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

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 Everts, Harry P. Fierst, Abraham Goldberg, Mrs. David Greenberg, Mrs. Samuel Halprin, I. Hassin, Rabbi James G. Heller, Rabbi Max D. Klein, Joseph Kracner, Morris Margalies, Louis P. Rucker, Dr. Abraham J. Rongy, Samuel J. Rosensohn, Morris Rottenberg, 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. Eaim 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 new 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 Shkolim. 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:

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The Chairman called on Mr. Magid, 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 Bagl 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 ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~, 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 ~~fix~~ 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 come 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, those 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." 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. Resensohn 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. Rattenberg 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. Goldberg 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 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. Kramer 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 Spicehandler, Isidore Hassin, Jehannan 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 Shkkel, 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 Shkkel.
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 Shkkel, 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. Magica 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
INCOME:			
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
TOTAL	\$ 49,728.67	\$ 38,745.92	\$ 50,798.40
Less Shekel Accrued	5,557.03	3,149.78	4,350.01
TOTAL INCOME MEMBERSHIP	\$ 44,171.64	\$ 35,596.14	\$ 46,448.39
OTHER INCOME:			
A.P.C.	\$ 6,000.00	\$ 6,000.00	\$
Miscellaneous	690.20	78.89	150.20
Deficit Fund.	5,327.86	2,768.06	3,939.00
Emergency Fund 1931			3,141.50
Publications.	867.48	430.37	3,227.55
TOTAL OTHER INCOME.	\$ 13,385.54	\$ 9,297.32	\$ 10,458.25
TOTAL INCOME.	\$ 57,557.18	\$ 44,893.46	\$ 56,906.64
EXPENSES:			
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	
TOTAL EXPENSES.	\$ 46,724.69	\$ 25,385.14	\$ 39,540.10
EXCESS OF INC. OVER EXP.. . . .	\$ 10,832.49	\$ 19,508.32	\$ 17,366.54
DEF. REP. BEG. OF PERIOD	\$144,347.33	\$152,998.66	\$149,565.91
Less Subseq. Adjust.	100.54	74.98	
Addition. " "			4,430.00
TOTAL DEFICIT REPORTED.	\$144,247.87	\$152,923.70	\$153,995.91
DEFICIT APRIL 30, 1931.			\$136,631.37
DEFICIT APRIL 30, 1932.	\$133,415.38	\$133,415.38	

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

STATUS OF THE DEFICIT

DEFICIT REPORTED JAN. 1st 1932. . \$153,923.70
(Adjusted)

Additional-Cook & Elliott
judgement settled for. 16,000.00

ADJUSTED DEFICIT JAN. 1st \$169,923.70

DEDUCT:

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

TOTAL DEDUCTIONS. \$ 31,508.32

DEFICIT \$137,415.38

DEFICIT AS PER BALANCE SHEET 4/30 \$130,915.38

Loans from J.N.F. and O.S.Z. to
cover Cook Elliott judgement . 6,500.00

DEFICIT \$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. ~~expressly 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 Zionist 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 ~~education~~ 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 ~~mass~~ 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 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 ~~xxxxxxx~~ 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 S. Gold, 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 IN
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 Everts, 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. Everts 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 satisfactory arrangement might be made.

Dr. Wursel 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 Everts, Chairman; Samuel J. Rosensohn, Abraham Tulin, Dr. Samuel Wursel, 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. Szeles 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. Wursel 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. Masenscha 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

of depression which dominates American life, besides the objective factors, there appears also to be a psychological 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. 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 frame-work, 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 far 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 Maccabiah 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 Spiccohandler, Abraham Tulin, Mrs. A.H. Vixman, Morris Weinberg, Leo Wolfson.

EXCUSES FOR NON-ATTENDANCE were received from Rabbi Barnett R. Brickner, Benj. Evarde, 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.B. 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. Lempert, 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 wherever 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 Shohel, 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.

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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 ~~that~~ 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 ~~expensive~~ 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 ~~skaid~~ 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. Sholvin suggested a \$2 associate membership.

Mr. Sholvin 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 these 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. Bornstein 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. Rucker, Nelson Ruttenger, 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. deHans 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 ~~will~~ clarified.

Dr. Warzel 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

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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. deHass 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 gadget 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. de Haas 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. de Haas 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. de Haas 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. de Haas 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. Futtanberg 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 need 50,000 members will 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 rebound 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. deHans 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 these 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. Rutenberg deplored the fact that ~~xxxx~~ people speak of wasting money without a knowledge of the true facts. Very little of the JNF funds is spent for salaries. Mr. Rutenberg 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. Rutenberg'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. Col'berg 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. deHans 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. Rathenborg 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 Mizrahi, 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, Mizrahi, 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. Spiechandler 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.A. 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. Spicehandler 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 C. 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 C.

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 C. 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. Monitors 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. Spicemandler 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 Mizrahi, 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.C.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 Larcheon is not a legal session of the Convention.

Mr. Spicehandler 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 Shokol,

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 Shokol 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.



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 stable 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 organisation 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.	\$1.00
J.N.F.	2.00
Other Palestinian purposes	2.00
(all other collections)	

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 host 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, Mizrachi 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	13,500
	<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

undesirable 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 60 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 one 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 Ivrit, 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 Misrachi, 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 51 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.

[undated]

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 devote 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.

MEMBERSHIP REPORT

	Memb. Reported		March 31, 1932	
	1931	at Convention	Ann.	Semi.
<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	
Hollywood Dist.	18	6	14	
Oakland	48	1	17	
Palms	1			
Pasadena	5	7	1	
San Diego	21	1	4	
San Francisco	149	2	61	
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	
Middletown	20			
New Britain	11	4		
New Haven	66	2	39	
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	

	Memb. Reported at 1931 Convention		March 31, 1932	
	Ann.	Semi.	Ann.	Semi.
<u>FLORIDA</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			
Siaux City	65	2	33	
Waterloo	3			1
<u>KANSAS</u>				
Arkansas City	1		1	
Topeka	3			
Wichita	15			

Membership Report

-3-

	<u>Memb. Report</u> 1		<u>March 31, 1932</u>	
	<u>at</u> <u>1931 Convention</u>			
	<u>Ann.</u>	<u>Semi.</u>	<u>Ann.</u>	<u>Semi.</u>
<u>KENTUCKY</u>				
Central City	1			
Cynthiana	1			
Hawesville	1		1	
Louisville	36		11	
Newport	1			
Owensboro	1			
Ft. Thomas			1	
<u>LOUISIANA</u>				
New Orleans	65	13	4	
Shreveport	62	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	
Canton	1			
Chelsea	2			
Fall River	12	1	9	
Framingham	3		1	
Holbrook	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	

	Memb. Reported at		March 31, 1932	
	1931 Convention		Ann.	Semi.
<u>MICHIGAN</u>	Ann.	Semi.	Ann.	Semi.
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	
Dumellen	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	
	1931 Convention		Ann.	Semi.
	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 Mesa	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	
Gowanus	1		1	
Glen Falls	3	11	1	
Gloversville	27	5		
Greengort	1		2	
Greenwood	2			
Hudson	45	11	10	12
Kingston	5	3	1	
Lake Placid	1		1	
Mamareneck	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. Jarvis			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

	Memb. Reported at 1931 Convention		March 31, 1932	
	Ann.	Semi	Ann.	Semi
<u>NEW YORK CITY</u>				
Sunnyside	1			
Canarsie	13	8		
D. of Zion	2		1	
Hungarian Zionists	33	86		51
Nordm 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	129	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	48	4	18	1
Jackson Hts			10	9
Castle Hill			2	
<u>NORTH CAROLINA</u>				
Ashville	5		2	
Charlotte	3		1	
Fayetteville	7		2	
Goldboro	1		1	
New Bern	1			
Wilmington	35			
Burgav			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	
Postoria	1			

Membership Report - #7

	Memb. Reported		March 31, 1932	
	1931 Convention		Ann.	Send.
<u>OHIO (cont.)</u>				
Lancaster	1			
Lorain	4		1	
Marietta	5	2	1	
Newark	1		1	
Norwood	1			
Springfield	1			
Staubenville	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	8	
Athens	1		1	
Bethlehem	10	2	5	
Braddock	2	1	1	
Bristol	2			
Butler	2		2	
Cannonsburg	1			
Centralia	3			
Carbonale	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			
Lewiscn	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	
Phila.				
Central	17		5	
Germanatown	8			
Logan	31		1	
North	95	4	4	
Parkside	5		2	

Membership Report - #8

Memb. Report ed	at		March 31, 1932	
	1931	Convention	Ann.	Semi.
PENN. (cont.)	Ann.	Semi.	Ann.	Semi.
Phila. (cont.)				
Coats	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-Parrel	5		1	
Shenandoah	1		1	
Uniontown	58	11	3	
Washington	8		3	
Wilkes-Barre	8		4	
West Chester	8			
Williamsport			2	
Wyomissing			1	
RHODE ISLAND				
Pawtucket	24	3	1	
Providence	173	1	114	8
Woonsocket	5		41	
SOUTH CAROLINA				
Beaufort	1			
Blackville	1		1	
Charleston	49	4	16	1
SOUTH DAKOTA				
Aberdeen	1			
Bureau	1			
TENNESSEE				
Chattanooga	16		4	
Harriman	1			
Knoxville	10			
Memphis	13		4	
Nashville	35	5	9	1
TEXAS				
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 - #0

	<u>Memb. Reported</u> <u>at</u> <u>1931 Convention</u>		<u>March 31, 1932</u>	
	<u>Ann.</u>	<u>Semi.</u>	<u>Ann.</u>	<u>Semi.</u>
<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			
Berkeley			1	
<u>WASHINGTON</u>				
Seattle	46		14	
Spokane	1			
<u>WEST VIRGINIA</u>				
Brownell	1			
Charleston	53		21	
Clarksburg	6			
Edgewood			1	
Fairmont	5			
Grafton				
Huntington	1			
Keyser	6			
Martinsburg	3			
Morgantown	4	12		
North Fork	1		1	
Parkersburg	7	1	1	
Princeton	1		1	
Wellsburg	1		1	
Weston	1		1	
Wheeling	9	6	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 *Tzereth 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 ef-

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.

315, 580, 27
19, 228, 25

299, 652, 02
2, 890

302, 152, 02

301, 842, 02

40, 428, 52

