Jan. 1st- March 31st only	\$ 19,508.32	
Cash Contributions received for the liquidation of the judgement 5/5/32.	12,000.00	
	<hr/>	
<u>TOTAL DEDUCTIONS.</u>		\$ 31,508.32
		<hr/>
<u>DEFICIT</u>		\$137,415.38
 <u>DEFICIT AS PER BALANCE SHEET 4/30</u>		
	\$130,915.38	
Loans from J.N.F. and O.S.Z. to cover Cook Elliott judgement .	6,500.00	
	<hr/>	
<u>DEFICIT</u>		\$137,415.38

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE BOARD OF OFFICERS OF THE ZIONIST ORGANIZATION
OF AMERICA, HELD WEDNESDAY, MAY 18, 1932, 5 P.M., 111 FIFTH AVENUE

PRESENT: Messrs. Morris Rothenberg (in the chair) Judge Mack, Dr. Wise, Mr. Fierst, Abraham Goldberg, Magida; by invitation: Dr. Bernstein.

(Mr. Szold was ill and could not attend)

PALESTINE LABOR CERTIFICATES:

A discussion took place regarding the Palestine Labor Certificates now at the disposal of the Jewish Agency.

Dr. Bernstein pointed out that the Jewish Agency in Palestine may not be able to avail themselves within the next few months of the entire number of certificates, in which case there were American applicants who would utilize them. In this connection he reported that 300 persons of the Chalutz type had registered with the Palestine Department, possessing about \$500, in addition to ~~xxx~~ over 500 small businessmen with \$500 to \$2,000 each.

Judge Mack stressed the importance of issuing these Chalutz certificates only to persons who are physically fit.

It was finally decided to communicate with the Jewish Agency in Jerusalem, asking whether they intend to use all the 2,000 certificates, and if they cannot use the entire number, the Z.O.A. would be prepared to take over some of them. It was decided also that Mr. Goldberg should cooperate with Dr. Bernstein in this matter.

REPORT OF MR. GOLDBERG'S COMMITTEE:

Mr. Goldberg reported that the first meeting of the enlarged Committee took place on Monday evening, May 16. The meeting was very well attended, and on this occasion the discussion was not devoted to the question of relations with affiliated organizations but to a consideration of the scope and functions of the Zionist Organization of America, in accordance with the discussion at the meeting of the Administrative Committee on Monday, May 9.

Mr. Goldberg stated that all those present entered into an analysis and diagnosis of the causes of the present status of the Organization, the remedies which would revitalize it and a program for the future. Some members of his Committee pointed out that the Organization has been losing ground since the Convention in Atlantic City, 1927 and the controversy which developed there. Others felt that the present financial depression is chiefly responsible for the state of affairs now existing in the Z.O.A. Others stressed the fact that the Z.O.A. has stripped itself by creating new instruments, such as the Keren Hayesod, the Keren Kayemeth, Young Judaea, and the Economic Committee, which now work independently and whose activities do not reflect upon the Z.O.A. as an organization, and as a result, many Zionists throughout the country feel that the Zionist Organization is not necessary any longer, but that it is essential to contribute to and participate in these other organizations. The remedy that was suggested was the integration of all these activities into the Zionist Organization of America.

With regard to the question of dues, Mr. Goldberg reported, many members of his Committee felt that under present circumstances the \$6 due is too high and that is the reason for the loss in membership. Others said that the real reason is because the Zionist Organization appears to be interested

solely in Palestine, taking no interest in Jewish education in this country, ~~explicitly with~~ The new generation is quite active in English literature now. Many books of a Jewish character are issued, which indicates that something is going on among our people, but the Zionist Organization has no connection with it. We have not done anything with regard to Hebrew and Yiddish either. We stand outside of all this intellectual, cultural promotion. We have not won over our youth to our cause. Some believe, therefore, that unless the Z.O.^A. takes a profound interest in Jewish education here and becomes the guiding factor and champion, the Jews of America will feel that the Z.O.A. is not part of American Jewish life. If this change is brought about, many Jews who are interested in education will join the Organization, and the Z.O.^A. will become a living force in Jewish life in this country. Some members of his committee urged that the Z.O.A. voice its opinion on the economic situation and the discrimination against Jews in this country, and that one of the reasons why the masses of Jews have not joined the Organization is because the Z.O.^A. does not appear to take any interest in various Jewish problems here, and it should be its business to voice at least its protest against discrimination. Still others felt that we have devoted so much time to collecting money that we have become a collecting agency rather than an educational force. It was recognized, however, that unless we are freed from the obligation of raising the ^{budget}, we will never be in a position to promote education. It was urged also that the Z.O.^A. have some specific project in Palestine, so that every American Zionists will feel he is directly participating in creating something specific in Palestine. In this connection it was pointed out that human nature is so constituted that it is dissatisfied with doing things in a general way but prefers something specific which involves personal responsibility, and it was suggested that the Keren Hayesod become a colonization fund, which would help revitalize Organization.

Mr. Goldberg pointed out that from the discussion regarding the reformulation of the functions of the Zionist Organization it became evident that it is important for the Organization at this juncture to put the emphasis on one part of the work, to a far greater extent than it has up to now. Mr. Goldberg had called attention to the fact that the Zionist Organization had various functions at various times. In Herzl's time it was a matter of combating assimilation and arousing the opinion of the world in aiding us to secure Palestine for the Jewish National Home. When the young Turks appeared on the scene, the Zionist Organization projected itself into Turkey in order that the half million Jews living there then might become the bulwark of the settlement in Palestine. Then came the War and the Zionist Organization worked for the Balfour Declaration. After the War we became builders of Zion and began to do pioneer work through the Keren Hayesod. Now it may be important that the Zionist Organization becomes the building force in directing Jews to connect their personal fortune with Palestine. We are doing it now to an extent, but it is an unorganized effort. The scope of our activity will be then much greater and all efforts now going on would be credited to the Zionist Organization. In addition, there would be the raising of funds for the specific piece of work which the Z.O.^A. would undertake in Palestine.

Mr. Goldberg reported also that his Committee found it necessary in order to deal with all these problems, to divide itself into four sub-committees as follows:

1. Committee on Scope and Function of the Zionist Organization of America;
2. Committee on Dues;
3. Committee on Relations with Affiliated Organizations;
4. Committee on Form of Organization.

Mr. Goldberg added that the meeting last Monday night discussed briefly the political situation and it was the consensus of opinion that it is of the utmost importance to ~~educate~~ educate the general public outside of England, as to the justice of our cause, keep it informed about our struggles and achievements, so that when a special situation arises, public opinion in this country would rally to our side. This should be a propaganda carried on regularly and systematically, and not sporadically when a calamitous situation arises, ~~for~~ and for this purpose a special department should be created in the Organization. It is evident, Mr. Goldberg pointed out, that in every city there are some Jews who have considerable influence with prominent Gentiles who could take up the cudgels for the Zionist cause when occasion arises. It was felt, therefore, that while the Organization should continue its representations with the Mandatory Power and see to it that Great Britain carries out its mandate, at the same time there should be a proper preparation of public opinion as to the justification of Zionist claims to Palestine.

Mr. Goldberg reported further that it was the opinion of the Committee also that it is obviously essential to create, besides the regular \$6 members, a periphery of \$2 members who will have the right to elect delegates to the Congress and Convention. It is hoped to get 30,000 to 40,000 of such members who will not have to take an active part in the Organization itself or their respective districts, but who will be interested in the ~~cause~~ cause. Moreover if such a mass membership is secured, the question of Hadassah's majorizing Zionist Conventions will be removed.

Mr. Rothenberg inquired whether those who raised the Hadassah questions are willing to defer action until this last proposal is tried, to which Mr. Goldberg replied that it is his impression that they would.

Mr. Rothenberg continued and said that of course it is understood that the \$6 membership should continue.

Mr. Fierst feared that the creation of lower class of membership dues will result in a marked reduction in the number of \$6 members.

Dr. Wise called attention to the fact that the time has come when an effort must be made to reindoctrinate Zionist principles.

Mr. Magida inquired what incentive would be given to the Districts to secure this periphery, to which Mr. Goldberg replied that the incentive would be the increased Zionist propaganda.

Mr. Goldberg added that tomorrow there would be a meeting of the sub-Committee on Scope and Function, and on Friday, of the Committee on Relations with Affiliated Organizations.

APPOINTMENT OF COMMITTEE ON CONVENTION PROGRAM:

Mr. Goldberg urged that everything be done to stage the Convention properly, otherwise it will be as dismal as most of its predecessors. He proposed that in order to stimulate discussion the following papers be presented:

1. Conditions of the Jews throughout the world;
2. Conditions of the Jews in America;
3. Conditions of education in this country, especially in connection with youth.

Judge Mack suggested that each of these papers should be entitled also..... "and its effect upon Zionism", since a discussion on any subject relating to Palestine

estine or Zionism is pertinent at Zionist Conventions.

Mr. Goldberg added that there would also be a series of papers on Palestine, including education, economics, and the outlook for the future in view of recent developments.

Mr. Rothenberg inquired what the committee had in mind in connection with the paper on conditions in this country, to which Mr. Goldberg replied that the principal mass subject would be "discrimination" and the special effort a Jew must ~~make, and in this connection~~ make here to maintain himself as one, and in this connection, calling attention to the fact that Palestine is the only country where Jews do not have to pay a special price for their Jewishness which they do in other countries. He added that it is understood that all these papers will be submitted to the Board of Officers before final presentation at the Convention.

Mr. Magida suggested that a Committee on Convention Program be appointed and it was decided to place the following on such Committee, with additions if necessary: Nelson Rutenberg, Morris Rothenberg, Abraham Goldberg, Jacob de Haas, Morris Rothenberg (also one or two leading Zionists in Philadelphia).

It was suggested also that the following be asked to ~~xxxxxx~~ speak at the Convention, in connection with these papers: Dr. Horace M. Kallen, Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, Mr. Emanuel Neumann, Rabbi Barnett Brickner, Rabbi Louis I. Newman, Rabbi Solomon Goldman. This was referred to the Committee on Convention Program.

MEETING OF ACTIONS COMMITTEE:

Mr. Magida reported the receipt of a cable from Dr. Goldmann upon his arrival in London, advising that the meeting of the Actions Committee will probably open on July 14.

CONVENTION: In view of this information with regard to the meeting of the Actions Committee, it was decided to reaffirm the date of the Convention as July 3 and 4, in Philadelphia. It was decided also that the Convention should be held at the Benjamin Franklin Hotel.

In connection with the forthcoming Convention, Mr. Goldberg read the following memorandum from Mr. Spiegelman regarding the George Washington Forest in Palestine: "With reference to our conversation, may I suggest that you include in Philadelphia a special program in connection with the George Washington Palestine Forest project of the Jewish National Fund? This being the Washington Bicentennial Year and the Convention being held on July 4, it seems to the writer of this memorandum that a bicentennial feature in the form of an address by Dr. Stephen S. Wise and the adoption of a special resolution on the Washington Forest would be particularly appropriate and is likely to be appreciated greatly by the public and press of the country."

It was the opinion of Judge Mack that since there will be a number of George Washington dedications on the 4th of July, it would be appropriate for the Zionist Convention to adopt a resolution endorsing the Washington Forests in Palestine.

Mr. Magida presented the problem as to what should be done to increase the membership from now till the Convention. He added that the call for the Convention is going out this week, urging the Districts to take immediate and drastic steps to build up the membership. In this connection it was reported that Mr. de Haas is now in the South on a membership tour, and that the latest reports indicate that he has succeeded in enrolling fifty members in Birmingham, Ala.

Meeting adjourned 7 P.M.

Respectfully submitted,
IDA FLATOW

TENTATIVE CONVENTION PROGRAM

Saturday, July 2nd, 1932 :

9 P.M. - Meeting of the Administrative Committee

Registration of Delegates

Sunday, July 3rd :

9 A.M. Registration of Delegates

10 A.M. First Session

Greetings by Rabbi Max D. Klein, Chairman, Zionist District
of Philadelphia

" " Robert Szold, Chairman, Administration Z.O.A.

Communications

Election of Convention Officers

Appointment of Committee on Committees

Presentation of Reports

Address by Emanuel Neumann

1 P.M. LUNCHEON to be devoted to interest of American Palestine
Campaign

3 P.M. Second Session:

Presentation of Report of Committee on Plan and Scope
Discussion of Report

8 P.M. Third Session:

Continuation of Discussion of Report of Committee on
Plan and Scope

Monday, July 4th:

10 A.M. Fourth Session :

Report of American Economic Committee for Palestine
Report of Jewish National Fund
Report on Committee on Constitution
Report of Credentials Committee
Committee meetings

1 P.M. Luncheon - Avukah

3 P.M. Fifth Session:

Reports of Committees
Reports of Nominations Committee
Election of Officers

8 P.M. Sixth Session:

Completion of Business
Closing addresses

MINUTES OF MEETING OF ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE OF ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA, HELD ON SUNDAY, MAY 22, AT THE PENNSYLVANIA HOTEL.

PRESENT: Messrs. Robert Szold (in the chair), Mrs. I. S. Adlerblum, Miss Juliette Benjamin, Israel B. Brodie, Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, Benjamin Evarts, David Freiburger, Abraham Goldberg, I. Hassin, Joseph Kraemer, Dr. Nathan Ratnoff, Samuel J. Rosenschn, J. I. Rudavsky, Bernard Shelvin, Abraham Spicehandler, Abraham Tulin, Mrs. A. H. Vixman, Leo Wolfson, Dr. Samuel Wurzel, and Dr. Stephen S. Wise.

EXCUSES FOR NON-ATTENDANCE were received from Messrs. Robert M. Bernstein, Rabbi Barnett R. Brickner, Jacob de Haas, Isidor Goldberg, Judge Wm. M. Lewis, Louis Lipsky, Judge Julian W. Mack, Dr. A. J. Rongy, Elihu D. Stone.

The meeting was called to order at 12 o'clock noon, with Mr. Szold in the chair.

The Chairman called attention to the fact that this meeting was called for 10:30 A.M. The decision to call it for 10:30 was taken by the Administrative Committee at its last meeting, where problems were discussed which ran deep. We were discussing the entire future of the Organization. We felt that that discussion had only been begun at the last meeting, and would have to be continued. We took a deliberate decision to begin this meeting at 10:30. It is now twelve o'clock, and the attendance is most disappointing. We can discuss form of Organization, dues, districts, relations with other organizations until doomsday, but unless there is devotion on the part of those who have responsibility, we will never get anywhere. The Committee on Organization Problems, has had several sessions. Mr. Goldberg, who is Chairman, is here to report. We have not very much time before the Convention, which is to take place on July 3 and 4. It will take a number of meetings, where earnest attention will be needed, to prepare for the Convention.

April was the worst month for membership. The drop in dues was from \$6940 in April, 1931, to \$2660 in April, 1932. The figures for May are more encouraging. Whereas in May, 1931, the income from membership was \$3993, this year it is \$3940. The figures as to the number of members as of May 1, 1932, are 5100, as against 7021, for the corresponding date for last year. That refers solely to Z.O.A. members as distinct from the Hadassah or Order Sons of Zion membership.

The Financial statement shows that we are continuing along practically as had been planned by the Finance Committee and by this Committee. May will show an operating surplus, as planned, which goes to reduction of indebtedness.

The Chairman then referred to two items of general interest:

1) The anxiety as to the publication of the French Report. It seems the French Report will be bad. Whereas a few weeks ago it seemed that the report might be broadcast, now that danger seems more remote.

2) The Immigration Certificates. Two thousand immigration certificates, that is, for workmen, were approved by the Administration in Palestine. As Sokolow said, two thousand immigration certificates in our movement is nothing to speak about, certainly nothing to be happy about. The Jewish Agency Executive may not accept two thousand certificates, because the number is so inadequate, and so much less than what was demanded, but nevertheless we have an official Government finding that in Palestine there are two thousand addi-

tional vacant jobs. The Chairman said he doubted if that could be said by any other civilized Government in the world. America could not say that.

Before starting in on the business of the day, the Chairman asked Mr. Sherman, who represents the Jewish Legionnaires, to give a short report.

Mr. Sherman, an American Legionnaire who went to Palestine with the Jewish Legion in 1918, and remained to settle there, stated that he was sent to America on a two-fold mission: (1) to organize the American Legionnaires in this country who desire to settle in Palestine; and (2) to secure funds for colonization purposes. He spoke of the 2,000 dunams of land which the Jewish National Fund has appropriated for the colonization of the American Legionnaires in Palestine. He expressed the view that the Zionist Organization of America, which has time and again promised assistance to the Legionnaires, has some obligation in connection with supplying the funds necessary for building houses, stables, etc., on the land which has already been given to them. He suggested, therefore, that the Z.O.A. take up the question of securing, from the Keren Hayesod, funds for the American Legionnaires, for the purposes of colonization in Palestine, particularly in view of the fact that the Keren Hayesod has thus far not contributed anything for this purpose, despite repeated promises.

Mr. Evarts suggested that a Committee be appointed by the Administrative Committee to get in touch with the proper officials of the Keren Hayesod and see that proper action be taken on this matter, which has been pending for years. He pointed out that the Legionnaires had planned a separate campaign, but inasmuch as it was felt that this effort would injure the collections of the Keren Hayesod, they decided against such a move. He felt that now the Legionnaires ought to get more than mere promises, and that something concrete ought to be done.

Mr. Rosensohn suggested that if a Committee is appointed it should confer with the Legionnaires to determine upon a budget and to decide whether they are to get any relief or not, and what steps should be taken toward getting that relief. He recalled the fact that they were put into a so-called Budget B. class, when everybody realized that even Budget A. could not be secured, as a result of which the Legionnaires stopped their Campaign. Mr. Rosensohn suggested further that the Administrative Committee ought to see to it that some colonization scheme for the Legionnaires be worked out. Mr. Rosensohn then moved

THAT a Committee be appointed to confer with the representatives of the American Jewish Legionnaires and report back to the Administrative Committee or the Zionist Convention on a plan for their budget, as well as a concrete plan for securing their budget for them. SECONDED.

Mr. Kramer moved the following amendment to Mr. Rosensohn's motion:

THAT in addition, the Committee should report whether it is desirable to cooperate with the Legionnaires in their effort.

Mr. Rosensohn accepted Mr. Kramer's amendment.

Mr. Goldberg called attention to the genuine idealism displayed by the Legionnaires, who joined the American Legion for Palestine because they thought that by fighting on the side of the Allies they would help us achieve the Jewish National Home. He expressed the opinion that if the settlement of the Legionnaires had been immediately facilitated, we might have avoided the massacres that followed. However, many of the Legionnaires remained

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there and wanted to become farmers. The Government promised them land. However, the land proved to be in a desert, without water, and the plan had to be abandoned.

Mr. Goldberg pointed out that the Keren Hayesod promised to include them in its budget if they would give up their own campaign, but the Keren Hayesod has given them no assistance whatever. He therefore thought that they should be allowed to go out on a separate campaign, although he believed it would be better if some ^{other} satisfactory arrangement might be made.

Dr. Wurzel inquired as to the approximate number of Legionnaires who desired to settle in Palestine.

Mr. Sherman replied that about 100 Legionnaires are ready to settle. They have been allotted land for the settlement of 100 Legionnaires. Fifty more from America are also ready to go to Palestine. Since the Jewish National Fund is in sympathy with the efforts of the Legionnaires, Mr. Sherman felt that more land might be obtained, if necessary. However, they are starting with the settlement of the first 100 Legionnaires.

The Chairman felt there could be no objection to the appointment of the Committee to report, not to act. We might then be in position to discuss concrete proposals. The Chairman then appointed the following Committee: Benjamin Evarts, Chairman; Samuel J. Rosensohn, Abraham Tulin, Dr. Samuel Wurzel, Abraham Goldstein.

Mr. Kraemer called attention to the fact that one of the difficulties in the budget was The New Palestine and that therefore he could not see why it was necessary to have both The New Palestine and The Zionist which means a duplication of expense and effort, and content.

Mr. Wolfson replied that the Z.O.A. as such, issues The New Palestine to all its members, whereas The Zionist is a purely local paper issued by The New York Zionist Region, and is not an expense of the Z.O.A. budget.

Mr. Szold observed that this question ought to be directed to the officers of the Region, practically none of whom are present.

Mr. Goldberg pointed out that formally Mr. Wolfson is right, but in view of the present financial status of the Organization, this question must be reckoned with and decided at the forthcoming Convention.

Dr. Wurzel said that the circulation of the Zionist is not limited to New York, since a number of cities were asked for lists of Zionists for subscription purposes.

Mr. Rosensohn denied the right of the Region to publish official Zionist opinion in The Zionist, since this is an undisciplined act and makes for chaotic conditions.

Mr. Wolfson took exception to Mr. Rosensohn's remarks, and he pointed out that if The Zionist is abolished, none of the funds used for that purpose will go to the Z.O.A. He added that the Region through The Zionist expresses a different point of view on many Zionist questions, with some of which he does not agree, but that he could not see where there is any ground for moral indignation.

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Mr. Rosensohn agreed that any group of individuals has the right to issue a publication, but that no official body of the Z.O.A. can do so, and the region is an official body of the Z.O.A.

Mr. Shelvin believed that Mr. Rosensohn has raised a very important question, whether a branch of the Zionist Organization has the right to discuss matters in a particular way. He believed that people have the right to voice their opinions. When the Z.O.A. did not see eye to eye with the World Zionist Organization, whether it was agreeable to some Zionists or not, they had the right to express their opinion, and therefore in every way the Region has the right to express its opinion. He was of the opinion that the curtailment of free speech by the Z.O.A. will not do any good, and that there ought to be more freedom in American Zionism.

Mr. Goldberg agreed with practically everything said by Mr. Shelvin, but that he did not think the American Zionist leadership has interfered with freedom of speech or mind, and if things continue this way there will be no longer be a Z.O.A., but only freedom. He added that as long as the Region had a different point of view, it was justified in issuing its publication, but now that most of the opposition is gone and it is difficult to distinguish the difference, there should be only one paper, and therefore the matter will have to be taken up at the Convention.

Mr. Szold pointed out that this question implies criticism of the Region. He personally desired to criticize the Region, but he reiterated that this should not be taken up in the absence of the Officers of the Region.

Mr. Rosensohn denied Mr. Shelvin's statement that the Z.O.A. Administration at the time acted contrary to the W.Z.O. and therefore were not disciplined, since those who disagreed resigned from official position in order to give them freedom of speech. The Region is an integral part of the Z.O.A. and must act in a disciplined way. They have the right to criticize as much as they want, but official action must be taken by the Z.O.A.

Decided to postpone discussion to a later date.

The Chairman then introduced Dr. I.B. Berkson, who had just arrived from Palestine.

Dr. Berkson's address follows:

"I had no intention of addressing you today. I came here to America in an unofficial capacity, to get a glimpse of my family. Mr. Szold was kind enough to invite me to attend this meeting, and I was very glad to accept the invitation, so that I could meet some of my old friends and learn something about the Zionist situation here. My remarks to you, therefore, will of necessity be wholly of an informal character.

"In coming out of Palestine one is dominated by a feeling of buoyancy and hope, with reference to the work that is being done there. Jewish Palestine is undoubtedly going ahead. There is no spirit of depression in the Yishub; there is a strong spirit of determination. The Jews in Palestine are well aware of the many grave difficulties, the political and other obstacles which confront us in the work, but they are undaunted and the feeling of determination is winning out. The feeling of satisfaction which dominates the Yishub is due, undoubtedly in part, to the consciousness that something constructive is being done despite small resources and great obstacles. In the sense

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of depression which dominates American life, besides the objective factors, there appears also to be a psychological ~~ex~~ factor. People realize that a mess has been made of the situation despite extraordinary possibilities and unlimited resources. In Palestine, on the contrary, one feels that much has been achieved on the face of very evident difficulties, and the scene is dominated by a spirit of constructive and creative accomplishment.

"I do not mean to imply, however, that the gratifying situation is only psychological in character. Palestine this year has had what might be called a small boom. There is a brisk building activity going on in the cities, particularly in Tel Aviv and in Jerusalem, which some attribute, in part at least, to the fall of the Pound. People have withdrawn savings from the bank and put it into real property. In the orange industry there is, as you undoubtedly have heard, an unusually large development this year. It is estimated that about 17,000 dunam of orange land will be planted during the course of the year. The stimulation of orange plantations is perhaps also indirectly affected by the economic depression throughout the world. I have personally come in contact with a number of individuals who originally invested in plantations in Palestine as a sort of a side play, and who today find it their most secure investment, -- in some cases, their only source of livelihood. When I left, as I say, the economic situation was satisfactory, in fact, there was a shortage of labor.

"These optimistic remarks relate to the internal development of the Yishub. If we should turn our attention to the work of the Jewish Agency, quite a different picture would have to be ~~drawn~~ drawn. Our difficulties are greater than ever, and sometimes one feels that the united effort of the Jewish people which finds expression in the Jewish Agency, is about to break down. The work of the Agency is burdened with a great load of obligations taken over from the past. When the income is not received as estimated, these obligations must, nevertheless, be paid, and little is left for current activities. Our failure to meet the obligations would not only reflect upon the Agency itself, but would involve the institutions which have extended credit to the Agency, and would also destroy the credit of a number of our settlements, with disastrous results. The present Executive has done everything in its power to meet the situation through reduction of expenses and retrenchment. The Zionist Congress and the Council of the Jewish Agency meeting at Basle already made radical reductions last year, and the Executive of the Jewish Agency has made further savings, but despite all of these efforts, we cannot maintain even the present reduced activities, because the collections in America have fallen below even the minimum estimate given at the beginning of the year. The collections in the rest of the world, despite the fact that depression exists elsewhere, are keeping up to the mark. Our very difficult situation is, in the last analysis, due to failure in America. I do not say this in any spirit of blame. I know that the depression here is overwhelming, and certainly it is not the business of someone from the outside to come and lecture to you. It is well understood that an extraordinary effort is being exerted by the leaders in America to meet the situation. But these are the facts, and we cannot hold out there without support from this side.

"Everything has been cut down to a minimum. The colonization budget has been reduced to the lowest figure, and any further reduction would have meant the closing of colonies, and we understand in Palestine that the American Zionists are united in the idea that no colony should be given up.

"As far as the educational work is concerned, I dare not tell you how bad the situation is. The system of education which is built up as a result

of a generation of devoted labour of teachers, is being threatened with collapse. The budget this year has been cut in half, practically, and we are not receiving that half. The Yishuv has increased its own participation in the education budget and is straining itself to do the best it can; but it should be understood that in education, as in other activities, all the communities in Palestine cannot be expected to be self-supporting in the full degree. The teachers have made every effort to stick to their posts, and their suffering is very great. When people talk about suffering here in America, they generally mean, as far as most are concerned, giving up luxuries or lowering the standard of life. When we say 'suffering' in Palestine we mean not having the very basic necessities necessary to keep body and soul together in the simplest sort of way. The teachers' and officials' salaries are paid six months in arrears, and you can understand what that means in a country where the salaries are very low and do not permit the individual to accumulate savings.

"It is obvious also that the economic difficulties of the Jewish Agency does not strengthen its prestige or its political power.

"Perhaps I ought to tell you also that some of us in Palestine feel that too much is being made in the Jewish press in America of the political difficulties -- of the imaginary ones as well as of the actual ones. I think the Jewish press and Zionist leaders could render great assistance in turning the attention of the Jewish public to the economic development in Palestine, to make the Jewish public, so to speak, economical-minded rather than political-minded. If this should be done there would be a more hopeful story to tell than can be told, with reference to the political situation. Moreover, without implying that the present political weather can be regarded as favorable by anybody, still it must be admitted that a tremendous amount can be done within the present political framework, and from a purely pragmatic point of view, it would be fruitful to stress this. Also, in the last analysis, the solution of our basic political problem, the Jewish-Arab question, can be found only in the economic approach. This problem will not be solved except through a very intensive development of Palestine. In this connection, I always like to use the phrase employed by Mr. Brodie -- who has just walked in -- 'to increase the absorptive capacity of Palestine'. That is the only way in which we can obtain a ~~ix~~ radically larger number of Jews in Palestine. It is then an intensification of the economic development in Palestine -- both in agriculture and industry -- which is the key to the political problem.

"Another fundamental factor is the strengthening of the determination of Jews all over the world to build Palestine. The Jewish Agency must be regarded not only from the formal point of view as a union between the classes and the masses in the control of the Palestine work; it must be seen rather as a union of all Jews in the support of the Palestinian work -- a union of those enrolled in the Zionist Organization and of others who are interested in Palestine, but who, for some reason or another, good or bad, do not care to enroll as official members of the Zionist Organization. The term 'non-Zionist', as widely recognized, is very unfortunate, and a misnomer. The term 'Friends of Palestine' hits the mark, and should take the place of the term 'non-Zionist'. The union is between Zionists and other friends of Palestine, not officially enrolled as Zionists. Plans have been discussed here in America in the direction of developing a backing for the Jewish Agency on a wide and democratic basis, and I should like to say that the Executive of the Jewish Agency in Palestine agrees that the time has come when definite steps must be taken in this direction.

"Summarizing, I should say, that there are two fundamentals: (1) To increase the absorptive capacity of Palestine through intensive economic development; and

(2) to strengthen the determination of the Jews in the Diaspora to build Palestine. If the determination of the Jews outside of Palestine were as great as the determination of the Jews inside of Palestine, there would be no doubt of the issue. These two factors -- strong roots in Palestine and determination on the part of Jews all over the world -- are the two primary, fundamental factors, and the basis of whatever political strength we may have. This is the point that I should like to emphasize: that the political strength must be seen as derivative, as the resultant of these two more deep-lying factors.

"I do not know whether it was my business to talk to you about such matters Mr. Chairman, but these are some of the notions in my mind with reference to the Palestinian situation, and I thank you for giving me the opportunity to express them."

Mr. Evarts pointed out to Dr. Berkson that before he arrived, a representative of the Legionnaires came before this meeting, and he asked Dr. Berkson whether the Executive had done anything in behalf of the Legionnaires.

Dr. Berkson replied that he is not informed on that question.

Mr. Goldberg believed that for Dr. Berkson's information it should be pointed out that there is one group in this country that is Keren Mayesed or Jewish Agency minded, that they have given up most of their time to building up the Jewish Agency and collecting funds for the budget. The other group is building minded. They realize that it is essential to have the Jewish Agency but also to collect as much money from public funds with which to build Palestine, as possible.

With regard to Dr. Berkson's reference to "politically minded", Mr. Goldberg said that in this connection, it is necessary to revert to 1929 and the situation in Palestine at that time, -- the Shaw Commission, the Simpson Report, the investigation, the White Paper, and that at that time politics had to predominate, otherwise everything would have collapsed. It was the duty of the Zionists here to arouse public opinion and indignation, which they succeeded in doing. He added that Mr. Shelvin's point is well taken, that at that time when we ourselves were protesting, it would have been inadvisable psychologically and otherwise to urge people to go to Palestine and invest their money there, and unfortunately, as a result of this situation the impression was created that on account of the general sense of insecurity economic work cannot be undertaken in Palestine.

Mr. Goldberg believed that American Zionists deserve credit, for as soon as the situation calmed down, the work of the economic bureau was started. He pointed out also that the representatives of the Maccabiad in this country were encouraged, and lately the American Organization has been helping economically. If the French Report will be unfavorable, it will be necessary to have mass protest, and this, of course, will interfere with activity for economic development. However, he pointed out that the present Administration of the Z.O.A. has done its utmost during the past year to emphasize the economic development rather than the political situation. He added that the issuing of the 2,000 certificates recently has done a great deal to encourage settlement in Palestine. He wanted Dr. Berkson to understand this, so that when he returns to Palestine he can explain why this situation arose, and that arousing mass protest was undertaken here at the request of Palestine.

Mr. Szold thought that Dr. Berkson's report is a correct introduction for

our major business of the day.

Meeting adjourned at 2:15 P.M., till 2:45 P.M.

The Chairman reopened the session at 3:15 P.M. In view of the small attendance, it was decided to adjourn for the day, and to hold the next meeting of the Committee on Tuesday evening, June 7, at 7 P.M., and, if necessary, to continue on Wednesday evening, July 8.

Respectfully submitted,

MINUTES OF MEETING OF ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE OF THE ZIONIST ORGANIZATION
OF AMERICA, TUESDAY, JUNE 7, 7 P.M., at the ZIONIST OFFICES.

PRESENT: Robert Szold (in the chair) Mrs. I. Adlerblum, Robert Bernstein, Jacob de Haas, Bernard S. Deutsch, Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, Abraham Goldberg, Mrs. David Greenberg, I. Hassin, Louis Lipsky, Judge Julian W. Mack, Morris Margulies, Samuel J. Rosensohn, Morris Rothenberg, J. I. Rudavsky, Nelson Ruttenberg, Bernard Shelvin, Abraham Spicehandler, Abraham Tulin, Mrs. A.H. Vixman, Morris Weinberg, Leo Wolfson.

EXCUSES FOR NON-ATTENDANCE were received from Rabbi Barnett R. Brickner, Benj. Evarts, Rabbi I. H. Levinthal, Dr. A. J. Rongy, Elihu D. Stone, Dr. Stephen S. Wise.

The Chairman stated that this meeting is called in anticipation of the Convention and primarily to consider the report of the sub-Committee on Plan and Scope. He had anticipated that the discussion of those matters would enlist the interest of every member of the Administrative Committee, and he had hoped to have a really full meeting this evening.

REPRESENTATION OF ORGANIZATIONS AT CONVENTION:

The Chairman stated that it has been the custom to invite certain Organizations to send representatives to the Convention, as delegates with voting rights, and certain other Organizations to send representatives as guests, as follows:

Jewish National Fund.	3	delegates with voting
Histadruth.	"	" " rights.
Junior Hadassah.	"	" " "
Young Judaea.	"	" " "
Avukah.	"	" " "
American Jewish Physicians Committee.	2	" " "
American Jewish Congress.	3	"
I.O.B.B.	3	"
I.O.B.A.	3	"
Brith Sholom.	3	"
Legionnaires.	3	"
Federation of Palestine Jews.	3	"
Maccabee Organization.	3	"
Progressive Order of the West.	3	"

Mr. Magida stated that last year the I.O.B.S. felt that they were entitled to delegates with voting rights, because among their ranks are a large number of Shekel payers. Furthermore, they have adopted a plan for raising money for a colony in Palestine this year.

Mr. Margulies moved that we proceed this year along the same lines as we proceeded in previous years.

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS: The Chairman reported that the American Jewish Congress has a Conference on June 25, 26, and 27 in Washington, D. C., and the Z.O.A. has been invited to send ten delegates, just as in previous years.

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It was moved and seconded

THAT the delegates named (Messrs. Shelvin, Goldberg and Weinberg) be appointed, and in addition, the others are to be appointed by the Chairman.

CARRIED.

AMERICAN PALESTINE CAMPAIGN:

The Chairman called on Mr. Lipsky to report on the progress of the American Palestine Campaign. Mr. Lipsky stated that funds collected had been sent to Palestine as quickly as possible. The only disturbing factor is that the Executive in Palestine want to have an estimate of the income for the rest of the year. Mr. Lipsky said he is not in a position to make an estimate, and the Executive cannot make a budget for next year unless they have an idea as to what will come in. He thought the collections this year, as far as the country is concerned, are not so bad, but as far as New York is concerned, the collections are only about one-half of last year's amount. The total sent to Palestine from January 18, to date, is about \$150,000. The total amount of money in hand is about \$220,000.

Mr. Margulies inquired how does the amount of money sent to Palestine this year compare with last year's remittances.

Mr. Lipsky replied that we are about \$10,000 behind, but last year certain moneys went over that were not included in the Campaign.

At this point Mr. Robert Bernstein reported that Philadelphia completed its Campaign last night (Monday, June 6) and that more money will come in from Philadelphia this year than last. Last year's campaign was a joint effort, whereas this year's Campaign was a separate action. This year they raised \$38,000, of which about \$30,000 will be in cash, as compared with \$20,000 last year.

RESOLUTION ON DEATH OF JOSEPH COWEN:

It was moved, seconded and carried

THAT a resolution be drawn on the death of Joseph Cowen, veteran English Zionist.

MEETINGS OF ACTIONS COMMITTEE AND THE ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE OF THE JEWISH AGENCY: The Chairman read the following cables from London, in reference to the meeting of the Actions Committee and the Administrative Committee of the Jewish Agency:

MAY 31, 1932

"ZIONISTS SZOLD NY
ADEQUATE REPRESENTATION AMERICAN ZIONISTS NONZIONISTS ACTIONSCOM
ADMINCOM ESSENTIAL PLEASE ASCERTAIN HOW MANY WILL ATTEND SECOND
HALF JULY STOP TO ENSURE FULL PARTICIPATION WILLING POSTPONE
FEW DAYS STOP DESIRABLE NONZIONISTS ALSO PRESENT DURING ACTIONS
COM IF POSSIBLE STOP WIRE ZIONIBURO"

JUNE 6, 1932

"ZIONISTS NEWYORK
WIRE RESULT INQUIRE RE ATTENDANCE ACTIONSCOM ADMINCOM MATTER EXTREMELY"

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URGENT

ZIONIBURO"

The Chairman reported that letters had been sent out asking for replies, so that we could send across the information that was requested, and so far we have had replies from only the following persons: Rabbi Wolf Gold, Louis Lipsky, Mr. Lamport, Rabbi A. Teitelbaum, who answered in the affirmative; 20 who answered in the negative; and 2 who were undecided. The Chairman inquired if any additional information can be given tonight by members of the Actions Committee, so that some kind of a report can be sent over.

Mr. Goldberg expressed the belief that some of the people have not answered because they did not know whether or not their expenses in connection with the trip will be paid.

Mr. Tulin voiced the same opinion.

At this point Mr. Szold asked Judge Mack to preside.

Judge Mack called on Mr. Goldberg, Chairman of the Committee on Scope and Form of the Z.O.A. and Relations With Affiliated Organizations, to report on the findings of his Committee.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON PLAN AND SCOPE:

Mr. Goldberg reported that the Committee had had a number of meetings, its work having been subdivided among four sub-committees: Committee on Scope and Function, Committee on Form of Organization, Committee on Relations with Affiliated Organizations, Committee on Youth. There were differences of opinion, primarily on the question of form of organization, but unanimity was reached on many questions regarding scope. Many members of the Committee felt that unless funds will be available it will be impossible to carry through the proposals which the Committee will make. The Committee first diagnosed the causes for the present situation of the Organization and then sought remedies. In this diagnosis it was recognized that the Organization is losing its membership despite the fact that Zionist sentiment is very strong. It was recognized that the decline in the collections for Palestine was primarily due to the financial depression, but also that the present method of collection may not be the proper form any longer. A number of reasons were advanced for the decline in membership, among them being the cessation of immigration which used to provide ready-made Zionists with their Jewish background and training. Another reason is that the older generation of Zionists is gradually disappearing, and for years no real effort has been made to attract the youth to the movement.

Some members of the Committee on Plan and Scope pointed out also that for various reasons we have been turned into a collecting agency, leaving the Zionists little time to carry on a program of education, although it was admitted that a certain amount of propaganda is entailed in such activity, but not the kind that strengthens the Zionist Organization.

Others pointed out that the Zionist Organization has stripped itself of many of its functions. The Z.O.A. created various institutions like the National Fund and the Keren Hayesod which are now autonomous and as a result the Zionist Organization has lost prestige, and unless these activities are reintegrated with the scope of activities of the Zionist Organization, it may lose even more strength.

Some members of the Committee felt also that the District is not the proper unit for Zionist activity, and that there should be a more homogeneous grouping into clubs, and this, it was thought, would help strengthen the Organization.

The foregoing, Mr. Goldberg pointed out, constituted the diagnosis. The Committee then went into the question of scope and function of the Z.O.A. Many members called attention to the fact that the function of the Zionist Organization has changed at various times and that the present situation may demand a re-statement of the functions of the Z.O.A.

There was unanimity of opinion among the members of the Committee that there were many potent reasons for the continuance of the Zionist Organization. Among the reasons advanced were the need for continuing political agitation and the public education with respect to our Cause, for the purpose of assuring an enlightened public opinion in our behalf in the event of difficulties with the Mandatory Power or our neighbors in Palestine. It was felt that the Z.O.A. should designate someone to deal with this question, prepare material and circulate the necessary information among the public at large and the Districts.

In response to the natural query that funds are not available for such efforts, the Chairman stated that if our Districts are better informed they would be able to conduct their activities in a more enlightened manner, with the result that more interest would be created and the Organization would have more members and more funds at its command.

It was felt that the Z.O.A. should be the instrument to distribute information and arouse interest in economic activities in Palestine, and that such Economic Committees be appointed in every community in order to encourage settlement in Palestine.

Mr. Goldberg reported further that the sub-Committee felt that such Economic Committees should carry on propaganda under the following heads:

1. To stimulate interest among Jews to settle in Palestine individually or in groups;
2. To encourage the purchase of products made in Palestine;
3. To foster a desire among Jews to visit Palestine to help arrange tourists groups properly supplied with adequately trained lecturers and guides, and also to form groups of students to visit Palestine during their vacation periods;
4. To encourage Jews to invest in Palestine in various enterprises, such as the Ruttenberg Plan, the Dead Sea Concession, the Mortgage Bank, etc.

It is hoped that every Zionist unit will have a Tozereth Haaretz Committee, for the purpose of strengthening the desire of Jews to purchase Palestinian products. It was suggested that it might be possible to arrange that the Economic Committees of the various Zionist units might secure Palestine produced articles at a special discount, and that discount be utilized for the maintenance of propaganda incidental to the work for Tozereth Haaretz.

Mr. Goldberg reported further that the third point agreed upon by the sub-Committee is propaganda or education. In accordance with varying factors, the manner in which the work of education has been carried on has been altered, from time to time. At present, our propaganda must, in addition to educating our people to the need for a homeland, disseminate information on the results of our efforts in Palestine, bring Palestine home to the Jewish people in the Diaspora, and must also make Jews conscious of the value of Palestine as a moral force in their struggle to maintain their position in the Galuth. It is the further function of propaganda to call the attention of the Jews to the cultural values which are being created in Palestine, which might be utilized for the purpose of enriching their own lives in the lands where they live. The propaganda must be designed so as to constitute a bridge between Palestine and the Diaspora, which will serve as the passageway for all Jewish forces for the rebuilding of Eretz Israel, and as a roadway over which those revitalizing forces that are the results of the reconstruction work in Eretz Israel might be brought to the Diaspora, to the end that the national and cultural position of Jews in the Galuth may be strengthened.

It was further suggested that a special month or months each year be designated as "Organization Month", when our best forces are sent around throughout the country to get members for the Organization.

On the question of the youth groups there was unanimity among the members of the sub-Committee. It was felt that it is one of the primary duties of the Education Department to organize such youth groups, between the ages of 18 and 25, all over the country. After 25, they should automatically become members of the Z.O.A., paying regular membership dues. The members of the Y.Z.O. are to pay annual dues of one dollar to the Z.O.A. The youth groups should come together with the local Districts or Clubs whenever possible. It was suggested, furthermore, that the Y.Z.O. be allowed delegates to the Convention at the rate of 1 to every 100 paid-up members. It was the decision of the Committee that there be separate groups of young men and separate groups of young women, otherwise Junior Hadassah is bound to lose members. However, an exception may be made in the Metropolitan District. Where the young men and the young women are organized separately, joint meetings should be held occasionally, so as to insure closer cooperation between them.

The sub-Committee was unanimous in the opinion that the District, as such, is not sufficient; that clubs should be organized whenever necessary or preferable. However, there was difference of opinion on the question of dues, -- whether there should be only one kind of membership or two kinds of membership, i.e., whether there shall be only regular members at \$6 per annum, or whether there should be both regular members and members at large. It was felt that if there were a membership-at-large, at an annual due of \$2 -- \$1.00 to go to the Z.O.A., 50¢ for the Shetel, and 50¢ to go to the Region or District -- the membership of the Organization would be greatly enlarged.

Mr. Goldberg stated that the sub-Committee could not reach unanimity with regard to the amount of the annual dues. Some members felt that the \$6 dues should be abolished, and replaced by a fee of \$2 per annum to the National Organization, with the understanding that the District or group might be free to fix for its own activities such dues as may be deemed advisable. The sub-Committee was in agreement ~~with~~ that Conventions of the Z.O.A. should be held only during Congress years, and prior to the Congress, except in the event of an extraordinary situation. In intervening years it was felt sufficient if the officers of Regions throughout the country were to gather for

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the purpose of considering matters of policy and budget, but should not have the power to elect officers of the Organization.

if

The sub-Committee was of the opinion that/Conventions were held biennially officers elected would have greater opportunity for carrying out their policies. With greater responsibility placed upon regional authorities, local leadership would be developed which, in most instances, would be well prepared to deal with the problems. It was believed, furthermore, that a biennial Convention would attract greater interest. One of the problems which the Committee was asked to consider was that of relationship with Hadassah and the Order Sons of Zion. Two opinions were advanced: one, that Hadassah and the Z.O.A. should be two completely independent parallel Organizations. The other suggestion advanced was that the status quo be maintained. This implies that Hadassah should continue to pay affiliation fee to the Z.O.A. and continue to be entitled to elect delegates to the Conventions of the Zionist Organization of America, on the basis of one delegate for every fifty members.

The consensus of opinion was in favor of continuing the status quo. It was believed, however, that there should be closer understanding between the two Organizations, local as well as national; that there should be a regular interchange of speakers and literature between the Chapters and Zionist groups, in order that all might become thoroughly acquainted with the problems confronting the respective Organizations.

It was suggested that a joint board consisting of leaders of both Organizations be created, national as well as local, in order to foster mutual interests. In the event of status quo, Mr. Goldberg reported that Hadassah would ask that in such years when there is no general election for delegates to the Congress, Hadassah shall be entitled to not more than one-half the total number of general Zionist delegates in this country. Under present circumstances, Hadassah is entitled to a great many more delegates than the Z.O.A. But, Mr. Goldberg reported, they do not desire to take full advantage of their great membership. However, they wish to reserve the privilege of naming, as their delegate, a general Zionist, rather than only one who is a member of Hadassah.

With respect to the Order Sons of Zion, the sub-Committee was in favor of continuing the status quo, that is, that the Order Sons of Zion continue to pay to the Z.O.A. an affiliation fee of 50¢ per member annually.

Integration of Funds:

One of the subjects for consideration by the sub-Committee was that of integrating the various Zionist funds within the scope of Zionist activities. A number of members of the Committee were heartily in favor of the idea of making the Z.O.A. responsible for these functions directly. There are, however, tremendous constitutional difficulties involved, particularly in view of the fact that the Agency is in existence and the National Fund is a separate institution. The Committee could not submit any definite report on the question. Mr. Goldberg pointed out that in a memorandum ~~xxxxx~~ that had been circulated by Mr. Szold he had proposed that the Z.O.A. should assume a specific task within the budget of the Jewish Agency. Some persons proposed that if the idea of a specific task is adopted, that task should be the colonization work. However, Mr. Goldberg said, the sub-Committee had not arrived at any decision in the matter.

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Mr. Goldberg then suggested that the meeting take up first the questions on which there was more or less unanimity of opinion, which include political activities, economic undertakings, propaganda, youth and the changes regarding dues, district and regions, and convention. If these are decided there will be no difficulty on the question of the relations with Hadassah and the Order Sons of Zion which will be solved automatically.

Mr. Tulin pointed out that he is a member of the Committee on Plan and Scope and that he attended every meeting, and that while he did not wish to disagree with the report of Mr. Goldberg, he was obliged to state that practically no vote was taken by the whole Committee on any of these questions, though he agreed with Mr. Goldberg that insofar as it is an expression of opinion, the former's report gives a picture of the discussions in the Committee, with the exception of one or two matters which actually did not come before the entire Committee, though they may have been discussed in the sub-Committees. Mr. Goldberg then read the political resolution of the Committee. (See enclosed resolutions, Nos. 1 - 7 inclusive).

Mr. Wolfson pointed out that after all the various suggestions proposed by the Committee have been attempted at one time or another, and that if the Organization had the means and the personnel it could do all these things. The real questions are: Shall the dues be \$6 annually? Shall there be one kind of membership, or two or three different types? Therefore, the question to consider is that the \$6 dues does not at present encourage membership. At the last Convention it was suggested that beside the \$6 membership there be an associate membership of \$2. In addition it has been suggested by Mr. de Haas that there be a unit due for Zionists, which will cover the various funds proportionately. This would do away with drives and enable the Organization to concentrate on membership, besides covering the budget and expenses.

Mr. Goldberg pointed out that at the meeting of the Administrative Committee on May 9 when the question of dues came up, Rabbi Heller emphasized the fact that this could not be decided without a preliminary consideration of the scope and function of the Organization.

Mr. Lipsky said that any number of times we have had demands made upon us to the effect that the time has come to reformulate the function of the Z.O.A. and find a new solution to the difficult problems. Then somebody would begin to assemble all the things that were in the Zionist movement and present them for consideration or acceptance. He pointed out that Mr. Goldberg has been responsible for two or three such reformulations. All this is very interesting and very valuable, but in the life of an Organization one cannot begin all over again and expect that there will be any value in reconsideration of all fundamental principles and get to some working scheme as a result of adopting these fundamental principles. It is then that the real work begins, and there must be some relation between what is accepted and what we can do. In this connection he pointed out that a Political Department will involve considerable ~~expense~~ expense. He then asked how Tozereth Haaretz will be established and who is going to do it, because it is utterly impossible for everything that has to do with Palestine to go through the conduit of the Zionist Organization. He pointed out that a number of organizations have fostered the sale of Palestine products but have failed. He believed therefore that this convention like all other conventions will endorse various undertakings, but that it is most important to consider the practical way in which these things can be realized with due consideration to the fact that it is essential to have funds with which to do them.

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Mr. Szold expressed his approval of the procedure being followed. He thought it better to review the general situation, as was being done, and to come down gradually to the question of methods and practical means, for if agreement is reached in general as to the four headings concerning which the sub-Committee was in practical unanimity, we come very rapidly to the question of dues and to the question of organization.

Mr. de Haas expressed his objection to Mr. Goldberg's report, inasmuch as it involves the Organization in a repetition of the confusion through which it is passing at the present time. He felt, however, that although each one of the points named is good, the Committee must decide not on a general program, but on a specific program,-- something by which the Organization can carry itself. We must put aside, for the moment, the question of dues and the integration of funds, and we must proceed to accept one of a category of propositions, because the mind of the public is equal to catching ~~the~~ one idea and going through with that one to the end. Mr. de Haas agreed with Mr. Lipsky that an experimental working program is needed for the Organization for one year. At the present time there are only about 45 Districts throughout the United States whose membership has passed the minimum, and until the system of units is established in some other form, it is impossible to undertake to work out a program which will carry with it more activity than the number of members in that unit are capable of. In Many Districts the work is carried on by one person. He believed, further, than when one realized the paucity of members, one must realize that the thing we have got to agree about is, How we are going to revive the membership in the Organization. Beyond that, the first question is, Can we see our way to maintaining and developing the Organization? Secondly, what can we do in a practical way to reach the tens of thousands of people who are Zionists but who are not in our Organization? He cited the instance of the many ex-Palestinians residing in New York -- practically every one of whom are Zionists, but who have nothing to do with the Zionist Organization.

Mr. de Haas concluded that on the top of this whole question there comes a very natural one: What is a practical due by which we can manage to carry a large number of people?

Mr. Rosensohn pointed out that ~~in~~ Mr. Goldberg, in his diagnosis of the situation, stated that the cause of the decrease in membership was that the Zionist Organization offered nothing to the Zionists. Therefore, many Zionists felt that they need not belong to the Organization. It was then proposed that we give the Zionist membership a proper function. Mr. Rosensohn felt that the impatience with the analysis is absurd; we may say that the diagnosis is wrong, but how can we effect a cure unless the exact nature of the disease and the cause of the disease are determined.

Mr. Szold proposed that in the interest of getting forward in the discussion, the Committee stop discussing procedure and consider the question of dues.

Mr. Szold stated that as he indicated in his Memorandum, the matter of dues is not vital. In his own opinion a blanket \$2 dues would be a mistake. He moved that the \$6 membership dues be continued.

Mr. Margulies proposed the following amendment:

THAT in addition to the regular \$6 membership dues there shall be a

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created an associate membership, at \$2 a year, with the understanding that such associate members shall have the privilege of voting for delegates to the Conventions of the Z.O.A. and to the World Zionist Congress, it being further understood that such members should not receive any publication issued by the Z.O.A., except upon payment of a special fee.

The motion, as amended, was seconded.

Mr. Margulies stated that if his proposal were accepted, the practical application would be about as follows:

Those persons who would continue to pay \$6 per annum would be the members responsible for the continuance of the operation of the Districts. Those paying \$2 per annum would be invited to occasional meetings, at the discretion of the District. He further proposed that out of the \$2 thus collected from associate members, the Z.O.A. should receive \$1.00; 50¢ should go for the Shekel, and 50¢ to the District.

Mr. de Haas offered the following substitute motion:

THAT the word "dues" be stricken out of the Constitution of the Z.O.A., and that a per capita fee of \$2 per annum be paid to the National Organization for each member, such fee to be exclusive of the Shekel.

Mr. de Haas explained that if his proposal were accepted the District or other Zionist group might assess the member whatever dues was decided individually, but the National Organization will receive a definite specific sum. Mr. de Haas expressed the opinion that those who ~~proposed~~ proposed the dual membership did not reckon with facts. In 95 cities out of 100 in the United States there is opportunity for creating but one group of Zionists. If the Zionist membership were to be placed on a lower basis, these members would very eagerly accept the lower basis. In the smaller towns there is only one group of people who constitute the Zionist Organization. The average man will fall back upon a \$2 membership. Mr. de Haas felt that the Z.O.A. has everything to lose and nothing to gain by the proposed \$2 membership. A second reason why he opposed the suggestions made is that even if the Z.O.A. succeeded in enlisting three or four thousand \$6 members, the expenses involved will exceed the income. In 1930, because of our present system, the inside office cost of billing and record-keeping and enrollment was \$2.30 per member. If, on the other hand, the per capita method is adopted, we would immediately save a large portion of the money expended on bookkeeping and record-keeping. Consequently, it is recommended that a mass membership of 50,000 or more be built up, such mass membership to pay \$2 per annum, in addition to the regular \$6 members that we now have. The funds secured from this mass membership would enable the Organization to carry on ~~an~~ a widespread propaganda. Mr. de Haas expressed the belief that it is possible to get 50,000 \$2 members. We would then have more free money than we have at the present moment. On the other hand, while the per capita may be \$2, an earnest attempt should be made to enlist a number of sustaining members, at \$25 or more per annum.

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He believed that the Z.O.A. is not alive to its duties and it does not function in accordance with present needs. At one time it was essential for the Organization to propagate the idea of Zionism but now everyone is interested in Palestine and this interest is apparently greater than the possibilities of the Organization to place people in contact with Palestine. He expressed the belief that the Organization is suffering not because people are not interested in paying dues but because Jews in this country are much more interested in associating themselves directly with Palestine. As soon as the Z.O.A. is in a position to make Palestine a reality in the life of American Jews, the question of paying the membership dues would be a mere trifle and everyone would be willing to contribute as much as is necessary to maintain the Organization. Therefore the chief objective is for the Zionist Organization to carry on such activity that everybody would be alive to what is going on in the Zionist world, and then it will be easy to approach people for membership enrollment. However since it will take some time to create such situation, and the Organization must carry on in the meantime, Mr. Shelvin suggested a \$2 associate membership.

Mr. Shelvin pointed out that the suggestion of Mr. de Haas is not feasible. On the one hand Mr. de Haas claims that the Districts do not function properly while on the other hand he suggests that the collection of the per capita tax, the bookkeeping etc. should be left to the Districts. He was of the opinion that if this method is pursued, in the course of a year, the Organization will lose whatever strength it has. He felt however that the \$6 dues should not be abolished under any circumstances, for there are still 5,000 to 6,000 Jews who will gladly pay this \$6 per annum.

Mr. Tulin pointed out that Mr. Goldberg's motion provides for two categories of membership -- \$6 and \$2 membership at large, that out of the \$6 a sum will be refunded to the District, but the \$2 will be remitted directly to the Z.O.A. which is to pay the shokol, both these classes having the same voting rights with regard to delegates to the Congress and the Convention.

Mr. Margulies pointed out that one of the best features of the present dues of the Z.O.A. is that it is uniform. If Mr. de Haas' proposal is adopted the universal dues will disappear and each district will fix a different sum. He believed that there should be this \$2 additional membership. He felt that the regular membership, especially in the larger cities, will not fall off because of the \$2 membership.

Mr. Lipsky recalled that the Organization had a \$2 membership at one time, and was reasonably successful in securing a large enrollment. One dollar went to the District and one dollar was sent to the Zionist Organization. However the experience was that after the first year, during which the Districts made an extraordinary effort, and got those members, they found it too expensive to conduct their business. Then the membership dropped.

Mr. Hassin moved that the regular dues be reduced from \$6 to \$4 and that out of the \$4, the sum of \$3 be remitted to the National Organization. It must be made possible, he felt, for the District to continue its present membership, and if possible, to enlarge it, and also for new clubs to be organized. Furthermore, these reduced dues should entitle the member to all that he receives now. As to the per capita tax, Mr. Hassin expressed the view that it will be impossible for the local Districts to collect additional funds unless it has a national backing.

He made the further motion that a secondary membership, as outlined and explained by Mr. Goldberg, be created, at \$2. per annum, persons so enlisted to be called associate membership or members at large.

Mrs. Epstein objected to the proposal of two classes of membership. The only way that the \$2 members can be of any value to the Organization would be to have them centralized here in the National Office and to have some kind of national control for these people. Otherwise they will be just names, and they will be lost the second year. If the \$2 membership is to mean anything outside of a \$2 bill, they will have to be fed something. Mrs. Epstein also expressed the opinion that the Organization can manage to live on the \$4 membership. She thought it possible to accept \$4 and to reckon on \$3 in this office, and to be able to live within the revenue produced.

Mr. Ruttenberg recalled that the same question that was discussed in 1925 is being discussed tonight. He thought it would be a great mistake to do away with the \$6 membership. While there has been a falling off in the membership each year, the \$6 membership in the District represents the backbone of the Zionist Organization, and if there is created an additional class of membership there might be an additional falling off of some who would pay \$2 instead of \$6. He suggested that no one but the regular member should be eligible as a delegate to the Convention, but the associate member should be given the right to participate in the District affairs. He agreed that it is difficult to get \$6 national members, and that it would be much easier to get \$2 members; but, he believed that the \$2 membership would not affect the \$6 membership, except in some instances. He did not think there would be any expense in getting the \$2 member. He felt that the question is one of principle. Here is an opportunity of getting additional revenue for the Zionist Organization, and until additional revenue is gotten, a program of activity cannot be discussed. He was heartily in accord with the proposition to continue the \$6 membership and to provide for an additional \$2 general membership.

Mr. Bernstein expressed the view that Mr. de Haas' plan is not feasible at all. In the first place, there will be disorganization and chaos if one District will charge \$4 and another \$3 and a third \$6, all remitting \$2. He regarded such a situation as eliminating all discipline from the National Organization. He believed that the \$2 membership is

impracticable, because if there is a \$6 membership and a \$2 membership, the result will be no \$6 membership. Nor did he think the \$4 membership will remedy the situation in any way.

He suggested a \$3 membership. He felt this would permit the National Organization to maintain its discipline, and would eliminate the difficulties inherent in the double membership and in the tax plan.

Mr. Szold urged that the matter be brought to a head. He felt that to have two classes of membership will inevitably lead to only one class, the lower. He agreed that the \$6 membership is difficult to collect now, but expressed the opinion that the amount of the dues is not the reason for the decline in membership. He believed that the \$6 membership ought to be retained for one very vital reason, namely, if we lower the dues we will have no funds at all. Mr. Szold then moved

THAT we make the individual membership \$6 everywhere; and that the Convention be asked to give to the incoming Administration the right to organize new clubs at \$3 a member, provided these groups have not less than twenty-five (25) members.

Mr. Szold suggested further that the vote be taken, first, on whether there shall be two classes of membership or not.

The Chairman then called for a vote on the proposition that there be two classes of members.

Nine members voted in favor of two classes; eight were opposed.

The Chairman then called for a vote on whether the secondary membership shall be \$2 or \$3.

The \$2 membership was adopted.

The Chairman then called for a vote on whether the regular membership shall be \$6 or less than \$6.

The \$6 regular membership was adopted -- 9 voting in favor; and 7 opposed.

The Chairman then stated that the next question to be voted upon was the division of the \$2 dues. He stated that one proposal which had been submitted during the course of the evening was that \$1.50 should be remitted to National Headquarters and that fifty cents be retained by the District, or should be divided between the District and the Region, in such cases where the Region exists.

Mr. Spiechandler proposed that the Z.O.A. should receive \$1, the District fifty cents and the Region, where such exists, fifty cents.

Mr. Margulies moved -

THAT the question of the refund on this special membership be left to the incoming Administration, to be worked out with the Districts or the Regions that are actually rendering service.

Mr. de Haas moved further -

THAT if in any District the total membership equals the total number on record for 1932, the Administrative Committee shall be authorized to make a refund, the amount to be decided by the Convention.

The Chairman then submitted the following proposals:

THAT the \$2 membership shall go entirely to the Z.O.A.

THAT the Administrative Committee shall be empowered, in case the number of registered \$6 members shall not be less than on June 30, 1932 in any District, and if the number of \$2 members shall be at least the same number as the number of \$6 members registered on June 30, 1932, the Administrative Committee may make such refund out of the \$2 to the District and (or) Region, as may be decided.

This means that if the District is going to let the \$6 membership drop and become \$2 members, then they shall not be entitled to any refund. If they keep up their \$6 membership and then give a substantial number of \$2 membership, at least equal to the \$6 members in number, it is agreed there shall be refunded out of the \$2 membership fifty cents per member to the District.

Judge Mack pointed out that the Districts should have a certain minimum of \$6 members by June 30th, before they can enroll \$2 associate members.

Mr. Rosensohn said that it is not a question of penalizing the districts but there must be a minimum as the basis in order to save the Organization.

Mr. Margulies was of the opinion that the membership would not drop any lower than it is now. Every effort should be made to increase the \$6 membership but we should try in addition to enroll as many persons at \$2 as possible, out of which fifty cents should be refunded to the district. He suggested that the resolution include the words, "If the District or authorized region maintains its \$6 members."

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The following resolution was then carried:

THAT if a District shall continue to maintain the same number of \$6 members as were registered on June 30, 1932, and in addition enrolls an equal number of \$2 members, then the District shall be entitled to a refund of fifty cents for every \$2 member.

Mr. Rothenberg inquired whether the special committee had calculated what would be the expense of getting this \$2 membership, as it may result in reducing the \$6 membership and we would gain nothing from the \$2 classification.

Meeting adjourned at midnight until Monday evening, June 13th at 8:00 P.M. sharp.

RESPECTFULLY SUBMITTED.

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE OF THE
ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA, HELD MONDAY EVENING, JUNE 13, 1932
AT THE ZIONIST OFFICE, 111 FIFTH AVE.

PRESENT: Robert Szold (in the chair) Miss Juliette Benjamin, Robert Bernstein, Israel B. Brodie, Jacob deHaas, Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, David Freiburger, Edward Friedman, Abraham Goldberg, I. Hassin, Joseph Kraemer, Dr. Nathan Ratnoff, Louis P. Rocker, Nelson Rutenberg, Abraham Tulin, Mrs. A. H. Vixman, Dr. Samuel Wurzel.

Excuses for non-Attendance were received from Rabbi Barnett R. Brickner, Bernard Deutsch, Benjamin Everts, Rabbi I. H. Levinthal, Morris Margulies, Dr. A. J. Rongy, Elihu D. Stone.

The meeting was called to order at 8:45 p.m. with Mr. Szold in the chair.

The Chairman called on Mr. Magida to submit the report of the Committee on Convention Program.

Mr. Magida outlined the tentative program for the Convention, as per attached.

Mr. Freiburger pointed out that inasmuch as Mr. Goldberg's Committee is not a Convention Committee (i.e. it was not appointed by the Committee on Committees of the Convention) it would not be the proper procedure for Mr. Goldberg's report to appear on part of the Convention program. In the second place, he pointed out, Mr. Goldberg's report is not the unanimous report of his Committee.

Mr. deHaas was of the opinion that Mr. Goldberg's report is really an action of this Administration. If, as a result of this public discussion of these problems, it becomes necessary to appoint a Committee to revise the form, or to deal with the constitutional problems involved, it is time enough to do that when we arrive at this conclusion. At this critical time there is only one way to meet this problem, and that is, by a discussion on this matter at the beginning of the Convention.

Mr. Goldberg pointed out that it is legal for the Administration to invite anybody, whether he is the head of a Committee or not, to introduce a discussion. On the other hand, it is the desire of the Program Committee at this Convention to have two sessions on the first day dedicated to this discussion.

Mr. deHaas moved, and it was seconded

THAT the report of the Committee on Program be accepted as a tentative program for the Convention.

UNANIMOUSLY CARRIED.

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CONTINUATION OF DISCUSSION ON REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON PLAN AND SCOPE :

The chairman recalled that at the last meeting of the Administrative Committee, the discussion ended on the problem of dues and a vote was taken on that question. He recalled further the four phases of activity outlined and discussed in Mr. Goldberg's report; viz, political, economic, propaganda, and youth, on which there was general agreement. He suggested that Mr. Goldberg present resolutions covering the four points at this time.

Mr. deHaas objected to their consideration at this time. In his opinion more vital issues are at stake.

The Chairman expressed the opinion that at the last meeting of the Administrative Committee there was practical unanimity on the four activities mentioned in Mr. Goldberg's report, and that at this meeting resolutions were to be presented on the four points and a vote taken.

Mr. Tulin called attention to the fact that at the last meeting it was decided to consider this question last, and to consider the concrete proposals first.

Mr. Goldberg, Chairman of the Plan and Scope Committee offered to defer presentation of the resolutions. He felt that one of the questions that will create a great deal of discussion at the Convention is that of integration of funds. Another question is that of a specific piece of work for the ZOA, either as part of the budget or outside of the budget.

On the second question, he said, his Committee argued as to whether or not the specific piece of work shall be undertaken as part of the budget or outside of the budget, and it was felt that if the specific piece of work is undertaken within the budget it has no value. Mr. Goldberg pointed out further that aside from these two points the Committee was unanimous in its report. He therefore suggested that these two points be discussed tonight and ~~xxx~~ clarified.

Dr. Wurzel inquired whether there was any decision with reference to affiliated organizations.

Mr. Goldberg replied that so far as the subcommittee is concerned, the matter remains for the time being in status quo, with the exception of the election of delegates to the Congress.

Mr. Szold then started the discussion. His ideas had been circulated in written form. He pointed out that we have a voluntary organization. This essential fact colors everything that anyone can say about the form of organization. There is no way to compel any one to be a member of the Zionist Organization. In order to have a thriving organization, individuals must be stimulated from within to join. If there were a sufficient number of persons who felt that the Organization was a Zionist need, the question of the amount of the dues -- whether \$6 or \$10 would not matter. The problem, Mr. Szold pointed out, is to develop individuals who see the necessity of continuing the Organization.

Mr. Szold then proceeded to the question as to what

is the method of organization which will permit this stimulation of interest. He had come to the conclusion that this can be achieved through a specific piece of work in Palestine. He was of the opinion that mere general propaganda, debates, meetings, literature, while they must be continued, will not stimulate enough interest. The average person does not see the need of his becoming a member of the Organization. Persons, especially Jews, are diverse with diverse interests. They will be stimulated to do work for Palestine and become members of the Organization if they are allowed to follow their own desires. He cited the instance of the Palestine Lighthouse which is the project of a group of women who have raised \$60,000 for the blind in Palestine, and if these women were compelled to work with Hadassah or the ZOA, their interest could not have been had. The success of Hadassah is because they have a specific piece of work. Another example is the Canadian Zionist Organization with its specific project of Wadi Hawareth. It is the old problem of centralization versus decentralization. He added that no doubt there would be competition and duplication of effort, but the price is small. Mr. Szold stated that he did not propose to go into the matter of the particular piece of work in Palestine unless the principle is first accepted. However if a specific piece of work is undertaken, so far as fund-raising is concerned, it ought definitely to be part of the Keren Hayesod budget. For the time being there is the question of debts and a large part of what is raised must be paid toward maintaining institutions and paying off debts, but if the consideration of the Emek, for instance, is part of the budget, that could, for example, be our specific project. Everybody's business is nobody's business, Mr. Szold pointed out. It does not stimulate work for Palestine nor interest in the Organization. If America could say that three or four colonies in the Emek are its particular responsibility, that would be taken care of. In the carrying out of that undertaking, members would be created for the Organization and these members would see the necessity for the Organization.

The other system, Mr. Szold stated, has been tried. We see the results.

One of the arguments against that system is that a voluntary movement is inevitably doomed to failure, that in order to have any kind of a Zionist Organization, you must have people going about continually getting members, you must have a payroll and a machine, and the only way to get this machine is to tie up the dues with the Keren Hayesod and the National Fund, and somehow or other out of that payroll get enough money to maintain the Organization, satisfy the Keren Hayesod-Jewish Agency budget and the Jewish National Fund. It seemed to him therefore that that principle is diametrically opposed to the principle which he deems sound. Undue centralization stifles individual effort and initiative and prevents the inner stimulation that is necessary.

Mr. Szold reiterated that he will get to the practical proposition as to what particular fund or object to undertake if the principle is accepted. There are a number of such projects; viz, the Emek, the Agricultural Experiment Station which could render a distinct public service and which for the lack of \$50,000 is being allowed to go to waste and about to be lost. Of course the Jewish Agency will have to be consulted, and if these suggestions are to be adopted, instructions will have to be given to those attending the Actions Committee meeting to endeavor to get the consent of the Agency Executive for such specific undertaking.

Mr. Freiburger declared that the only specific piece of work that he would be in favor of is that of getting as many enrolled members of the ZOA as possible. He believed that if the Zionist Organization of America is compared to the Palestine Lighthouse, or other such specific institutions, and a specific piece of work is foisted upon the Zionist Organization, the Organization will shrink into nothing. He expressed the view that Hadassah succeeds with a specific piece of work because of the fact that the majority of Hadassah are not Zionists. They simply join Hadassah because of social functions, because they meet together in the afternoon, etc., etc. He expressed the belief further that if fifty or sixty enrolled Zionists are secured, they will find some work to do. The work for Zionism must be broad; it must embrace everything, he urged. As for the work of the Agricultural Experiment Station to which Mr. Szold referred in his remarks as a potential specific function of the ZOA, Mr. Freiburger believed that those Jews who were not in favor of working for the Agricultural Station would see no reason for their joining the ZOA for that purpose; they could join some other Organization. The ZOA has to do everything, but before it can undertake to do everything, it must have a large membership. He estimated that at \$2 per annum the ZOA will have 50,000 members throughout the United States. Zionists will undertake to do whatever work they are inclined to do. The ZOA as a whole, must undertake to do everything, but it cannot discourage those who want to work for the Keren Hayesod to devote their time all year round to the Keren Hayesod, or the Jewish National Fund.

Mr. Bornstein inquired if what is intended is that the ZOA is to do only a specific piece of work, or if, in addition to Mr. Goldberg's program, it is to do a specific piece of work.

The Chairman explained that the specific piece of work is to be undertaken in addition to the other things in the program.

Mr. Ruttenberg thought that the argument presented by Mr. Freiburger points out the very crux of the Organization, that is, to determine, first of all, what is the purpose of the ZOA. If the ZOA is to deteriorate into an organization devoted to a specific task which has to do with the upbuilding of Palestine, its purpose, as originally intended, will be circumvented. The ZOA is supposed to be the Organization which will stimulate and arouse interest among the Jewish people in America in everything which has to do with the upbuilding of Palestine as the Jewish National Home. That includes not only the Emek, but education, the general budget, the Jewish National Fund, the economic program,-- anything which has to do with Zionist work. The moment you curtail the Organization's activities, it is meaningless if you adopt a specific task, because its energy is depleted in carrying to a successful completion the specific object. Mr. Ruttenberg felt that the ZOA would make a big mistake if it attempted to get away from its primary purpose, which is to get members and arouse in them a desire to do everything which has to do with the upbuilding of Palestine.

Mr. deHaas thought there was a slight confusion in Mr. Szold's presentation. He stated that he could agree easily that at the meeting of the Actions Committee the whole budget is to be divided into specific parts, and that the various countries assume different responsibilities within that general

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budget, but he did not think, apart from all other reasons, that the creation of a specific budget which requires the raising of money over and above the money raised for all other purposes, is going to gain for the Organization any strength or any marked interest. There are thousands of people, he pointed out, to whom a charitable budget is understandable and are willing to support it, whatever it may be. If, under the pressure of the Zionist movement, there is created a desire to do that particular work for Palestine, there is no doubt that something is gained for Palestine; but it is a very doubtful question whether any Zionist interest is created that way. Mr. de Haas pointed out further that in the case of the Lighthouse or other institutions, one does not have to be a member of the ZOA in order to further those institutions; one can further them by direct membership in that Organization. Why does one have to pay a fee to the ZOA in order to contribute to a specific purpose, he asked.

~~Another~~ Another very important point of discussion, Mr. deHaas pointed out, is the so-called integration of funds. The same local leader is perpetually hounded by us and by other institutions for money. People do not want to go to meetings because they are taxed. Mr. deHaas proposed that this problem be met as follows: That the Organization transform itself into a contributors club, with local clubs all over the country. Cards should be printed for the individual members which will show the payment of his membership dues to the ZOA. In addition, he is asked to make a contribution to Palestine and all Zionist purposes at one and the same time, not a fixed sum, but a minimum, upon which he is to be regarded as an individual who has fulfilled his obligations, and he cannot be attacked during the current year for any other Zionist purpose whatsoever.

Mr. Ruttenberg asked what guarantee can be given that that will be carried out.

Mr. deHaas stated further that if this card says, for instance, that 40% of the money is for the Keren Hayesod or a specific objective of the Keren Hayesod; 20% for the Jewish National Fund; 5% for the American Economic Committee for Palestine, etc., etc., and the individual is given possession of his card after he has made his payment, he will be his own protector. Mr. deHaas added that although he was bitterly opposed to the whole community chest notion at one time, he has been converted to the idea.

Mr. Hassin pointed out that it is now only two weeks before the Convention and the Committee has no concrete proposals to make.

Mr. Tulin said that everyone is groping for a way to enlist the largest number of groups in Zionism. The chief trouble is that we are overorganized. Everyone is spending money and everyone has its own staff, officers, ambitions, and we are going to pieces because of that, and the result of this over-organization has been that the ZOA has been left with practically only one function and that is to make propaganda for the other organizations, and perform the political task which is of vital importance, but we are beginning to be frauds in performing, because we haven't any people to represent. He decried the fact that when the American delegates go to

Congress they speak in the name of the Jews of America, when they have practically no one to speak for. We must stop wasting money, because our trouble is money. He did not criticize any particular organization. He added that unfortunately he had nothing concrete to propose, but these separate activities, Jewish National Fund, Keren Hayesod, etc. can be combined and coordinated in order to reduce the expense.

Mr. Rutenberg inquired how the consolidation of funds will bring about a greater representation of the masses in the Zionist Organization.

Mr. Tulin replied that he is talking of money only because it will reduce expense in gathering the funds and avoid duplication. He therefore favored a method of coordinating these activities, cutting out duplication and waste, and with money to be obtained from its daughter organizations which are dependent upon it to a certain extent, it will enable the Organization to secure paid workers to get members, because merely saying that we want 50,000 members will not ~~not~~ achieve that goal.

Mr. Goldberg said that it is unfortunate that the proposition with regard to a specific piece of work has been tied up with the question of an enlarged membership, since there is no logical connection between the two. This discussion is not to the point. It is essential to detach the two questions. The question of increased membership was discussed at the meeting of the Administrative Committee last week, and it was thought that the situation would be remedied if in addition to a \$6 membership of between 7,000 and 10,000 there would be a mass membership of \$2 to be paid by 30,000 or 40,000 who would thus show their interest in the movement and be permitted to vote for delegates to the Congress. With regard to the specific piece of work, Mr. Goldberg said that if he understood Mr. Szold correctly, the latter said that he did not wish to destroy the Palestine budget. However permission for such specific undertaking cannot be given by the Actions Committee but only by the Congress, which will not be for another year. Moreover he did not see how the assumption of a specific undertaking will increase the membership, because some individuals may not wish to join the Organization if they are told, for instance, that the Organization is interested in the colonization fund, while they may be interested specifically in education or something-else, and therefore it may be possible to attract more people if the Organization does not limit itself to one undertaking. At any rate, this is an academic question since it cannot be undertaken until after the next Congress.

With regard to the question of the National Fund, Mr. Goldberg pointed out that the JNF is a separate corporation, with its own directorate consisting of various parties, Mizrahi, Poale Zion, etc., who will rebuff any proposal to consolidate it with the ZOA, and if this argument of expenses is persisted, many persons will take advantage of that as an excuse not to contribute, which will redound to the detriment of that institution. The same is true of the Keren Hayesod which is also a separate organization and in which the non-Zionists have a share. Moreover should the non-Zionist leaders withdraw from the Keren Hayesod, many Zionists will refuse to contribute. Therefore discussion along these lines will only lead to a blind alley from which there is no extrication. Moreover this is not the time to break things, but to hold on to what we have.

What then can be done in order to coordinate activities, but not integrate them? He suggested that the Convention adopt a resolution that the incoming Executive should attempt to coordinate the work of the ZOA, the Jewish National Fund and the Keren Hayesod, so that there be more effective cooperation and a better system established, with the result that the ZOA will be stronger and the other Organizations will not suffer. He therefore advised against integration and said that he favored coordination -- and discussion about a special piece of work from now till the next Congress. For the present as a means for increasing the membership, he has no faith in it.

Mr. Hassin pointed out that at the first meeting of the Committee he had said much of what has been said tonight, that in the final analysis in order to increase the membership, the Organization must embark upon an enlarged activity, not merely by announcing that the dues will be \$2 or \$3, but there must be an adequate staff, field workers, speakers, propaganda, publication, literature, etc. Naturally the question is one of funds and how to get the money for all these things. He added that at the first meeting of this Administrative Committee certain recommendations were made, but the Chairman of the Finance Committee immediately pointed out that there is no money which which to carry them out. Therefore we must solve the problem of finding the necessary funds, and in connection with this he does not mean to destroy the Keren Hayesod or the National Fund but closer coordination, pooling together not only activities but administrative funds, since at present there is a great deal of overlapping, duplication and waste, with separate publicity departments maintained by each organization, separate speakers, propagandists, etc. Eventually this coordination will not only redound to the benefit of the ZOA but the JNF and the KH. He urged therefore that a plan of coordination be worked out and presented to the Convention with a specific mandate to the incoming Administrative Committee to instruct the ZOA representatives on the National Fund and Keren Hayesod Board of Directors to advocate such coordination.

Mr. Kraemer pointed out that notwithstanding all these discussions criticizing the plan proposed by Mr. Szold, no one has as yet proposed any other alternative plan. The ZOA must have succeeded at some period of its existence, he said, for the following two reasons:

1. Because a strong emotional appeal was made at that time;
2. Because there must have been a sufficient amount of money to finance a strong emotional appeal.

No Organization can exist unless it serves a selfish interest of the members, or it arouses the emotional interest of the members. The Organization apparently did that at some time in the history of the Zionist movement in America. If, in 1920, 120,000 members indicated the success of the Zionist movement in America, then at that time we must have had success.

Mr. deHaas stated that at that time integration of funds existed.

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Mr. Kraemer expressed the opinion that there is nothing wrong with the Organization as it is conducted today; there may be improvements, no doubt; but what we need today is money and because of the depression, a number of people cannot take the proper interest in the Organization. By having the smaller dues he thought the Organization could get a larger membership.

As for Mr. Szold's proposition, Mr. Kraemer did not agree with it from the logical point of view. A man cannot be interested in some specific Zionist work unless he is first a Zionist.

Dr. Ratnoff disagreed with the point of view that the individual must first be interested in Zionism in general.

Mr. Szold inquired of Dr. Ratnoff, if he thinks that by having interested the physicians in the American Jewish Physicians Committee in a specific project, many have become Zionists who would otherwise not.

Dr. Ratnoff agreed that this was so, and that those physicians have become very good Zionists as a result of their connection with the American Jewish Physicians Committee.

Dr. Wurzel expressed the view that a great deal of money is spent extravagantly. He felt that if a man contributes a certain sum of money for a Palestinian purpose, he should automatically become a member of the ZOA, and he urged that some way be found to coordinate all Zionist activities.

Mr. Ruttenberg deplored the fact that ~~xxx~~ people speak of wasting money without a knowledge of the true facts. Very little of the JNF funds is spent for salaries. Mr. Ruttenberg repeated what he said at the outset, that the purpose of the ZOA is to get members in the Organization and through that membership to stimulate interest in Palestine. He suggested that a quota of 50,000 members be adopted, dividing it among the 48 states on the basis of the Jewish population in those states. He suggested further that the Administrative Committee and National Committee members should constitute themselves as generals and go out and get members for the Organization. He felt that field workers are not necessary in this work, but that the individual members of the Organization and of the Administrative Committee should make themselves responsible ~~for~~ each for a certain number of members.

Mrs. Epstein did not consider Mr. Ruttenberg's proposal for getting the 50,000 members as feasible. Hadassah has been trying for the past three or four years to get 50,000 members, and in spite of the fact that they are much better organized than the ZOA, they have not got anything near that number. Mrs. Epstein agreed with Mr. Kraemer that the Organization has to give its members either a selfish interest, or else to arouse their emotional interest.

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The Chairman suggested that a vote was in order on the following two propositions:

1. Inclusive dues.
2. Specific piece of work.

Mr. Szold said that merely adopting a resolution to secure 50,000 members will not get these members. This can never be accomplished unless some method is evolved of arousing their interest. If these persons participate in some concrete object in Palestine, such as the economic committee work, their emotions would be stirred. If the Zionist Organization is to be built up, it will not be done merely by saying that it is necessary to get some members, which has been reiterated for years. Moreover the youth cannot be interested by a general discussion of Zionism. Their interest can be aroused if they are set to work on a specific task. He has done this with young men who are now regular members of the Organization, but only after they were interested in a special piece of work. The matter is one of judgment and practical experience, not a question involving morals and ethics. If people are given something specific to which their interests and emotions can be tied, they will have a sense of responsibility and feel pride in its success and shame in failure.

With regard to the \$2 due, Mr. Szold pointed out that it is impossible to maintain the Organization with such dues. He called attention to the fact that during the past year new revived interest in the ZOA had been stimulated by the work of the Economic Committee.

Mr. Tulin moved that a committee of not more than three members of the Administrative Committee, including the Chairman, be appointed to formulate the various proposals that have been here at this meeting, into concrete carefully worded proposals.

Mr. Bernstein suggested that at present the Committee is in no position to bring about any agreement with regard to anything specific. He was of the opinion that it is impossible to maintain the Organization on a \$2 membership, though it possibly might be done on \$3. Therefore if next year as a result of the reduction in the dues, 50,000 members are secured, it will not be necessary to press the point with regard to a specific piece of work. Some of these \$3 members can eventually be made into sustaining members. Consequently he believed that a recommendation ought to be made to the Convention to reduce the dues, though he did not believe that the Convention would accept the continuation of the regular \$6 membership plus \$2 membership.

With regard to the radical changes proposed by Mr. Szold, Mr. Bernstein agreed with Mr. Colberg that it will be very difficult to get the various autonomous organizations to agree to these proposals.

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Mr. Tulin moved; and it was seconded:

THAT a Committee of Three be appointed for the purpose of formulating the various propositions for submission to the next meeting of the Administrative Committee.

CARRIED UNANIMOUSLY.

NEXT MEETING OF ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE :

It was decided to hold the next meeting of the Administrative Committee on Monday evening, June 20th.

RELATIONS WITH AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS :

Mr. Tulin moved:

THAT the report of the subcommittee on Relations with Affiliated Organizations -- Hadassah and Order Sons of Zion -- as presented by Mr. Goldberg be adopted.

Mr. deHaas considered this an unwise procedure, and suggested that the members of the Administrative Committee be notified that at the next meeting there will be a vote taken on the propositions discussed tonight.

It was explained that the Committee report with reference to Hadassah had been presented at previous meetings and thoroughly discussed, that the recommendation was that the status quo be continued with the exception that in case of an agreement as to the list of nominees for delegates to the World Zionist Congress (there being no election) Hadassah should be entitled to nominate up to one-half of such list.

Mr. Tulin's motion was thereupon seconded and duly carried.

Meeting adjourned at 11:30 P.M.

Respectfully submitted

IDA FLATOW

MINUTES OF MEETING OF ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE OF THE ZIONIST ORGANIZATION
OF AMERICA, HELD ON MONDAY EVENING, JUNE 20, 1932, AT THE ZIONIST OFFICES.

PRESENT: Robert Szold (in the chair), Miss Juliette Benjamin, Israel B. Brodie, Jacob de Haas, Abraham Goldberg, I. Hassin, Rabbi Max D. Klein, Louis Lipsky, Judge Julian W. Mack, Morris Margulies, A. Liebowitz, Clarence Y. Palitz, Louis P. Rucker, J. I. Rudavsky, Abraham Spicehandler, Mrs. A. H. Vixman, Morris Weinberg, Leo Wolfson; by invitation: Rabbi Maurice J. Bloom.

EXCUSES FOR NON-ATTENDANCE were received from Benj. Evartz, Rabbi I. H. Levinthal, Dr. A. J. Rongy, Bernard Shelvin, Rabbi A. H. Silver, Dr. Samuel Wurzel.

The meeting was called to order at 9:15, with Mr. Szold in the chair.

The Chairman called attention to the fact that this meeting tonight is the last meeting of the Administrative Committee before the Convention, except for the meeting on Saturday night, July 2, in Philadelphia. He proposed that votes be taken tonight on the resolutions formulated and distributed among the members of the Administrative Committee, prior to this meeting, as a result of the discussions which have taken place at the last two meetings, based on the report of the Committee on Plan and Scope. He expressed the belief that some of the resolutions appear to be contradictory. He also proposed that the tentative Convention program which was circulated among all the members, be gone over carefully tonight.

Mr. Palitz suggested that the Young Judaea matter be presented first.

The Chairman explained that Young Judaea needs funds for carrying on. They have not been paid their subsidy as was provided in the Z.O.A. budget. The Chairman suggested that the Young Judaea matter be postponed until later in the evening when Mr. Rucker would be here.

DISCUSSION ON RESOLUTIONS:

(The resolutions as presented at the meeting are herewith attached).

Mr. Lipsky stated that he would have no objection personally to adopting Resolution No. 1, but it is taking up the time of the Convention unnecessarily.

Mr. Wolfson failed to see the purpose of the resolutions as a whole. He thought they were too limited and tend to rob the Organization of the things it has accomplished in the past thirty years.

Judge Mack suggested omitting the word "function" in the resolution.

Mr. Lipsky expressed the view that Resolutions 1 and 2 should be merged.

Mr. Rothenberg felt that no purpose will be served by designating an individual to act as the political representative of the Z.O.A. in a local community.

The following resolution was then moved, seconded, and carried:

RESOLVED THAT the Zionist Organization of America shall build up

a favorable public opinion through the written, as well as oral word, in order that the political aims of the Zionist movement may be thoroughly understood and accepted; and further that each Zionist unit affiliated with the Zionist Organization of America be kept currently informed of political developments within the orbit of the Zionist movement.

Resolutions 3 and 4 were then presented for discussion.

Mr. Lipsky pointed out that these resolutions do not indicate the specific line of action which should be taken by the Zionist Organization. He could see no logic in saying that the work shall be connected with the American Economic Committee for Palestine. He suggested that action be taken by the Administrative Committee and by the Convention to the effect that the Z.O.A. set about to organize and establish in every city where we have a reasonable number of Jews, a form of Palestine Center which shall have the functions indicated in paragraph 4, under the supervision of the Z. O. A., and which Palestine Center in every city shall be the central point to register the Palestine interest of every Jew, or Zionist or non-Zionist. In other words, that we should attempt to form in every locality a complete miniature exhibit of the interest that Zionists as a whole have in Palestine, also, the interests of the various factions -- the Mizrachi, Poale-Zion, Hadassah, Order Sons of Zion, etc., etc. -- should be brought in. Such Palestine Center should be established in every city in the United States where it is feasible.

Mr. Lipsky stated further that if we were to put that up as the concrete work of the Z.O.A., the Organization would have a definite and practical function to pursue, and this would be the creation in miniature of the Jewish Agency. The Palestine Center should have a paid secretary, a person who knows something about Palestine. He can be paid the same wages as the secretary of a lodge. This Center would be the place which would engage in the organization of the Savings Groups of the American Economic Committee. The expenses would be purely local; the only expenses involved would be that of a central office here which would send out the information that is requested. The Zionist Organization of America would thus be actually organizing the Zionist Organization of America.

In answer to Mr. Hassin's query as to how the local communities would finance the local Palestine Center, Mr. Lipsky replied that the Poale-Zion, Mizrachi, Hadassah, Order Sons of Zion, etc., would put together a fund to finance it.

In this connection, Mr. Szold pointed out that about twenty or thirty persons had been in to see Dr. Bernstein today and another fifteen to see Mr. Baroway, who would qualify in the "capitalist class", -- all this in one day.

In reply to Judge Mack's statement as to how Zionists will get money to maintain the work of the Economic Committee locally, Mr. Lipsky said they will have to be provided with funds, since the Zionist Districts are unable to carry the burden by themselves, but that if everyone who is interested in Palestine got together and cooperated there would be enough money to maintain this work.

Mr. Spicehandler stated that in the Districts the need is felt for someone to accumulate all relevant information with regard to settlement in Palestine and the various economic questions, and to disseminate it locally. This

function should not be limited to Mr. Brodie's Economic Committee, but that all such information should be referred to someone to be designated by the Chairman of each District, who will use his discretion about referring persons to the central office. Should the persons designated for this purpose prove inefficient, someone else could be designated. He therefore believed that this resolution could be adopted and will be a great stimulus to the districts in arousing interest in Palestine.

Mr. de Haas was of the opinion that there is only one sentence in resolution No. 4 which applies, and that is, to establish a registry of persons who wish to go to Palestine. He believed that the Organization must encourage people to go to Palestine. He pointed out that people are taking the position that they wish to take their last capital and go to Palestine, but they desire to decide for themselves on the spot as to how they will invest their money. The Economic Committee therefore might be of service in assisting those who desire to go to Palestine but who have not the \$5,000 or \$6,000. He pointed out that the proposed bureaus will cost at least \$2,000 a year, and therefore the local committees should be requested to compile a registry of persons who contemplate going to Palestine, and the central office should send them such general information as will meet the circumstances. This is as much as the Organization can do at this time and not involve itself at this time in an operation that has a tendency to defeat the desired objective.

Rabbi Klein believed that resolution No. 4 should be substituted for resolution No. 3, with Mr. Lipsky's suggestion, that this Committee is to endeavor to draw into its activities all other groups and parties interested in the same work, and everything possible should be done to encourage and stimulate interest in going to Palestine.

Mr. Wolfson said that resolution No. 4 should begin: "That it shall be the duty of the Zionist Organization to stimulate Jewish settlement in Palestine".

Mr. Lipsky pointed out that it appears that Mr. de Haas' only reason for the Economic Committee is to get Jews to go to Palestine. It is not possible, however, to organize an aliyah from the United States unless the proper background is created with the necessary sentiment and support. The most important function of the Economic Committee would be to establish in every locality a center where these questions can be discussed, and to encourage those who are left behind, as well as to develop local interest. Many people may not go at all, but there must be support for everything that happens in Palestine, otherwise the movement will disappear when those who are interested leave for Palestine. He urged therefore that resolutions 3 and 4 be referred to a special committee for reformulation.

Rabbi Klein saw no inconsistency between Mr. Lipsky's suggestion as to a Palestine Center, and resolutions 4 and 3. He said one would supplement the other.

Mr. Lipsky said that this resolution can make the Convention significant.

Mr. Goldberg stated that Mr. Lipsky is proposing something in addition to what is proposed in the resolution. First, it is necessary to have an Economic Committee, then a cultural committee dealing with Palestine, and out of all these committees something like a Palestine Center can be created in every city, but this is something which may not be realized immediately.

Mr. Rothenberg said that he did not know whether he fully understood Mr. Lipsky's idea but that he could see therein something that might develop into a large activity. He added that he does not mean to criticize the resolution which seems to provide something which has been done before in the form of a resolution, and this idea will be like many others involving the appointment of a committee which will not function. He believed that Mr. Lipsky's suggestion has the element of practicability and he would like to see it developed. Mr. Rothenberg added that in framing this resolution with respect to stimulating immigration from the United States to Palestine, it is necessary to be circumspect as to language, since it is obvious that there may be read into it implications which may be unfavorably used against Zionists and Jews of America.

Rabbi Klein expressed his approval of Mr. Lipsky's idea, but doubted the possibility of its being carried out within a short time. He felt that it would require far more energy and money and time than the average Zionist has at his disposal. He thought, however, the idea should be presented to the Convention, in the hope that the communities of America will find it possible to act upon the idea within the near future. He believed, on the other hand, that if so-called Economic Committees were established locally, functioning under the supervision of the Z.O.A., the local communities could do effective Zionist work. For example, if such a plan were adopted, the local Zionists in Philadelphia could give out publicity on certain aspects of Zionist activity, which the local press, Jewish or general, will not print today when it comes from national headquarters.

Rabbi Klein reiterated that he thought the plan which Mr. Lipsky proposes, which is colorful and can prove useful, is not within the realm of practicability at the present time.

Mr. de Haas moved that resolutions 3 and 4 be referred back to the Committee for reconsideration.

Mr. Lipsky moved that resolutions 3 and 4 be referred to a special Committee with instructions to reframe them, in order that the resolution, as submitted to the Convention, shall embody in full what is meant by the assumption of economic activity by the Z.O.A., taking into consideration his suggestions with regard to the Palestine Center idea.

The Chairman then called the question and it was unanimously agreed

THAT the substance of resolutions 4 and 3 be referred to a sub-committee for reformulation, and that, in addition thereto, Mr. Lipsky's proposition be referred to such sub-committee for reformulation.

Resolutions 5 and 6 were then presented, and adopted as follows:

5. RESOLVED THAT the Zionist Organization of America shall so direct its educational activities as to inculcate in the minds of our people the need for a Homeland, to disseminate information on the results of our efforts in Palestine, and to bring home to the Jewish people in the Diaspora the cultural values being created in Palestine; as well as to make Jews conscious of the value of Palestine

as a moral force in their struggle to maintain their position in the Galuth.

6. RESOLVED THAT the Zionist Organization shall foster the organization of study circles, Hebrew-speaking clubs, Jewish history groups, and other groups which will devote themselves to acquainting their members with Jewish history, Jewish tradition, culture, literature and language.

The Chairman then presented resolution No. 7, as follows:

RESOLVED THAT a special period be set aside each year during which the endeavor shall be made to enlist as many Jews as possible as members of the Zionist Organization of America.

Rabbi Klein considered this resolution impracticable because of the fact that the various local communities are different. What may be a suitable campaign period for one community, may not be practical in another community.

Mr. Margulies was in favor of the idea of designating a special period for Zionist membership. This will prevent conflict with the dates set aside for the American Palestine Campaign and the Jewish National Fund drives. At the present time, membership gives way to everything, and nothing is accomplished.

Resolution No. 7 was moved, seconded, and adopted.

Resolution No. 8, on Youth, was then presented.

Mr. Lipsky raised objection to the consideration given to the Junior Hadassah groups. He saw no reason why the Z.O. should continue to recognize the segregation of young men and young women in the Zionist movement. He admitted that the fact that Junior Hadassah is in existence is a very fine thing, but he could not see why we should jeopardize the existence of the youth groups by dividing them into two sexes.

Miss Benjamin called attention to the fact that Junior Hadassah has been in existence for a period of years and has demonstrated its worth and its purpose in American Zionist life, as well as in Palestinian life. There have been sporadic attempts in various communities throughout these years to start young men's groups and mixed groups. In no case has any one of these organizations proved successful, she pointed out. Junior Hadassah has a long successful history behind it. Junior Hadassah and Senior Hadassah both want the existence of these Junior Hadassah groups maintained and protected, since they are of importance in American Jewish life.

Mr. Spiceland agreed with Mr. Lipsky, although he did not wish to interfere with the work of Junior Hadassah. However, he said, our own problem is to get the youth to enter the Zionist Organization as members. Junior Hadassah represents one organization, but it does not represent more than 2% of the Jewish young women of this country, he believed. He could not understand why the other 98% should be excluded. He therefore suggested eliminating paragraph B. in the resolution.

Mr. Wolfson moved that both paragraphs B. and G. be stricken out.

Mr. Goldberg pointed out that the sub-committee was in favor of organizing mixed groups only in the Metropolitan district; outside of New York they are to be organized separately, like Masada.

Mr. Margulies felt that in view of the fact that Hadassah is a permanent or an existing organization and there are ten or twelve thousand Junior Hadassah members, nothing should be done which would in any way disrupt or harm Junior Hadassah. He suggested, therefore, that paragraph B. be adopted to see how it works out for a year.

Mr. Szold pointed out that this matter has been debated for about a year. Conferences have been held with Masada and other organizations, and as a result, these conclusions were arrived at and adopted by the Administrative Committee. If the resolution as presented is not adopted, it will mean a reversal of the action which the Administrative Committee has taken in connection with recognizing the Youth Zionist Organization.

Mr. Lipsky seconded Mr. Wolfson's motion to omit paragraphs B. and G.

Rabbi Klein could not see the justice of allowing mixed groups in New York and insisting on separate groups outside of New York. He suggested that in communities where there are Junior Hadassah groups already in existence, the young men groups shall be organized separately, unless it shall be agreed upon by the Zionist Organization and Hadassah that some other procedure be followed under particular conditions.

Mr. Lipsky suggested that paragraph A. be adopted, that paragraph B. be omitted, that a special paragraph should be inserted to the effect that wherever it is found that the formation of a mixed group is injurious to Junior Hadassah it should be prohibited.

Mr. Rothenberg moved that in communities where there are Junior Hadassah groups already in existence, such groups shall consist only of young men, except in such cities where mixed groups already exist, or in which the formation of a mixed group is agreed upon by the local Zionist District and the local Junior Hadassah, provided that in case no agreement is reached between the local Zionist District and the local Junior Hadassah, the matter should be decided by the Administration of the Z.C.A.

Mr. Brodie felt that paragraphs B. and G. should remain in the resolution. He pointed out that Junior Hadassah has built up an Organization which devotes \$100,000 a year for specific work in Palestine, and urged that nothing should be done to demoralize something which we know is good.

Mr. Lipsky stated that he would be satisfied with Mr. Rothenberg's amendment if in case the local Zionist unit and the local Junior Hadassah did not agree, that there should be an appeal to the Z.C.A. Administration, which should have power to decide, and therefore moved an amendment to that effect.

The resolution on Youth Organization was thereupon adopted, reading as follows:

RESOLUTION ON YOUTH

8. In order that the Zionist movement in America may enjoy continuing life and expanding influence, the Zionist Organization of America shall forthwith devote itself to the organization of youth groups in every community throughout the United States, as follows:

- A. Members of such groups shall be between the ages of 18 and 25.
- B. In communities where there are Junior Hadassah groups already in existence, such groups shall consist only of young men, except in such cities where mixed groups already exist, or in which the formation of a mixed group is agreed upon by the local Zionist District and the local Junior Hadassah, provided that in case no agreement is reached between the local Zionist District and the local Junior Hadassah, the matter should be decided by the Administration of the Z.O.A.
- C. Each member of such group shall contribute to the Zionist Organization of America \$1 per annum which shall include his Shkol.
- D. Each member of such group who passes the age of 25 shall automatically become a member of the Zionist Organization of America.
- E. Such groups shall be entitled to representation at Conventions of the Zionist Organization of America at the rate of 1 delegate to every 100 members.
- F. The work of such groups shall be very closely integrated with the work of other Zionist groups within their vicinity.
- G. Wherever a Junior Hadassah group is already in existence, there shall be joint meetings between the Junior Hadassah group and the Youth groups, and a joint Board, representative of both groups shall be designated in order to effect cooperation between the two groups whenever the needs of the movement demand it.
- H. As soon as, in the opinion of the Administrative Committee of the Zionist Organization of America, a sufficient number of groups have been organized a conference shall be called for the purpose of forming a national federation of such youth groups.

Resolution No. 9 was then presented.

Mr. Lipsky moved that the resolution read merely as follows:

RESOLVED THAT the status quo with reference to Hadassah and the Order Sons of Zion be maintained.

Mr. Lipsky added that the rights of Hadassah regarding delegates to the Congress are provided by the Constitution of the World Zionist Organization which gives rights to shkol payers, and there is no reason why the Zionist Organization or Hadassah shall limit itself to the number of delegates to which it is entitled and whether they should be men or women, since they have that right and it is not necessary to put that down as an agreement.

Miss Benjamin pointed out that up till now Hadassah used to designate one-third of the delegates when there was no election.

Mr. de Haas desired to amend the resolution, that Hadassah shall have the right to send their Shkolim directly to the World Zionist Organization.

Miss Benjamin replied that as a disciplined Zionist body, Hadassah

must function through the Z.O.A. in this respect.

Mr. Spicohandler stated that he is satisfied with the decision to have the status quo remain but he is not satisfied with the amount of dues paid by Hadassah to the Z.O.A., and therefore a committee should be appointed to decide this matter. In this connection, he pointed out, the resolution provides for the youth to pay \$1 to the Z.O.A., whereas Hadassah is to pay less.

Mr. Lipsky pointed out that the principle in maintaining the status quo had two aspects, -- one legal and the other moral. He submitted that the status quo remain, but on certain questions involving responsibility among the men members, such as the dues the men should pay, Hadassah ought to have a certain moral attitude and refrain from voting.

Mr. Rothenberg said that the constitution gives them that privilege.

The Chairman then stated he would put the motion to a vote on the understanding that the continuance of the status quo did not imply a continuance of the prior understanding with Hadassah that Hadassah should have every third delegate on the list of delegates to the World Zionist Congress, but that the matter of the manner in the extent to which Hadassah should participate in any such list would be left for future determination. With this statement the following resolution was moved, seconded, and adopted:

RESOLVED THAT the status quo with reference to the Order Sons of Zion and Hadassah be maintained.

Resolution No. 10 was then presented for discussion.

Mr. Margulies pointed out that this matter concerns the American Palestine Campaign and the Jewish National Fund, and this provision does not say so.

Rabbi Klein said that he cannot understand the meaning of this resolution at this time, and that while there is considerable merit in it, it cannot be put into effect at present.

Mr. Wolfson suggested that a committee be appointed to consult with the National Fund and the Campaign and see if a figure can be reached that can be allocated in order to cover the budget and take care of the needs provided in this resolution. This matter should be carefully studied and presented to the Convention in 1933.

Mr. Brodie moved that this resolution be submitted to the Convention in Philadelphia without any recommendation of this body.

Mr. Brodie's motion was lost and Mr. Wolfson's amendment was carried as follows:

THAT the subject-matter of Resolution No. 10 be referred to the incoming Administration for study and report to the next Convention.

The Chairman then presented Resolution No. 11.

Mr. Spicohandler urged that the representatives of the Z.O.A. on the Board of Directors of the Keren Hayesod and the Jewish National Fund should be elected at the Convention and not appointed by the Administrative Committee.

The Chairman then put the original resolution to a vote and it was carried.

The Chairman then presented Resolution No. 12.

Mr. Wolfson moved its adoption.

Mr. Szold pointed out that both Resolutions 12 and 13 endorse the principle of a specific piece of work. He understood that objection had been raised to No. 12 on the ground that it could not be put into effect at once, but No. 13 could be put into effect without delay.

Mr. Margulies believed that it would be a great mistake to limit the Organization to one specific piece of work, since we are a national Organization and part of the World Zionist Organization, and partly responsible for the entire upbuilding of the Jewish Homeland, and from this High level we come down to the level of only a specific piece of work, and especially in view of the fact that Hadassah is taking care of the most important specific undertaking and now that education will be taken over locally in Palestine, only an insignificant task will remain for the Z. O. A.

Mr. Rothenberg said that regardless of the merits of the proposal into which it is not necessary to go, from the practical point of view it seems not feasible to undertake it at this time.

Miss Benjamin said that some people feel that the adoption of this proposal may help to raise the general level.

Mr. Lipsky stated that he is opposed to this principle which will lead to the destruction of the entire Zionist Organization and the appearance of unity among the Jewish people with regard to the building of the Jewish National Home. He pointed out that the Mizrachi, and Poale Zion, for instance, are partners in framing the general budget of the Congress and after the Congress adopts that budget, they go out and raise funds for a specific undertaking which is sanctioned by the Congress but which to a certain extent is a betrayal of the interest of the entire Zionist movement, and therefore the only organization with the large interest in the upbuilding of the National Home is the Z.O.A. and therefore this proposal is a dangerous thing at this time.

Mr. Szold stated that he thought the adoption of the principle of the resolution would be a great step forward.

The Chairman put the resolution to a vote and it was lost.

The Chairman then presented Resolution No. 13.

Mr. Lipsky moved an amendment which was adopted, the resolution in its amended form now reading as follows:

RESOLVED THAT the Z.O.A. endorse the Savings Groups plan of the American Economic Committee for Palestine; that Zionist units, -- whether Districts or other groups -- be encouraged to form and

maintain Savings Groups, in cooperation with the American Economic Committee for Palestine.

DISCUSSION ON CONVENTION PROGRAM:

Mrs. Vixman called attention to the fact that Young Judaea has no place anywhere in the resolutions or on the program for the Convention. She therefore suggested that Young Judaea be included at least in the program.

Mr. Wolfson moved that Young Judaea be given its proper place in the program and in the resolutions.

Seconded and carried.

The Chairman called attention to the communication from Rabbi Lang in behalf of Young Judaea, and stated that the need of Young Judaea for funds was extremely urgent and critical. In effect, funds had been promised Young Judaea by the appropriation in the Z.O.A. annual budget.

On motion made and seconded, the matter was referred to the Finance Committee.

Mr. Lipsky moved that a report on the American Palestine Campaign be included in the Program, inasmuch as the Luncheon is not a legal session of the Convention.

Mr. Spicandler suggested that the reports of the American Palestine Campaign and the Jewish National Fund should be given first place in the program and should therefore be incorporated in the Sunday morning session.

The question of the World Zionist Congress was brought up and referred to the Board of Officers.

Mr. Rudavsky moved that all further matters in connection with the final program for the Convention be referred to the Board of Officers for their consideration. He also asked that a Board of Elections be designated.

Meeting adjourned at 12:30 A.M.

Respectfully submitted.

RESOLUTIONS ON FEDERATION OF YOUNG ZIONISTS

WHEREAS at a joint conference of representatives of the Youth Zionist Organization and the Junior Hadassah, held on September 9th, it was agreed that there be established a National Youth Council to be called the Federation of Young Zionists, in which both the Youth Zionist Organization and the Masada are to be equally represented and in which, in order to assure complete co-ordination, Junior Hadassah, Avukah and Senior Young Judea are each to be represented by one or two representatives in an advisory capacity and that such Federation of Young Zionists shall become an integral part of the Z.O.A. and subject to its guidance and control and to that members of the Administration or its designees shall be appointed on the Executive Committee of the Federation of Young Zionists

WHEREAS it was agreed that the out of town groups to be formed shall be limited to young men and

WHEREAS it was agreed that neither the Youth Zionist Organization nor the Masada nor its joint council make any demand for any subsidy from the Z.O.A. and

WHEREAS it was further agreed that the Council of the Federation of Young Zionists shall turn over to the Z.O.A. \$1 per capita per member as affiliation dues including the Shekel,

BE IT RESOLVED

1. That the Administration approve the formation of the Federation of Young Zionists.

2. That the affiliation dues of \$1 including the Shekel for group affiliation shall be accepted and that the fifty cents per member received for Z.O.A. purposes shall be turned back to the Council or

Executive of the Federation of Young Zionists for the promotion of its work throughout the country for this year and for the year following without prejudice to any agreement that may hereafter be entered into between the Federation of the Young Zionists and the Z.O.A.

3. That applications for affiliation on the part of Youth Organizations with Z.O.A. shall hereafter be transferred to the Federation of Young Zionists.

4. That the Federation of Young Zionists either through its Executive or its component groups in a matter to be decided by itself, shall be entitled to elect delegates to the general convention of the Z.O.A. in the proportion of one delegate for every one hundred members of the Federation of Young Zionists.

[undated]

REORGANIZATION OF THE Z.O.A.

The membership stood on Oct. 31,	1925	26,433
	1926	21,702
	1927	19,836
	1928	20,780
	1929	16,939
	1930	15,443
Sept. 15,	1931	11,500

It is anticipated that by October 31, the loss between 1930 and 1931 (due largely to the postponement of the convention) will have been made up, and the annual steep decline checked. This has been accomplished by enrolling about 2500 new members during the year, re-establishing districts that did not exist for a number of years, and obtaining members in places where there was no enrollment for years.

Three direct causes can be found for the non-enrollment today of about 40% of the individual membership registered in 1930.

- 1) Financial stringency, 40% of the districts wanted to reduce their dues in order to retain their membership.
- 2) A proportion of the members, those enrolled in May and June are merely "convention members", enlisted under pressure, and who normally do not renew.
- 3) A small transference from the Z.O.A. to the Order Sons of Zion.

There were about 25,000 defaulted members in the record when we took office and the general belief is that this drop in membership was due to indifference to the organization as such. Special effort in the proximity of the convention city has each year had an influence on the figures submitted to conventions, but these gains have not been subsequently maintained. The average percentage of members and the ratio of decline, hold

for every state and city in the union except a few small places. Thus the percentage of members to Jewish population in, say, Brownsville is no better or worse than in the more spread out settlement say of San Francisco.

The results being so uniform a close study of statistics leads, if anything, to the belief that there is an organic failure in our methods of propaganda or enrollment. The discussion of the nature of this failure - if it exists - would lead into far reaching and ^{course} of/debatable territory. During the past year no funds were available for experiment in new types or methods of propaganda. (This report is in no sense a review of what was attempted, or accomplished during the year). But we fairly established the fact that new enrollment can only be accomplished by personal solicitation. Mail campaigns are useless. About one third of the members pay their dues by mail either direct to the office or to districts in response to bills - the rest need calls and dunning.

By and large, in the larger centers, there is no keen interest in "district work" and everywhere there is a withholding of attendance at meetings from fear of collections. On the other hand while it is possible by persistent publicity to "put over" some idea or slogan, the typical Zionist obtains his information by ear and not by eye.

DUES

Consequent on the confusion created by the decisions of the Detroit convention and arrangements entered into from time to time by officers with the districts, the dues are not absolutely uniform. The theoretical six dollars dues are in practice only \$4. in most of the larger centers where anything like a region is assumed to exist.

The deduction of the Shekol (50 ¢) and the New Palestine (\$1.00) leaves actually \$2.50 to the organization. From this \$2.50 has to be deducted the cost of technical recording and registration, receipts and dunning, so that if some plan can be devised that reduces the overhead, the organization would not be worse off, if it proportionately reduced the dues.

The simplest plan, suggested by several workers, would be to -

Reduce the dues to two dollars (including the Shekol)
and to make the subscription to The New Palestine,
a monthly magazine, optional.

A considerable number of the districts would resist this change. But there is a possibility of meeting such opposition by creating two classes of members - a variation of privileges - and permitting the districts to make their own charges.

I am however satisfied that by such a system we would not produce a staple organization. It would get us no further than the "Roll Call" of 1929, a record which has served no practical purpose. There would still remain the problems involved in all the special campaigning which has made people fight shy of Zionism, and which turns the movement into nothing but a collecting agency. I believe we must boldly and in spite of the opposition which will come from "vested interests" which will stir up trouble, demand that all money campaigns be part of the Z.O.A. Administration effort and be included in our membership.

Overwhelmingly the resource of the J.N.F. and the K.H. is the Zionist membership, either through their direct personal support, or their local effort. Of the J.N.F. there has been sanctioned by custom and tradition, the box collections, the flag and flower days and these are not in issue. These except in a few communities where the chest system resist such effort, can continue but for the rest the

J.N.F. as the K.H. and some other items must be boldly dealt with. While there will be some opposition I am convinced that putting the matter boldly before the convention and making it the central issue of the convention and doing sufficient preparatory work we can succeed in rescuing the organization and putting it on a sound basis.

My plan in brief is -

MAKE ALL PALESTINIAN GIFT FUNDS PART OF THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE Z.O.A.

The minimum membership of the Z.O.A. should be \$12.00 * per year payable annually or semi-annually to the Z.O.A. Such membership shall include

Z.O.A. and Shokol	\$3.00
K.H.	5.00
J.N.F.	2.00
Other Palestinian purposes (all other collections)	2.00

We can in this way establish an annual self renewing membership in varying classes, \$12, \$25, \$100, \$1,000 members, on the understanding that our membership card clears every member of responding to any other appeal for Palestine. In a few chest cities there might be objection. But in most such cities there is no opposition to membership effort. We should be entitled to and publicly designate for the first year that we use up to ten per cent of the Palestine fund for expenses of collection and undertake to make known annually the percentage so allocated to the Z.O.A. finances. Released of district dues, and New Palestine, our minimum return would be about the same. I however believe that on this basis membership would become attractive and that by a systematic effort which I am prepared to outline we could count on a 50,000 membership in the first year.

- * Where more than one adult in a family desires to join the Z.O.A. the additional members should pay only Z.O.A and Shokol fee \$3.00.

A TO 5

My judgement of the possible receipts, based on some investigation of past collection is as follows:

40,000 members at	\$12.	\$480,000
5,000 members at	\$25	125,000
2,000 members at	\$50	100,000
100 members at	\$100	10,000
20 members at	\$1000	20,000
		<u>\$735,000</u>

which is probably less than the sum, for K.H., J.N.F., Geworkshats, Mizrahi and a dozen other Palestinian purposes, now contributed by enrolled Zionists.

We could afford to attempt this because our resources on the present fifteen thousand membership would be -

Z.O.A. MEMBERSHIP, Shekel deducted	\$ 37,500
10% of \$135,000 Collections	15,500
	<u>\$ 51,000</u>

all of which should be made available for securing membership and the "administration" otherwise forced to live within the Hadassah contribution till the minimum is passed.

Our experience in soliciting membership warrants the estimate and the attractiveness of the plan. The Zionists are pestered for funds, the movement has at present no other propaganda and any audience asked to listen to a Zionist nervously awaits an appeal. So much is this the case that contributors Chest Clubs will be attempted if we do not make some attempt. By introducing a rigorous system and employing the right staff three-fourth of the Zionist year can be given over to matters other (economic effort, etc.) than collections.

Any loss in receipts in the first year to the K.H. etc. would be made up in eventual stability of resources and an immediate gain in reduced costs. The dignity of the movement would gain, the demoralizing "crisis" speeches and statements cease, and a mass of wholly

undersirable publicity disappear. There are many other advantages which I am fully prepared to recapitulate.

I fully persuade that the present rank and file will agree and support this plan; and am equally conscious of the sources of opposition.

The greatest gain would perhaps be in being able to afford the penetration of 6,000 places in the U.S.A. whereas our contact today is not 600. It is well to remember that on June 30, 1930 there was less than 80 cities in the U.S.A. where we had districts (50 members).

JEWISH AGENCY

As to the J.A. phase I hold that we can say to the J.A. that by our plan we assume $4/5$ of the risk of raising budget allotments and that they should discover their own means of raising $1/5$ from non-Zionists. We may as well admit that the "circus" method is over and "novelties" unavailable. The J.A. non-Zionists have nothing to contribute to our fund raising opportunities and practically decline to help in the only way they could.

NEW PALESTINE

The N.P. serves no practical purpose whatsoever. As an expensive propaganda organ it incurred immense deficits with doubtful results. I would issue it as a monthly optional subscription \$1.00 as the I.O.B.B. is doing and produce a publication readable for those interested and perhaps of influence upon editors and non-Jews generally - like the "New Judea". Those who don't want it should not be forced to pay.

PUBLICITY

The organization would for all purposes engage only one Yiddish and one English publicity man and their duties would be to deal with

the Yiddish dailies and weeklies, the American Jewish weeklies, the American non New York dailies (wholly neglected now) etc. giving information and departing from the now wholly discredited propaganda material.

ORGANIZATION CHANGES

We must think of change in organic terms. Districts or clubs should continue and the districts permitted to add their own charges on the bills. The "regions" have rendered no specific service. We ought to recognize the desirability of erecting real state organizations, but we should fix a minimum membership demand, before we authorize such organizations and we should severely delimit their authority. At present we pander to personal vanity. Honors are bought more inexpensively in the Z.O.A. than in any other organization. Nine men get together and make declarations in the name of a "region" to the world, or a self-appointed secretary writes letters to the papers on problems of which he has no knowledge in the name of organizations which are not consulted.

If X state wants the honor of a state president with some authority for himself and his council over the Zionists in his state there should be a minimum demand to be satisfied before this is permitted. Men enrolled to the extent one percent of the total Jewish population, should be a minimum of any such organization. On some such basis there would be cooperation other than speech making with our flying squadrons.

ADMINISTRATION

As to the inner administration I believe the non-president plan is best till we have a real organization.

The composition of the Administration must anyhow undergo a change. We have agreements with Hadassah, and the Order is making

demand. Moreover we have too many meetings and too little preparation for them.

The Administration might be enlarged to 30, meeting not more than once a month, of which 14 from New York; 6 from Hadassah, two from the Order, one each representing each of the following territorial divisions, New England and, New York State, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Mid-West and South and Southwest. Of the 9 monthly meetings 5 should be held in New York and four outside of it. By some such plan we would begin to introduce a sense of responsibility not only for, but to the administration.

I would also reorganize the executive committee and abolish the National Council as now existing and substitute the idea that following the fourth and ninth meetings of the Administration there be held a session, at which the president or chairman of every bonafide recognized state organization or district or locally elected representative should be entitled to be present, with certain authority over the action of the Administration. I do not believe the Administrative meetings, or other gathering should be "open house" I do not wish for secrecy, but to make attendance a privilege.

CONVENTIONS

The next convention should be held on month prior to the next Congress.

TO SUM UP

1. Z.O.A. membership to include all Palestinian and General Zionist requirements.
2. Administration of 30.
3. Organization of state units.
4. Change in executive committee and abolition of National Council.

5. Integration of all work within the Administration, the abolition of unnecessary committees and adjuncts which play at cross purposes.

I am satisfied that along these lines, dealt with firmly we can rebuild the organization, enlist a new type of membership in many places, bring in new blood, make the organization representative and put an end gradually to "organization politics and politicians!"

If we do not attempt something like this the organization is doomed. It cannot sustain itself financially on the present lines. Though there be nine hundred noise makers, there are a thousand times that number of persons who will not identify themselves with an organization that for 52 weeks in the year manifests only a financial "crisis" and contradictory appeals.

Respectfully submitted

Jacob de Haas.

ADDENDA: Prepared by Mr. Jacob de Haas

DUES: The final \$2.00 in the Unit due would include all the recognized calls and such Zionist institutions as the Histadruth Ivriith, etc., leaving say 10% in hand to meet unanticipated demands.

GOVERNMENT OF FUND

The plan is of course not elaborated to the final stage, but I would pre-suppose the appointment of a Board of Trustees, (which would include an Agency man) to whom all the funds would be turned over, and who would automatically pay over to the different groups and Z.O.A. their shares under the agreement. This would solve certain difficulties that would arise with Mizrahi, Poale Zion, etc.

STATISTICAL BACKGROUND

There are in the U.S.A. roughly, nine thousand cities, towns, etc. in which there are Jews. In 1918-19 when the Z.O.A. had 140,000 \$2.00 members and over 500,000 persons signed the Wilson petition, we had established 2,891 contacts (distinct places). Today, not including Hadassah and the Order Sons of Zion which would not however materially affect the total, the contacts number only 1084 made up as follows:

Cities operating Z.O.A., J.N.F. and K.H.					122
"	" only	"	-	-	5
"	"	"	-	"	3
"	"	"	"	-	94
"	"	"	-	-	51
"	"	"	-	"	727
"	"	-	-	"	82
TOTAL					1084

The K. H. details are based on the A.J.C. report for 1930. It is probably not as detailed as it might be but the differences are too glaring to be ignored. They are the most impressive if we note that the Wisconsin contacts in 1918-19 were 107 and in 1930 117 mostly J.N.F., that of the existing 1084 contacts in the West the Z.O.A. has 31 against J.N.F. 224; that the Eastern states have in all 338, against 1004 in 1918-19.

On the financial side a critical analysis would probably show that of the \$800,000 A.J.C. of 1930, half came from N.Y.C. a quarter from 9 or 10 chest cities, and the remaining quarter from the rest of the country. The chest support indicated to me that there is a basic annual resource for the Palestine Appeal; that by some such a plan as I have drafted the resource can be stabilized in the majority of places, but that we have in addition to work out a definite plan on the economic program so as to come to a clear understanding with "chest" cities and contributors clubs, etc., if we wish for steady progress.

1. RESOLVED THAT it is the function of the Zionist Organization of America to build up a favorable public opinion through the written, as well as oral word, in order that the political aims of the Zionist movement may be thoroughly understood and accepted.
2. RESOLVED THAT in each Zionist unit affiliated with the Zionist Organization of America there shall be designated one or more individuals with whom the Zionist Organization of America may be in contact on matters of political interest, to the end, further, that through such person or persons each unit may be informed of political developments within the orbit of the Zionist movement; and secondly, that the communities of which the Zionist unit is a part may be informed and thirdly, the Zionist Organization may, through such designee issue statements as may be necessary from time to time, to help crystallize public opinion.
3. RESOLVED THAT the Zionist Organization of America shall work in close harmony with the Bureau established by the American Economic Committee for Palestine, and shall make utmost use of the information with respect to Palestine that has been and will be accumulated by the Bureau, to the end that Jews may avail themselves of the economic opportunities offered by Palestine, and thus associate themselves with the economic rehabilitation of the Jewish National Home.
4. RESOLVED THAT every Zionist unit appoint an Economic Committee through which information of economic interest in Palestine may flow directly from the Zionist Organization of America to the Jewish community, of which the unit is a part. It shall be the duty of such Economic Committees to stimulate interest among Jews to settle in Palestine individually or in groups; to establish a registry of Jews who desire to go to Palestine with the understanding that such registry shall be maintained at the National Headquarters of the Zionist Organization of America; to encourage the purchase of products made in Palestine; to foster a desire among Jews to visit Palestine; to arrange tourist groups properly supplied with adequately trained lecturers and guides; and also to form groups of students to visit Palestine during their vacation periods; to encourage Jews to invest in Palestine in sound enterprises.
5. RESOLVED THAT it shall be the function of the Zionist Organization of America to so direct its educational activities as to inculcate in the minds of our people the need for a Homeland, to disseminate information on the results of our efforts in Palestine, and to bring home to the Jewish people in the Diaspora the cultural values being created in Palestine; as well as to make Jews conscious of the value of Palestine as a moral force in their struggle to maintain their position in the Galuth.
6. RESOLVED THAT it shall be considered a function of the Zionist Organization to foster the organization of study circles, Hebrew speaking clubs, Jewish history groups, and other groups which will devoted themselves to acquainting their members with Jewish history, Jewish tradition, culture, literature and language.
that
7. RESOLVED THAT/a special period be set aside each year during which the endeavor shall be made to enlist as many Jews as possible in the ranks of the Zionist Organization of America.

RESOLUTION ON YOUTH

8. In order that the Zionist movement in America may enjoy continuing life and expanding influence, the Zionist Organization of America shall forthwith devote itself to the organization of youth groups in every community throughout the United States, as follows:

- A. Members of such groups shall be between the ages of 18 and 25
- B. In communities where there are Junior Hadassah groups already in existence, such groups shall consist only of young men.
- C. Each member of such group shall contribute to the Zionist Organization of America \$1 per annum which shall include his Shekel.
- D. Each member of such group who passes the age of 25 shall automatically become a member of the Zionist Organization of America.
- E. Such groups shall be entitled to representation at Conventions of the Zionist Organization of America at the rate of 1 delegate to every 100 members.
- F. The work of such groups shall be very closely integrated with the work of other Zionist groups within their vicinity.
- G. Wherever a Junior Hadassah group is already in existence there shall be joint meetings between the Junior Hadassah group and the youth groups, and a joint Board, representative of both groups shall be designated in order to effect cooperation between the two groups whenever the needs of the movement demand it.
- H. As soon as, in the opinion of the Administrative Committee of the Zionist Organization of America, a sufficient number of groups have been organized a conference shall be called for the purpose of forming a national federation of such youth groups.

AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS - HADASSAH, ORDER SONS OF ZION

9. RESOLVED THAT the status quo be maintained with the exception that the understanding that has prevailed in the past with Hadassah with reference to the election of delegates to the Zionist Congress shall be altered so that in those years when there will not be a general election for delegates to the Congress, Hadassah shall have the right to name the number of delegates to which it is entitled but never in any case exceeding one half such agreed list of general Zionists, with the proviso, however, that Hadassah may designate men as well as women as its delegates.

INCLUSIVE DUES

10.

- a. The organization of a Zionist Palestinian contributors Club, the members of which shall pay a single annual contribution for all American Zionist and Palestinian purposes, either according to the percentages allocated on the membership card, or varied according to

the wishes of the donor, on the specific basis that if he contributes a minimum hereafter to be decided upon and allocates it according to the general plan of the division, he is to be held free of all appeals from all the organizations benefitted for that year. The card shall also state the percentage allotted to expense of canvass and collection.

- b. Said contributors club shall be operated by the Z.O.A. which however shall not put non-Zionists or Zionists desiring party affiliations under the obligation of joining it.
- c. That the canvass for such club be organized beginning July 15 and put into simultaneous action in all parts of the United States by September 15th and completed by December 31, 1932.
- d. That for fiscal arrangements the Treasurers of the American branch of the Jewish Agency, of the J.N.F. receive jointly with the Treasurer of the Z.O.A. all funds and distribute them according to the allocations arranged regularly.

- 11. RESOLVED THAT all fund-raising for Palestinian purposes, such as the Keren Hayesod and the Jewish National Fund, as well as other activities, carried on under Zionist auspices, be coordinated with a view to eliminating duplication of effort and expense and competition of appeal; and that the incoming Administration be instructed to effect such coordination as one of its prime duties.
- 12. RESOLVED THAT the Zionist Organization of America endorse the principle of specific responsibility for a specific piece of work in Palestine, so that American Jewry may feel a close personal connection with the actual building of the Jewish National Home and thereby (a) we make the fund-raising more effective and (b) stimulate an increased interest in the Organization; that to this end, the American representatives on the Actions Committee and the Administrative Committee of the Jewish Agency be instructed to endeavor to secure from the appropriate bodies of the Zionist Organization and of the Jewish Agency, at their coming meetings, their approval to the allocation to America of a definite piece of work in Palestine within the Jewish Agency budget.
- 13. RESOLVED THAT the Zionist Organization of America endorse the principle of specific responsibility for a specific piece of work in Palestine so that American Jewry may feel a close personal connection with the actual building of the Jewish National Home; and to this end, that Zionist units (whether Districts or other groups) be encouraged to assume responsibility for a specific economic undertaking in Palestine under the guidance of the American Economic Committee for Palestine.

[undated]

M E M B E R S H I P R E P O R T

	<u>Memb. Reported</u>		<u>March 31, 1932</u>	
	<u>at</u>	<u>1931 Convention</u>	<u>Ann.</u>	<u>Semi.</u>
<u>ALABAMA</u>				
Andalusia		2		
Birmingham		86	4	
Corona		1		
Mobile		8	2	
Montgomery		4	3	
<u>ARIZONA</u>				
Phoenix		1		
Tucson		2		
<u>ARKANSAS</u>				
Jonesboro		1		
<u>CALIFORNIA</u>				
Berkeley			1	
Beverly Hills	3		2	
Brenton Heights	1		1	
Culver City	1		1	
Hollywood	2		2	
Long Beach			1	
Los Angeles	104	2	54	1
Hollywood Dist.	18	6	14	6
Oakland	48	1	17	
Palms	1			
Pasadena	5	7	1	1
San Diego	21	1	4	3
San Francisco	149	2	81	1
Santa Monica	1		2	
Stockton	7		2	
Alameda			1	
Bakersfield				22
Coronada			1	
Eagle Rock			1	
<u>COLORADO</u>				
Colorado Springs	1			
Denver	19		20	
<u>CONNECTICUT</u>				
Bloomfield			1	
Bridgeport	18		49	
Bristol	1			
Colchester	35	24		
Danbury	3		2	
Ellington	2			
Hartford	66		15	
Meriden	12	3	6	2
Middletown	20			
New Britain	11	4		
New Haven	66	2	39	1
New London	27			
No. Bloomfield	1			
Norwalk	12		28	
Norwich	62		2	
Shelton	3			
Stamford	15		3	
Waterbury	11	3	5	
Westport	1		1	
<u>DELAWARE</u>				
Wilmington	63	1	25	
<u>DIST. OF COLUMBIA</u>				
Washington	154		94	

Membership Report

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	<u>Memb. Reported</u> <u>at</u>		<u>March 31, 1952</u>	
	<u>1931 Convention</u>		<u>Ann.</u>	<u>Semi.</u>
<u>FLORIDA</u>	<u>Ann.</u>	<u>Semi.</u>		
Hollywood	1			
Jacksonville	6		3	
Miami	20		2	
Pensacola	1		1	
Tampa	14		2	
<u>GEORGIA</u>				
Atlanta	46	26	1	
Augusta	9			
Tennile	1			
Washington	1			
<u>ILLINOIS</u>				
Aurora	2		2	
Bartonville	1			
Champaign	4			
Chicago	670	11	394	14
Chicago Hghts	2			
Cicero	1			
E. St. Louis	1		1	
Elgin			1	
Galesburg	1		1	
Glencoe	1			
Moline	1		1	
Oak Park	1			
Oglesby	1		1	
Peoria	15		3	
Quincy	1			
Rockford			1	
Tri-City	3			
Waukegan	6		5	
Wilmette	1			
Witt	1		1	
Winnetka			1	
Lake Forest			1	
<u>INDIANA</u>				
Beech Grove	1			
Calumet Gate	41		4	
Connersville	1			
Evansville	3	27		15
Ft. Wayne	36	1	46	1
Gary	13			
Hammond	7		1	
Indianapolis	96	4	48	
Kentland	1		1	
La Otto	1		1	
Michigan City	2			
Richmond	1			
South Bend	29	3	2	
Terre Haute	32		1	
Wakarusa	1			
<u>IOWA</u>				
Ames	1		1	
Centerville	1		1	
Davenport			1	
Des Moines	27		22	
Ft. Madison	1			
Iowa City	1		1	
Marshallton	1		2	
Muscatine	1			
Sioux City	65	2	33	
Waterloo	3			1
<u>KANSAS</u>				
Arkansas City	1		1	
Topeka	3			
Wichita	15			

Membership Report

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	Memb. Report+1 at 1931 Convention		March 31, 1932	
	Ann.	Semi.	Ann.	Semi.
<u>KENTUCKY</u>				
Central City	1			
Cynthiana	1			
Hawesville	1		1	
Louisville	38		11	
Newport	1			
Owensboro	1			
Ft. Thomas			1	
<u>LOUISIANA</u>				
New Orleans	65	13	4	
Shreveport	82	14	3	
<u>MAINE</u>				
Ashland			1	
Augusta	1			
Bangor	21		1	
Biddeford	2	12	2	6
Lewiston	1		1	
Portland	5		4	
Rumford	1		1	
Waterville	1	12	1	1
Saco				1
<u>MARYLAND</u>				
Misc.	48	23	2	
Baltimore	353	4	185	2
<u>MASSACHUSETTS</u>				
Beverly	1			
Boston	263	23	104	7
D. of Zion	12	22	3	
Kadimah Club	50			
Brockton	14	21		
Cambridge	1		3	
Danvers	1			
Chelsea	2			
Fall River	12	1	9	
Framingham	3		1	
Holyoke	15	84	1	
Lawrence	6			
Lowell	21	22	4	
Lynn	14			
Malden	3	1	1	
No. Adams	20	31		
Northampton	1		1	
New Bedford	10		25	3
Norwood	1			
Pittsfield	8	14	7	5
Salem	3		2	
Saugus	1		1	
Somerville	1		1	
Southbridge	1			
Springfield	22	1	13	
Swampscott	2		1	
Taunton	1	17	1	
Turner Falls	1			
Waltham	13	2	1	
West Warren	1			
Winthrop	1			
Woburn	1			
Worcester	19	1	12	

Membership Report

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	<u>Memb. Reported</u>		<u>March 31, 1932</u>	
	<u>at</u>			
	<u>1931 Convention</u>		<u>Ann.</u>	<u>Semi.</u>
<u>MICHIGAN</u>	<u>Ann.</u>	<u>Semi.</u>	<u>Ann.</u>	<u>Semi.</u>
Ann Arbor	1		1	
Detroit	158	1	42	
Flint	2		1	
Grand Rapids	31	2		
Lansing	1			
Monroe	1		1	
Newberry	1		1	
Norway	1			
Paw Paw	1			
Pontiac	1			
Upper Penn.	72	6	7	
Saulte Ste. Marie	1			
St. Clair			1	
Wakefield	1		1	
<u>MINNESOTA</u>				
Chisholm	1		1	
Crosby	1			
Duluth	7			1
Minneapolis	73		24	
St. Paul	62	12	2	
Worthington	1			
<u>MISSISSIPPI</u>				
Clarksdale	1	2	1	
Hattiesburg			1	
Leland	1			
Natchez	1			
Vicksburg	1		1	
Wiggins	1		1	
Yazoo City	1			
<u>MISSOURI</u>				
Hannibal	1		1	
Kansas City	113	2	9	
New Madrid	1		1	
Sikeston	1		1	
St. Joseph		1		1
St. Louis	229	3	66	
<u>MONTANA</u>				
Billings	1			
Butte	5		1	
Helena	1		1	
Missoula	1		1	
<u>NEBRASKA</u>				
Lincoln	8		5	
Omaha	38		2	
<u>NEW HAMPSHIRE</u>				
Claremont	1			
Manchester	5		2	
Newport	5			
<u>NEW JERSEY</u>				
Atlantic City	40		26	
Bayonne	4	1	3	
Bound Brook	1		1	
Burlington	1		1	
Camden	14		11	
Dunnellen	1			
Elizabeth	6		22	
Elmer	4			
Flanders	1		1	
Franklin	1		1	
Jersey City	45		17	
Lakewood	1		2	
Long Branch	1			

	Memb. Reported		March 31, 1932	
	at 1931 Convention			
	Ann.	Semi.	Ann.	Semi.
<u>NEW JERSEY (cont.)</u>				
Madison	1			
Maplewood	1		1	
Newark	157	5	64	
New Brunswick	4		1	
No. Hudson Dist.	25	26	4	8
Passaic	13	4	5	
Paterson	75		43	
Perth Amboy	77	1	30	
Plainfield	67	2	28	2
So. River	1		1	
Summit	2		2	
Trenton	3	15	1	2
Vineland	3			
Westwood	1		1	
Woodbine	1		1	
Millville			1	
<u>NEW MEXICO</u>				
Albuquerque	1			
Carlsbad	1		1	
La Meda	1			
<u>NEW YORK</u>				
Albany	49	3	4	
Accord			1	
Amsterdam	9	1	2	
Brightwaters	1			
Buffalo	95	18	57	9
Burlingame			1	
Cohoes	1		1	
Ellenville	1			
Elmira	4		2	
Gowanda	1		1	
Glen Falls	3	11	1	
Gloversville	27	5		
Greenport	1		2	
Greenwood	2			
Hudson	45	11	10	12
Kingston	5	3	1	
Lake Placid	1		1	
Mamaroneck	2		1	
Massena	11		10	
Middletown	17		2	
Monticello	63		45	
Mt. Vernon	106		56	
Newburgh	91		13	
Newman	1			
New Rochelle	11		1	
Niagara Falls	45	11	23	16
Northport	1			
Olean	2		1	
Ossining	2		1	
Peekskill	29		3	
Pelham Manor	1			
Pt. Chester	22	1	3	
Pt. Jervis			1	
Poughkeepsie	16		4	
Rochester	50	1	18	
Saratoga Spgs	20		2	
Scarsdale	1		3	
Schenectady	37		7	
Spring Valley	14		1	
Suffern	4		1	
Syracuse	19	2	9	
Tarrytown	7			
Troy	41	8	6	
Utica	2		2	
Watertown	7		2	
White Plains	1		1	
Yonkers	28		12	1

Membership Report - #6

	Memb. Reported		March 31, 1932	
	at 1931 Convention			
	Ann.	Semi	Ann.	Semi
<u>NEW YORK CITY</u>				
Sunnyside	1			
Canarsie	13	8		
D. of Zion	2		1	
Hungarian Zionists	35	86		51
Nordau Zion	1			
Undistributed	21	3	30	2
Downtown Dist.	126	12	4	1
Dist. # 5	2			
6	31		19	
7	156	4	105	2
8	43	11	15	14
10	171	6	88	2
11	17	5	5	3
12	34	16	8	
13	102	5	54	2
14	271	7	119	1
15	70	28	31	32
16	22	9	11	7
17	120	13	66	6
18	45	1	15	
19	62	5	34	1
20	57	1	32	
22	24		7	
24	29	19	10	2
25	82	18	32	5
27	10		6	
28	11	1	6	
29	4		1	
31	2		1	
32	74	3	29	1
33	149	3	46	
34	26	2	11	
35	26		17	
36	53		14	
38	19			9
39	89	9	41	3
40	19	3	9	2
42	2			
43	11	4	1	5
45	43	4	18	1
Jackson Hts			10	9
Castle Hill			2	
<u>NORTH CAROLINA</u>				
Asheville	5		2	
Charlotte	3		1	
Fayetteville	7		2	
Goldsboro	1		1	
New Bern	1			
Wilmington	35			
Burgaw			1	
<u>NORTH DAKOTA</u>				
Dickinson	2			
Fargo	2			
Flasher	1			
Misc.			1	
<u>OHIO</u>				
Akron	27	1	7	1
Alliance	1			
Ashland	1		1	
Barberton	1		1	
Bellaire	1		1	
Bowling Green	1		1	
Canton	2	14	1	
Chillicothe	1			
Cincinnati	114	2	54	
Cleveland	262	36	13	
Columbus	57	7	46	4
Dayton	40	6	3	
Fostoria	1			

Membership Report - #7

	Memb. Reported		March 31, 1932	
	1931 Convention		Ann.	Semi.
<u>OHIO (cont.)</u>	Ann.	Semi.	Ann.	Semi.
Lancaster	1			
Lorain	4		1	
Marietta	5	2	1	
Newark	1		1	
Norwood	1			
Springfield	1			
Steubenville	1		1	
Toledo	66	7	1	
Warren	10	3	1	
Youngstown	26	2	11	12
<u>OKLAHOMA</u>				
Coalgate	1		1	
Erick	1			
Oklahoma City	2		1	
Okemah	2			
Tulsa	10	1	5	1
<u>OREGON</u>				
Marshfield	1		1	
Portland	97	11	35	2
Prineville	1			
Redmond			1	
<u>PENNSYLVANIA</u>				
Allentown	20	1	6	
Athens	1		1	
Bethlehem	10	2	5	
Braddock	2	1	1	
Bristol	2			
Butler	2		2	
Cannonsburg	1			
Centralia	3			
Carbondale	14	9	28	
Chester	15	19		
Clifton Heights	1			
Coatesville	2		3	
Dunmore	1			
Easton	11	2	18	
Erie	3		2	
Freeland	6			
Greensburg	50		11	1
Harrisburgh	10		7	
Hazleton	3		2	
Hooversville	1		1	
Johnstown	37		7	
Kane	1		1	
Lancaster	15	2	1	
Landsdowne	1			
Lebanon	1			
Lenni Mills	1			
Lewison	1		1	
Marcus Hook	1		1	
Mahoney City			1	
McKeesport	6		7	
Milton	1		1	
Mt. Carmel, Shamokin, Suh.	45	18	18	3
New Castle	1		2	
New Kensington	1		2	
Oil City	28			
Petrolia	1		1	
<u>Phila.</u>				
Central	17		5	
Germantown	8			
Logan	31		1	
North	95	4	4	
Parkside	5		2	

Membership Report - #8

<u>PENN. (cont.)</u>	<u>Memb. Report ed</u> <u>at</u>		<u>March 31, 1932</u>	
	<u>1931</u> <u>Ann.</u>	<u>Convention</u> <u>Semi.</u>	<u>Ann.</u>	<u>Semi.</u>
<u>Phila. (cont.)</u>				
South	23	9	16	11
Strawberry Mansion	13		4	
West	31		3	
Wynnefield	42		1	
Pittsburgh	303	2	6	
Pottstown	2		1	
Pottsville	7	32	3	29
Reading	37		9	
Scranton	107	1	10	
Sharon-Farrel	5		1	
Shenandoah	1		1	
Uniontown	58	11	3	
Washington	8		3	
Wilkes-Barre	8		4	
West Chester	8			
Williamsport			2	
Wyomissing			1	
<u>RHODE ISLAND</u>				
Pawtucket	24	3	1	
Providence	173	1	114	2
Woonsocket	5		41	
<u>SOUTH CAROLINA</u>				
Beaufort	1			
Blacksville	1		1	
Charleston	49	4	16	1
<u>SOUTH DAKOTA</u>				
Aberdeen	1			
Eureka	1			
<u>TENNESSEE</u>				
Chattanooga	16		4	
Harriman	1			
Knoxville	10			
Memphis	13		4	
Nashville	35	5	9	1
<u>TEXAS</u>				
Austin	2		2	
Beaumont	9		2	
Beeville	1		1	
Borger			1	
Breckenridge		3	1	
Dallas	42	1	6	
Corpus Christi	1		1	
Edinburg			1	
El Paso	3			
Ft. Worth	34	20		
Galveston	22		5	
Houston	88	11	10	
Marshall	2			
McCaney		2		
New Braunfels	1			
Abilene		3		
Lubbock		4		
Slaton		1		
Post		1		
San Antonio	70		41	4
Sequim	1			
Tyler	22			
Texarkana	1		1	
Waco	32	2	2	

Membership Report - #9

	Memb. Reported at 1931 Convention		March 31, 1932	
	Ann.	Semi.	Ann.	Semi.
<u>UTAH</u>				
Salt Lake City	5		1	
<u>VERMONT</u>				
Burlington	1		6	10
Rutland	9		2	
<u>VIRGINIA</u>				
Appalachia	1			
Danville-Martinville	1		1	
Newport News	15		2	
Norfolk	74	3		
Hampton			1	
Petersburg			1	
Portsmouth	39	3	1	
Richmond	4	1	3	
Roanoke	1			
West Point	1			
Berkely			1	
<u>WASHINGTON</u>				
Seattle	46		14	
Spokane	1			
<u>WEST VIRGINIA</u>				
Brownwell	1			
Charleston	53	1	21	
Clarksburg	6	4		
Edgewood			1	
Fairmont	3	2		
Grafton		1		
Huntington	1			
Keyser	6			
Martinburg	3	4		
Morgantown	4	12		
North Fork	1		1	
Parkersburg	7	1	1	
Princeton	1		1	
Wellsburg	1		1	
Weston	1		1	
Wheeling	9	8	1	1
<u>WISCONSIN</u>				
Appleton	2			
Beloit-Janesville	2			
Burlington	1			
Genoa City	1			
Green Bay	30		1	
Kenosha	2			
Madison	1		1	
Marinette	3			
Milwaukee	95	1	4	
Phillips	1			
Racine	4		1	
Sheboygan	8			
Superior	2		2	
<u>FOREIGN</u>				
	7		2	

* T O T A L

11,293

1,222

3,389

407

* Excluding all Life and Joint Members.

11,293
1,222
3,389
16,311

**MISSING
PAGE (S)**

ECONOMICS

Much has been said, in the last few years, of the necessity to place greater emphasis upon the need of private initiative in the building of the Jewish National Home, as well as on the necessity of encouraging individuals to associate their personal fortunes with Palestine. It was in line with this general desire that an Economic Bureau was established, but up to the present time, the work of the Bureau has not yet been thoroughly integrated into the sphere of the functions of the Zionist Organization. It is recommended that in keeping with the trend of the time it is essential that the ZOA shall make it one of its primary functions to mobilize the forces of private initiative, and to crystallize the will of individual Jews to live in and for Palestine. In order to achieve this, it is necessary, first, that the Zionist Organization shall have an Economic Department which shall work in conjunction with the Bureau, and which shall make use of such information as the Bureau accumulates, to the end that a movement shall be created among Jews to avail themselves of the opportunities offered by Palestine, and to come to the assistance of the work of rebuilding the Homeland in an individual capacity. Second, that every Zionist unit shall appoint an Economic Committee through which information concerning matters of economic interest in Palestine may directly flow from national headquarters to the Jewish community. Such Economic Committees should carry on propaganda under the following heads:

- a) To stimulate interest among Jews to settle in Palestine individually or in groups;
- b) To encourage the purchase of products made in Palestine;
- c) To foster a desire among Jews to visit Palestine to help arrange tourist groups properly supplied with adequately trained lecturers and guides, and also to form groups of students to visit Palestine during their vacation periods;
- d) To encourage Jews to invest in Palestine in various enterprises, such as the Ruttenberg Plan, the Dead Sea Concession, the Mortgage Bank, etc...

(It was suggested that it might be possible to arrange that the Economic Committees of the various Zionist units might secure Palestine produced articles at a special discount, and that such discount be utilized for the maintenance of propaganda incidental to the work for *Tozereth Haaretz*.)

EDUCATION

One of the principal functions of the Zionist Organization has been and will continue to be education. In accordance with varying factors, the manner in which the work of education has been carried on has been altered, from time to time. At present, our propaganda must, in addition to educating our people to the need for a homeland, disseminate information on the results of our or-

forts in Palestine, bring Palestine home to the Jewish people in the Diaspora and must also make Jews conscious of the value of Palestine as a moral force in their struggle to maintain their position in the Galuth. It is the further function of propaganda to call the attention of the Jews to the cultural values which are being created in Palestine, which might be utilized for the purpose of enriching their own lives in the lands where they live. The propaganda must be designed so as to constitute a bridge between Palestine and the Diaspora, which will serve as the passageway for all Jewish forces for the rebuilding of Eretz Israel, and as a roadway over which those revitalizing forces that are the results of the reconstruction work in Eretz Israel, might be brought to the Diaspora, to the end that the national and cultural position of Jews in the Galuth may be strengthened.

In addition, propaganda conducted by the Zionist Organization must aim at a development of Jewish consciousness and the strengthening of Jewish sentiment. It should develop in the Jew a profound desire for a knowledge of his own culture, a study of Jewish history, achievements, martyrdom and the heroism of his people in the past and the present. Briefly, it must help to foster a love of the Hebrew language and literature and a thirst for knowledge of Jewish life so that nothing that is Jewish may be alien to him.

(It was suggested that a special month each year be designated as "Organization Month". During such a month Zionist speakers should be detailed to travel throughout the country, for the purpose of bringing the Zionist message to the Jews, and of enlisting them as members in the Districts, as well as for general membership in the Organization.)

YOUTH

One of the grave errors of the Zionist Organization of America is that for a decade or more no consistent effort has been made to attract young men to Zionism. As a result we find ourselves now without that adequate reservoir of new blood and strength that is essential for the continuing growth of a movement. The situation is by no means the fault of the young men, but rather ours alone. We can point most regrettably to the fact that while Hadassah has succeeded in fostering an organization of some 10,000 young women, which raises an annual budget of very close to \$100,000 for their administrative purposes, as well as for their own particular projects in Palestine, we have done very little, if anything, in connection with the organization of young men. From time to time, groups of young men have sprung up spontaneously and sporadically in various parts of the country, despite the lack of aid upon the part of the central organization, or of District officials in local communities. While we have given so very little attention to the matter of organizing the youth, other Zionist parties have established a splendid record for themselves. There is, for example, a very strong working Poale Zion wing, Mizrahi Hazair, with over forty thriving branches throughout the country. The Revisionists have organized the Brith Trumpeldor, which, though hampered by lack of financial support, is making excellent strides forward. There can be no doubt that if the Zionist Organization determines once for all to make of the organization of youth a function of preeminent importance, success will be certain just as similar efforts in other countries have succeeded.

The field is fertile. A very large portion of American Jewish youth is thoroughly imbued with a basic Jewish pride and a nationalist spirit, which could, with comparative ease, be transformed into a strong Zionist consciousness and desire to participate in the work for the re-establishment of the Jewish National Home. There are those who argue that Young Judaea has not lived up to its original promise. These people need but be reminded that the Young Judaea program is aimed to attract people up to the age of 18, and the Z.O.A. has not done anything concrete in the way of establishing an organization which would serve as the link between Young Judaea and the parent body. Despite this, many of the younger men who are now active in the movement were originally drawn into it as a result of early contacts with Young Judaea.

One of the main functions of the Education Department is to endeavor to organize youth groups in the various Districts and even in communities where there are no Zionist Districts. These groups when organized are to be affiliated with the Zionist Organization of America. A group should consist of young men only wherever there is at present a Junior Hadassah chapter. The age limit of members should be from 18 to 25 years. The fee to the Zionist Organization is to be \$1.00 per member. A member of such a group who will pass the age of 25 shall become automatically a member of the District and shall be required to pay the same amount of dues as any other member of the Zionist Organization. It is our recommendation that after a substantial number of such groups will have been organized, a national organization of these units may be effected and a conference for that purpose be called. Youth groups shall have the right to send delegates to the Convention of the Z. O.A. in the ratio of one delegate for every 100 members.

It is also recommended that in order to offset the isolation between groups of young men and of young women, joint meetings of Junior Hadassah and the young men's groups shall be held in every District, a joint board of the two organizations shall be elected for the purpose of organizing these joint meetings and of effecting cooperation between the two branches whenever the interests of the movement call for it.

AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS :

Hadassah and the Order Sons of Zion, the two principal bodies affiliated with the Zionist Organization of America, are in reality autonomous in every respect. This situation is an organic development due to various causes. On the whole, particularly in the case of Hadassah, this practical independence has helped to develop leadership, self-reliance, a certain mode of approach, and has been helpful to Zionism in general, even though it has not at all times inured to the benefit of the parent body. To all practical intents and purposes these affiliated organizations became crystallized and detached from the Z.O.A. actually independent units. It is suggested therefore, that an earnest effort be made to bring about closer understanding between the affiliated bodies and the parent organization, through the following means:

- 1) That there be a constant interchange of literature emanating from the parent organization and the affiliated bodies. Zionist Districts and groups shall receive copies of the literature published by Hadassah and the Order Sons of Zion and each Hadassah Chapter and Camp of the Order Sons of Zion shall receive copies of the literature published by the parent organization, so that all groups may become thoroughly acquainted with the plans, functions and activities of each of the three groups.
- 2) That the various Districts, Camps and Chapters shall be informed when speakers representing the Z.O.A. Hadassah, or the Order will visit any community, to the end that members of all of these groups may come in personal contact with speakers representing each of them, and may be in a position to take mutual advantage of the presence of such speakers in their communities.
- 3) That in each community there shall be established a central body consisting of representatives of all Zionist groups, Hadassah Chapters, Camps, Youth Organization, and Junior Hadassah Chapters, to the end that effective cooperation may be established between all of these groups in behalf of such purposes as may be of common interest. It is recommended that once or more during the year a function shall be arranged in each community in which all general Zionist organizations shall cooperate.

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