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Series 1: General Correspondence, 1914-1969, undated.

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

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Zionist Organization of America, 1937-1938.

ההסתדרות הציונית של ארצות הברית

# ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA



111 FIFTH AVENUE  
NEW YORK

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LOUIS RIMSKY  
SIGMUND THAU

ISRAEL MALTIN  
*Auditor*

June 24, 1937.

TO THE CHAIRMEN AND SECRETARIES  
OF ZIONIST DISTRICTS:

Dear Friends:

In conjunction with the Fortieth Annual Convention, June 27th - 29th, a broadcast over a nation-wide hook-up of the Columbia Broadcasting System has been arranged for Monday evening, June 28th, from 6:15 to 6:30 P. M. This program will feature a round-table discussion on the vital issues concerning the Royal Commission report on Palestine with Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Louis Lipsky and Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver as the speakers.

The Columbia Broadcasting System is offering this program to your local Columbia affiliated station.

May we ask you to communicate with the heads of your local Columbia station and urge them to broadcast this program in your community.

With Zion's Greetings,

Sincerely yours,

*Morris Margulies*  
Morris Margulies  
Secretary

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ZIONIST ORGANIZATION.

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Rabbi Silver's address next two weeks Hermitage  
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ההסתדרות הציונית של ארצות הברית

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LOUIS RIMSKY  
SIGMUND THAU

ISRAEL MALTIN  
*Auditor*

July 8, 1937

Rabbi A. H. Silver  
The Temple, Ansel Road  
and 105th Street  
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Friend Silver:

As a delegate to the last Convention of the Zionist Organization of America, you became acquainted with the purpose of the Fortieth Anniversary Fund which was voted by the Convention. This Fund as I said in my acceptance address will enable the Zionist Organization of America to conduct an effective activity in defense of Jewish rights in our Homeland in accordance with the terms of the Mandate and the Balfour Declaration. The Fund will be used in part for the opening of a Zionist Bureau in Washington.

To date the sum of \$15,000 has been raised towards the total of \$40,000 required, and I count upon you as the accredited representative of your District to help secure and promptly forward the required amount.

Will you not, therefore, remit to me your contribution in order to enable us to carry on our political task in the light of the present grave situation confronting Palestine. I expect your check before leaving for Zurich about the fifteenth of July.

Faithfully yours,

Stephen S. Wise  
President



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SIGMUND THAU

ISRAEL MALTIN  
*Auditor*

September 1, 1937.

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver  
The Temple  
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Rabbi Silver:

When I learned through the newspapers of your arrival, I tried three different hotels -- Waldorf-Astoria, Ambassador and Commodore -- to locate you, but either you went direct to Cleveland, or I contacted the wrong hotels.

Besides wanting to extend to you a welcome back, I wanted to inform you that (1) there will be a meeting of the Administrative Committee on Sunday afternoon, September 12th, of which notice will be sent to you in a day or so; and (2) primarily, I wanted to apprise you of the fact that under the auspices of the Zionist Organization of America a public meeting will be held Sunday evening, September 12th, at the Hotel Astor, Broadway and 44th Street, New York City, in order to present a report of the Congress sessions by the Z. O. A. delegates.

You are cordially invited to be one of the speakers at this meeting. Please let me know at once whether we may count upon your presence.

With personal regards and best wishes for a Happy New Year, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Morris Margulies,  
Secretary.

## ZIONISTS!

Synagogue Seat Tickets for  
the Holy Days should have  
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Please demand them at your Synagogue

ההסתדרות הציונית של ארצות חב"ת

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LUDWIG LEWISOHN  
*Honorary Secretary*

MORRIS MARGULIES  
*Secretary*

September 3, 1937.

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE Z.O.A. EXECUTIVE:

## EXECUTIVE

LOUIS LIPSKY  
CHARLES A. COWEN  
M. MALDWIN FERTIG  
ABRAHAM GOLDBERG  
ABRAHAM GOLDSTEIN  
RABBI EDWARD L. ISRAEL  
RABBI ISRAEL H. LEVINTHAL  
SAMUEL MARKEWICH  
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SIGMUND THAU

ISRAEL MALTIN  
*Auditor*

You are earnestly requested to attend the first meeting of the Executive of the Z. O. A. to be held since the Congress, on Saturday evening, September 11th, 8:30 o'clock, at my study, 40 West 68th Street, New York City.

With best wishes for the New Year,

Faithfully yours,

Stephen S. Wise,  
President.

September 7, 1937

Mr. Morris Margulies, Secretary,  
Zionist Organization of America,  
111 Fifth Avenue,  
New York, N.Y.

My dear Margulies:

Thank you for your letter of September 1st.  
I am sorry that you were unable to reach me at the  
Commodore Hotel. We stopped there only for a few  
hours and used the rooms engaged by my father-in-law.

I do not know whether I will be able to  
get away next Sunday in order to attend the meeting  
of the Administrative Committee in New York. This,  
as you know, is an extremely busy season in  
congregational life. But I shall make an effort.

With all good wishes for a happy new year,  
I remain

Very sincerely yours,

AHS:BK

P.S. If I do not come, I wish that you or someone  
would raise the question of reconsidering the decision  
of the Convention relative to the \$5 dues. I believe  
that it is a great mistake and will be reflected in a  
serious drop of the membership of the Zionist Organization  
of America. The motion, as you will recall, was passed  
at the last session of the Convention when most of the  
out-of-town delegates had gone home. It would be far more  
advantageous, in my judgment, to strive, this year, for  
a larger membership rather than for increased dues.



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LOUIS RIMSKY  
SIGMUND THAU

ISRAEL MALTIN  
*Auditor*

September 8, 1937.

Dr. F. M. Falkman  
14128 Superior Road  
East Cleveland, Ohio

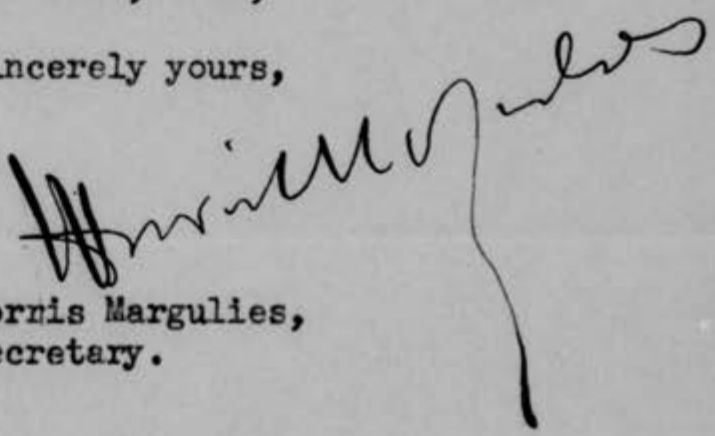
Dear Dr. Falkman:

I am sending you herewith a copy of the list of the Chairmen and Secretaries of the Districts located in the State of Ohio.

With regard to the matter of regional territories, that has not been defined. As you undoubtedly are aware, immediately following the Convention, practically all of the officers left for Europe to attend the Twentieth Biennial Zionist Congress. Consequently, no action has as yet been taken to implement the decisions adopted at the last Zionist Convention.

With best wishes for a Happy New Year, I am,

Sincerely yours,

  
Morris Margulies,  
Secretary.

Encl.

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R. B. WHITE  
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON  
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER  
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

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

September 9, 1937

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA  
111 Fifth Ave.  
New York, N.Y.

AT A MEETING OF THE BOARD OF THE CLEVELAND ZIONIST SOCIETY HELD LAST EVENING IT WAS UNANIMOUSLY VOTED TO REQUEST THE ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE OF THE ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA TO RECONSIDER THE ACTION OF THE CONVENTION CONCERNING THE INCREASE IN DUES STOP THE BOARD FEELS THAT IT WILL SERIOUSLY AFFECT THE REGISTRATION OF NEW MEMBERS AND WILL RESULT IN THE LOSS OF A CONSIDERABLE NUMBER OF OLD MEMBERS NOT ALONE IN ITS OWN SOCIETY BUT THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY STOP THE PRESENT THREE DOLLAR DUES SHOULD NOT NOT BE INCREASED BEYOND FOUR

David Wolpaw, Fin. Sec'y  
Isaac Evans, Treas.

DAY LETTER



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SIGMUND THAU

ISRAEL MALTIN  
*Auditor*

September 9, 1937.

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver  
The Temple  
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

I do hope you will find it possible to be here next week-end, -- if not for all of the meetings, at least for the Administrative Committee meeting, scheduled for Sunday afternoon, and the public meeting scheduled for Sunday evening, at the Astor Hotel.

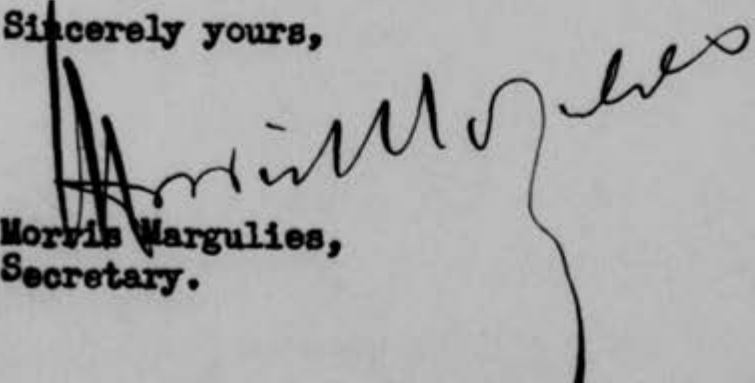
Should you be prevented from attending the Administrative Committee meeting, I will read what you have to say concerning the matter of dues. However, I cannot definitely promise that the question will be taken up, since the entire meeting may be devoted to Congress reports.

May I also take this opportunity to inquire whether it would be possible for you to deliver a lecture before the Forum conducted by the Temple at Springfield, Mass. Rabbi Isaac Klein, the spiritual leader of that Congregation, is most eager to have you with him any time during this winter suiting your convenience. The months they suggested are November, December, January, February or March. They are willing to pay.

Please let me know whether you are in a position to accept their invitation and what the lecture fee will be. I should add that Rabbi Klein has been most helpful in building up a pretty good Zionist District in his city, and your presence in Springfield, though under other than Zionist auspices, is certain to react most favorably on the Zionist work of that city.

With personal regards and cordial New Year Greetings, I am,

Sincerely yours,

  
Morris Margulies,  
Secretary.

MINUTES OF MEETING OF Z.O.A. ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE, HELD ON  
SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 12th, 1:30 P.M., at the ASTOR HOTEL, NEW YORK

1937

PRESENT: Judge Morris Rothenberg (in the Chair), Rabbi A. E. Abramowitz, Chicago; Heinrich Abramowitz, New York; Isaac Allen, New York; Dr. Abraham Ball, Albany; Ralph Bass, Mattapan, Mass.; Dr. Ilie Berger, Providence, R. I.; Samuel Derman, New York; Herman W. Bernstein, New York; Samuel Berson, New York; Rabbi Maurice J. Bloom, Newburgh, N. Y.; A. D. Braham, New York; Dr. Aaron Burman, Syracuse, N. Y.; Israel S. Chipkin, New York; Sol Cohen, Richmond Hill, L. I.; Charles A. Cowen, New York; Daniel Ellison, Baltimore, Md.; Benjamin F. Evarts, Holyoke, Mass.; Dr. David Feldman, Philadelphia, Pa.; Hon. M. Maldwin Fertig, Bronx, N. Y.; Harry P. Fierst, New York; Jacob Fishman, New York; David Frankel, Trenton, N. J.; David Friedman, Norfolk, Va.; Rabbi J. L. Goldberg, Astoria, L. I.; Abraham Goldstein, Hartford, Conn.; Rabbi Israel Goldstein, New York; Rabbi Abram Granowitz, Johnstown, Pa.; Harry Grayer, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Morris Greenberg, Bronx, N. Y.; Isidore A. Hassin, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Isaac Imber, New York; Arnold K. Isreeli, Bronx, N. Y.; Sidney Jaffe, Philadelphia, Pa.; Harold Jaffer, Mt. Vernon, N. Y.; Samuel Judenfreund, New York; Samuel Kanarvogel, Bronx, N. Y.; Mordecai Konowitz, Jamaica, L. I.; Jos. Kraemer, Newark, N. J.; Abraham Krumbein, New York; Dr. Harris J. Levine, Bronx, N. Y.; Aaron Levinstone, Newark, N. J.; Judge L. E. Levinthal, Philadelphia, Pa.; Judge William M. Lewis, Philadelphia, Pa.; Louis Lipsky, New York; Morris Mallove, New London, Conn.; Morris Margulies, New York; Harry J. Moskowitz, Far Rockaway, L. I.; Louis Myers, Bronx, N. Y.; Max Nigrosh, Mattapan, Mass.; Harry A. Pines, Newark, N. J.; David Podolsky, New York; Elias Preiss, New York; Dr. Harry Projector, Bronx, N. Y.; Jacob Rand New York; Jos. Reder, Mattapan, Mass.; Hon. Hyman J. Reit, New York; Bernard G. Richards, New York; Louis Rinsky, New York; Henry Rosenbaum, Plainfield, N. J.; Chas. Rosengarten, Waterbury, Conn.; Dr. Julius M. Rosenthal, Monticello, N. Y.; Moses Robinson, Bronx, N. Y.; Irving Schatzberg, Laurelton, L.I.; Samuel Schleimer, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Adrian Schwartz, New York; Rabbi H. E. Schwartz, Hempstead, L. I.; Judge Joseph Siegler, Newark, N. J.; Dr. Solomon Smelin, Bronx, N. Y.; Abraham Spicehandler, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Joshua Sprager, New York; Julius Stone, Boston, Mass.; Judge Nathan Swoedler, Brooklyn; Robert Szold, New York; Sigmund Thau, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Samuel Umansky, Meriden, Conn.; Meyer W. Weisgal, New York; Leo Wilson, Bronx, N. Y.; Dr. Stephen S. Wise, New York; Leo Wolfson, New York; Rabbi Harry Z. Zwelling, New Britain, Conn.

Excuses for Non-Attendance were received from Rabbi Morton M. Berman, Chicago, Ill.; Rabbi Arthur Brodey, Hattiesburg, Miss.; Daniel Frisch, Indianapolis, Ind.; Joseph Goldberg, Worcester, Mass.; Leo Guzik, New York; Rabbi Solomon Goldman, Chicago, Ill.; Isidore Hershfield, Washington, D. C.; Rabbi Edward L. Israel, Baltimore, Md.; Harry J. Kahn, Bronx, N. Y.; William M. Katz, Chicago, Ill.; S. J. Keiser, Baltimore, Md.; Prof. Gustave Klausner, St. Louis, Mo.; Samuel Kranzberg, St. Louis, Mo.; Dr. M. B. Lichtenstein, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Aaron Riche, Los Angeles, Calif.; Louis P. Rucker, New York; Dr. A. J. Rongy, New York; Sam Shankman, Memphis, Tenn.; Simon Shetzer, Detroit, Mich.; Chas. B. Spinor, Houston, Texas; Jacob Weiss, Indianapolis, Ind.



Judge Rothenberg opened the meeting with the following remarks:

"I want to extend a word of welcome to Dr. Wise, the President of the Zionist Organization of America; Mr. Lipsky, the Head of the American Delegation, and all the other delegates who have returned from what was undoubtedly one of the most eventful Congresses in the history of the Zionist movement. Those of us who were fated to remain away from the Congress, breathlessly followed the proceedings of the Congress insofar as we could through the press reports. There were some sessions which were executive in character. We were interested and at times perplexed by some of the things that occurred. Chiefly among the latter is the seeming reversal of the decision of the majority of the American delegation with respect to the Convention resolution against partition. All of us had expected that the American Delegation would unanimously support the valiant and effective efforts which the President of the Zionist Organization of America made to implement that resolution at the Congress.

"We had a meeting of the Executive of the Z.O.A. last night and those who were privileged to be there participated in the discussion which was illuminating with respect to this very question, but I think that it is in the interest of our common work in the future that there should be a frank elucidation of that aspect of the subject here. It does not have to be acrimonious or bitter, but it should be clear. I think that all of us are entitled to know the facts. At the same time, I think it must be said that those of us who were here received the impression that the Congress as a whole was conducted on a very high, intellectual level, and considering the deepseated differences that developed at the Congress and the emotions that were aroused because of those differences, it was indeed heartening that the Congress closed without a break in Zionist ranks. And I think equally we should pay a tribute to the sportsmanship and the fine Jewish conduct of the non-Zionists in the Council of the Jewish Agency, who adopted the resolution of the Congress with some modification, which in no way altered the status of the Organization.

"And lastly, I would like personally to say that watching Dr. Weizmann in this Congress, however we may differ with some of his philosophies, we had an increased respect and admiration for the leader of the World Zionist Organization.

"Now it is my privilege to call upon the President of the Zionist Organization, as the first to report on the Congress proceedings."

ADDRESS OF DR. WISE:

"I am sure that Judge Rothenberg meant to help us when he said he hoped there would be an entire absence of acrimony. The Congress is over. There is no occasion for acrimony. After leaving Zurich we became, and are now, reunited. There really wasn't very much of bitterness. There was deep feeling. There is no concealing that -- and there is no wisdom in attempting to conceal that the Congress was one of the most solemn Congresses that I, in 39 years since I attended the Second Congress in '98 happened to know. It was

ADDRESS OF MR. LIPSKY:

"I am glad that Dr. Wise ended his report with the words which I think should be the keynote of this meeting. It is very easy for Zionists experienced in the order of discussion to get themselves confused in entanglements of debate, and find themselves in each other's hair to such an extent as to obscure the real purposes of the Zionist movement and responsibilities which rest upon us. I think it is of the utmost importance that after that remarkable discussion which took place in Zurich, we should undertake the obligations that we have assumed as responsible members of a very responsible movement, with a clear understanding that we cannot continue the Zurich discussion all over the United States. It would be a very interesting and a very illuminating discussion, but in the long run it would in the very nature of the discussion bring about disintegration instead of unity and cooperation.

"It is sometimes very hard to appreciate what happens when Zionists go over to the other side. What seems to us over here real is unreal over there. What seems to us here weighty arguments, over there assumes a different note and tone.

Speaking of the factors responsible for this, Mr. Lipsky further said:

"When you come over to the first station, London, you find yourself in an atmosphere where the politics have to do with things that you cannot measure and you cannot weigh, you cannot use consistent thought nor use anything that has to deal with the usual processes of the mind. We came to London with the idea of expressing principles of right, and we found that the entire situation in London had been contemplated by a change in the business relations of the Zionists and the Mandatory Government.

"In London I found for the first time a feeling, on the part of most of the authorities, that the time had come when the intolerable conditions of the Mandate had to be met by an alternative method. As a matter of actual fact, Dr. Weizmann had come to the conclusion with a large number of others that this position had become, not only through the negligence and the wrong-doing of the Administration in Palestine, but through a combination of events, an intolerable situation, and therefore the alternative proposal of a free Jewish state in a part of Palestine was being seriously considered.

"Now, as a matter of fact, in the elections for the Zionist Congress there was no consideration of any alternative proposal. There was the consideration of holding the Mandatory Government to the Mandate. No one knew what the alternative proposal might be, how the form of the proposal would be adjusted by the Government, and everyone was convinced that so far as the British Empire was concerned, this proposal would have nothing to do with our interests but her own interests which had developed a new approach to Palestine, and the whole entanglement of the Mandate had to be gotten rid of so that freedom of action proposed for its own interests might be taken without any interference.

"There had developed in Palestine, among all classes and a number of the leading men, a feeling -- that they were contemplating the thought of a Jewish state in



a part of Palestine -- there had developed a feeling of balance of choice between the two -- the things that are and the things that are proposed, and there had developed among Zionists, an extraordinary zeal and conviction for the alternative, the preference of a free Jewish state in a part of Palestine, even to the destruction of the Mandate.

Describing the reactions to the report of the Royal Commission on the eve of his departure for Zurich and the discussions on the proposed partition by the Actions Committee, Mr. Lipsky referred to the attitude taken at the Congress by Ussishkin, Ben Gurion and other leaders.

Mr. Lipsky further said:

"While all of the discussions were concerned with fundamental ideals of the Zionist movement, there was the feeling that the practical business of Zionist life has to be continued, and that was why those who were opposed to partition voted to give power to the Executive to consider the matter. I think that we have learned in the last twenty years that the most important matter in Zionist life is the continuity of our work, the continuity of our people as a people. Everything that Zionism has taught us in the last twenty years has been that just as it is important for the world to get through these present political crises, so it is important for the Zionist movement that we keep a door open, that we build what we can and take what we can possibly get. I think that that was one of the virtues of Dr. Weizmann's policy when he said that the most important thing is the life-line that gets Jews into Palestine. So long as that life-line is not broken, we will be patient, waiting for the day when justice will prevail.

Referring to the criticism leveled at the Mandatory Government, Mr. Lipsky said:

"It becomes impossible for us to insist on that Mandate which we ourselves have asserted time and again has been violated. In what way has the violation of the Mandate affected us? To this extent: That there has grown up in Palestine, unrestrained by the Government, a large and violent group of Arabs who have developed their youth and their national aspirations, have contacted with Arabs throughout the world, and have become a formidable barrier to the fulfillment of the Jewish National Home in all parts of Palestine.

"The Congress opened the door to look at the question of the establishment of a free Jewish State in a part of Palestine in order through this free Jewish State to extricate ourselves from an impossible economic and political situation in which we find ourselves. They merely opened the door to look at it; they were not committing themselves to any idea that that kind of dismemberment should be satisfactory; they merely said; in the light of all the things we see now, with England determined to free itself of the Mandate so far as its own military defenses are concerned, with an Arab people undeterred by English influence, organizing itself all over the East -- it is our business as a responsible people to look into this proposition of whether England, which under the circumstances, defaulted once again all along the line, may yet come to the conclusion that it will fulfill to a certain extent the promises made in the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate.



"There is nothing behind that door for Zionists to allow themselves to be broken into bits. The fact of the matter is that what is going on behind that door is changing from day to day and no one knows whether you are going to see a free Jewish state in a part of Palestine or a free Jewish state altogether. It is a matter that remains to be seen. Our business now is to plan our work so that whatever happens behind that door, we are massing those resources which will make us stronger with regard to that political situation that may confront us.

In regard to the area available in the proposed Jewish State, the speaker said that there/<sup>are</sup> tremendous opportunities for the development of industries and commerce along the coast.

"Relations can be established with the Lebanese and connections formed with other parts of the world, Jewish people having a large scope of endeavor which should interest them. In the last analysis, the Jewish State was suggested because of our achievements and because there have been developing in Palestine the foundations of a Jewish State that have become visible to every one. We ourselves have created whatever there is of freedom and community and National Home -- developed our own energies and resources.

"That is why I would like to suggest that we issue from this meeting some form of a statement which will make clear exactly our attitude toward this matter. Through work which is a cooling influence, that makes for partnership and cooperation, that joins together instead of breaking apart, that can unite all of us, and through this union of work, we can establish something that will have great weight in the decision that will be made when the Executive comes back. The Executive has been sent out on a great adventure. With what it will come back no one can tell.

"It may be said with absolute justice that the discussions at this Congress for the first time showed that Zionists are free -- that they were not speaking for the Mizrachi or Poale Zion, but every man was speaking for himself. No man had a party behind him. Everybody spoke with a certain amount of freedom and it gave color to the discussion and out of this discussion there has been laid the basis of a new understanding of the action that the Jewish people must take. It is as clear as can be that the British Government which in 1917 was eagerly on the way of an idealistic adventure now finds itself in the muddle of international politics and is not a free agent. And as a matter of practical affairs, we must devote ourselves to an understanding of the realities of our position, and exclude from consideration these sentimental devices that have always come up among Jews and Zionists whenever a difficult situation confronted us. The Zionist movement is pragmatic; Jewish people understand that reliance comes from within -- and if we keep to that line against whatever obstacles, we will in that way help to resolve whatever problem faces us," Mr. Lipsky concluded.

DR. WISE rose to felicitate Mr. Morris Rothenberg on his appointment to the bench. He said:

"Morris Rothenberg, long a faithful and devoted servant of our great cause, was honored fittingly and favorably enough by being invited to serve as Judge in the Courts of New York.

"I am sure everyone of us here felt not only joy in the honor that has come to a friend, but pride in the circumstances that the appointment of Morris Rothenberg was one that was bound up with a sense of respect and admiration for his qualities; for his qualities as a man, as lawyer and as Jew. In your name, I tender Judge Rothenberg the congratulations of the Zionists of America."

(Applause)

JUDGE ROTHENBERG:

"I am very deeply grateful to Dr. Wise and to you for the expression of his sentiment on this occasion."

Judge Rothenberg then suggested the following procedure for the remainder of the meeting: that we hear three additional speakers -- Messrs. Robert Szold, Jacob Fishman and Dr. Israel Goldstein -- the first two to supplement the report on the Congress, and Dr. Goldstein to speak on the meeting of the Council of the Jewish Agency. A discussion from the floor is to follow.

MR. SZOLD'S REMARKS:

Voicing gratitude at his election as a delegate to the Congress, Mr. Szold proceeded to answer some of Mr. Lipsky's contentions:

"As I take it, the burden of what Mr. Lipsky explained to you is that Great Britain has come to the end, the Mandate is finished, we have to accept that fact. We may not have realized that several months ago, but that is the fact and as business men we have to recognize that England says we will go that far and not an inch further. Well, I for one recognize that fact. In 1919 when I also had the honor to represent this Organization for some months in Palestine as a member of the Vaad Ha-Tzirim (the predecessor of the present Jewish Agency) I then witnessed the attitude of the British officials. I recall their statements at that time: 'Let us know which way this thing is going and we will go that way'."

"At the Congress it was recognized on all sides, there was no difference of opinion whatsoever between the 'yes-sayers' and the 'no-sayers'. It was at the door of the British officials that the whole fault was laid. We have been recognizing it for all these years, and the British officials in Palestine, as Dr. Wise said, not only failed, but tried to fail. Now, this seems to be something that has come upon us all of a sudden. The executive that is now recommending partition did not have any idea thereof a few months ago."

Stating that the World Zionist Executive refused to submit the American memorandum on the Administration in Palestine to the Royal Commission, the speaker said:

"Now those are the people who want to negotiate with these British officials. A few months ago they said: 'We shall fight partition'. Is this Executive,



that a few months ago was afraid to say a word against British officials, an Executive to confer with on a plan? Great Britain has said that it did not want things that obtained before and has gone on and done the same things. This is not the last thing that Great Britain ever did. It is an interim innovation. Ormsby-Gore said: 'We won't go on.' And they put it up to Parliament. Parliament did not take the resolution which Ormsby-Gore wanted to have them take. There will be another Government. There is one thing which is perfectly clear. This present British Government may want something at this present time, and they may do it so, but they also want the Jews to sign that they are through with three-fourths or four-fifths of Palestine. It is a perfectly practical report that they want us to sign, and we know what modifications can be had. That report says: 'It is true Trans-Jordania was taken away.' (I think in Trans-Jordania, with Cis-Jordania, there are some 44,000 square miles.) In 1922 we were asked to say Trans-Jordania was out, so far as the Mandate is concerned, and the Zionist Organization said 'yes'. The same argument was put forth in 1922: 'After we do this, it will make peace with the Arabs; Great Britain will be satisfied and will go ahead.' We signed, and at that time all those who were willing to sign and signed that agreement -- whether with grievance or without grievance -- said: 'This is nothing; this is a temporary thing. The Jordan is a small river.' How many Jews have gone into Trans-Jordania, and why is it they have not gone into Trans-Jordania? It was because Great Britain did not want us, and because we signed.

"It is nice to talk about a Jewish State and about partition, but there is something else here. It is giving away a large part of Palestine. In the House of Parliament it was said that this little Jewish State would have 2300 square miles. Out of this 2300 square miles, people think there we have a Jewish State, but let us look at this a bit. In this Jewish State Haifa is excluded -- I am taking the territory with the boundaries that the Royal Commission makes. Other towns are excluded -- Tiberias and Safed and Acre -- the Sea of Galilee. The plain fact of the matter is that they don't want us to build a port in Tel Aviv. They will establish first a boundary commission then a finance commission, then a resettlement commission. The finance commission will determine how much the so-called Jewish State will pay to some other state, and how much money we will have to pay for subventions and to support the army, and how much for British customs.

"I am against partition. Everything I heard at the Congress was very impressive, but I am against this plan. The amounts that we will have to pay may be so large as to ruin this little state. Moreover according to this plan some 225,000 Arabs will have to be removed. Think of the large number of obstacles entailed. As you know, also, of the 400,000 Jews in Palestine, the Jewish population of Jerusalem, Haifa and Jaffa are to be excluded from the Jewish State. If the British control the customs of Haifa, the possibility of building up industries is very limited. The report states plainly that the British are to control the customs of all towns including Tel Aviv -- how much of a State will this be? Economically the territory is so little -- there is so little hinterland, that it seems to me hopeless to build up any kind of economic structure.

"As to the positive part of Mr. Lipsky's argument, I am in agreement with that.

We Zionists have got to work together, to build together whether partition comes or not. We must build up something that in the future will bring maximum results.

"It has been clearly demonstrated that this partition plan is not workable, not feasible from the strategic, economic and geographic point of view.

"I come again to the argument that was so convincing to such a large number of people and which Mr. Lipsky stated so plainly today. Great Britain will not go on. We have to recognize that as a fact. We cannot slam the door in their face and say, 'no'. They say we have to accept what they give us.

"If that argument is so and we cannot say 'no', and we know that we cannot insist on the claims of our ideals and we must accept what Great Britain puts before us, how in the world can we say 'no' to this report? We have got to accept this report that they ask us to sign. You cannot go on the basis that we have got to accept what Great Britain says, and say 'no' to that report.

"We went to the Labor people, we struggled to get some kind of a formula on which we can all get together with some one resolution, and I went to one of the Labor men, not one of the 'nein-zaggers' and I said: 'Will you put in your petition that the Royal Commission Report is not a basis for negotiation?' And he said: 'We cannot put that in.'

"One thing that Report has done, and that is, it has put the idea of a modern Jewish State on the table of international politics. Now, it seems to me that when we consider this thing we cannot forget the arguments of our leaders which go to the basis of Zionism. After all, the business of building up Zionism cannot go on without a Zionist movement. We cannot in taking account of the practical business of Palestine, deal a mortal blow to those ideals. Palestine needs a strong Zionist movement, and we have no right to sign away a part of our claims. It is going to be a terrible business if the Mandate continues and if it does not continue. In 1930, they said immigration will stop, and that they were through with the Mandate, and in spite of that we went ahead and got 400,000 Jews into Palestine.

Speaking of the possible nature of future world events Mr. Szold said:

"When you are confronted with such a dilemma and with the things that Great Britain tells us that they are going to do with us, and when you are confronted with this partitioned little State, I say under those circumstances all we can do is to say that we are prepared; we will march across. It is all prediction, except one thing, and that thing is clear. They ask us to sign away, and sign away we cannot,

ADDRESS OF MR. JACOB FISHMAN:

"In the first place, I agree very thoroughly with and appreciate very much what Dr. Wise has said here, because what has been done, has been done in a democratic way. There was no coercion. Everybody had his say and all arguments were listened to. Compromises were made, and this resolution was the result of all the negotiations. In general I agree with Dr. Wise that this is not a 'yes' resolution. Even Mr. Szold who deplored the passing of this resolution most passionately, said we all rejected the present scheme of the Royal Commission.



"However, I think it would be a grave mistake to think that there was not present in the minds of the majority who voted for this resolution, the thought that they were approving in principle a partial plan for partition. I think we ought to have a clear understanding of that.

"When the Congress opened, it seemed to me that the 'no-sayers' were stronger than they thought -- somewhere in the neighborhood of 200 votes. It turned out that they polled only 160 votes. My impression is that this was largely due to the feeling of genuine doubt that existed in the minds of a great many delegates. It was not an easy question to decide. We found ourselves in great difficulties both ways, and each man was guided by his own conscience. We listened not only to Dr. Weizmann, but to Dr. Wise (the 'no-in-zagger') who covered himself with glory in his great speeches. But there was not only Dr. Weizmann's testimony which weighed everything in the balance but the statement of others whom we have been in the habit of considering as experts in matters dealing with Zionist economy -- men like Ruppin, Smilansky, Soskin, Zuchowitzky. When all of these experts converge and take into account all the arguments mentioned by Szold -- about the historic boundaries being the hills -- (historically anything was the boundary) and we had the testimony of these experts who said that one dunam of land in the plains is worth about 30 or 40 dunams of land in the hills -- you must realize that there wasn't anything left unsaid and unanswered.

"I come to the question of the future. Dr. Wise has dealt with this question and said that we may have to come to another Congress and perhaps will have to reject or accept this scheme. I have a different view about this. I don't think that Dr. Weizmann and the Executive will convene a Congress unless they have something which they are convinced will be satisfactory to the majority. In my opinion, if Dr. Weizmann cannot get any better terms, a Congress may not be convened.

"It is my judgment, that we shall have at least a definite promise to include in the Jewish State, at least new Jerusalem, probably the Rutenberg Electric Works and the Dead Sea Concession. Daganian and Haifa may have a special status.

"It is incorrect to say that we are being asked to sign away the Negev. My impression of the Congress is entirely different. I have heard Weizmann on one or two occasions, in a very significant manner, state that the Negev could wait. I must say that this statement by Weizmann puzzled me. I have not had the opportunity to ask him what he meant. At any rate, that does not mean that Weizmann would sign away the Negev; otherwise he would not say that it can wait.

At best the Negev is going to be Mandated territory.

(At this point, Dr. Wise interrupted to say that Ormsby-Gore had said to him that the Negev will be Arab, and if we want to get any part of it we will have to negotiate with the Arabs and you can get more from them than you can from the English. Mr. Ormsby-Gore said: 'We cannot give you the Negev.')

Mr. Fishman continued:

"Dr. Weizmann must have something up his sleeve, otherwise he would not say that the Negev will not run away. I don't believe that the Negev will be



signed away. We know that the partition plan is bad and faulty, but did any-one of us ever have any faint idea, say five or ten years ago, that the question of a Jewish State would come up so boldly at a Zionist Congress because of an offer by the British Government. The fact that the Zionist Congress of 1937 had before it a project however humble and however small, for creating a Jewish State, is of the greatest significance. Having a situation like that, and also having a report of a Royal Commission which speaks in the most glowing terms about Jews, and which presents this thing in a manner which has absolutely delighted a great many Jews, I do not think there is any other document in the history of the Galuth that compares with it. In the face of such a report, are you going to say again: The Great Betrayal. It seems that the only question now is who can yell the loudest at England.

"Juridically, Mr. Szold's Memorandum makes out a perfect case, but here is not a question of jurisprudence. The Mandate may be workable, or it may not be workable, but we cannot deny that the Mandates Commission knows what it is talking about. You have to deal with a great many Governments and you have to deal with a great many friends of ours. We have no better friend than Prof. Rappard, and one or two others. We know that the first four years of Nauchope witnessed a twofold increase in the population of Palestine. So we did get something from Great Britain under the Mandate. In 1930, neither Iraq nor Syria were free, and Egypt itself had not pried herself free from Great Britain.

In Syria where there is no Mandate with a complicated business as a Jewish National Home, they have the same trouble.

Describing the events in Palestine during the past few years, the speaker said:

"If you look among the 'Ya-zaggers' you will find a great many people who were not sure that they have done the right thing. There were many more people who were heart and soul for a Jewish State, because the alternative does not exist. If there was an alternative, I also would have voted for an alternative.

Saying that the Mandate was no alternative, Mr. Fishman stated:

"There is no doubt that the pressure of the Polish Jews was great, but on the other side, I do not think it was wise of Mr. Ussishkin to make certain remarks that he made about the Polish Jews. My own impression is that part of, or perhaps most of the 'nein-zaggers' at the Congress were influenced by Mr. Ussishkin. When Ussishkin was through with his famous speech, I personally spoke to at least five or six people who changed their vote.

"I think the Congress acted as it should have done. It is not going to accept but to explore this scheme; if we do get a call for the Congress, this call will be for the glory and for the pride of Zionism."

ADDRESS OF RABBI ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN :

"I think that all of us here are struggling between two impulses -- the impulse to hear something which is interesting and exciting and provocative and controversial -- and the impulse on the other hand to arrive at something which we can declare before our constituencies throughout the country as representing the program for the year that lies ahead.

"All of you, as members of an Administrative Committee, will feel that the responsibility lies in the second direction adumbrated by the President of the Organization.

"I have been requested by the Chairman of the meeting to make some special references to the sessions of the Jewish Agency which followed the Zionist Congress. All of us in Zurich were delightfully surprised at the colorfulness and zest which these discussions at the Agency sessions demonstrated. To us Zionists, to all of you, had you been there, it would have done your heart good to hear representatives of our so-called 'non-Zionist' partners deliver the kind of speeches which they delivered; to have heard a man like Sholom Ash and Alexander Kahn and others speak as they spoke regarding Palestine, regarding Jewish National aspirations and on the possibilities of a Jewish State. It would have indicated to you that the victory of the Zionist cause during the past number of years is much more profound and much more extensive than even we Zionists realize.

"In the non-Zionist ranks, the sentiment in favor of the majority Congress resolution was even more preponderant than in the Zionist Congress itself. It has been estimated that 75% of the so-called non-Zionists were in favor of that resolution.

"As for the non-Zionists representing the American group who were the most intransigent in their opposition and who it was expected might even secede from the Jewish Agency, it ought to be stated to their credit personally and also to the credit of the compulsion of the argument itself, that having come to Zurich, having heard the arguments, they finally consented to adopt the Congress resolution, with one addition, which in no way changes the essence of the resolution itself -- a valuable addition, although it may not remain more than a pious wish; namely, to make one other effort to explore the possibility of a Jewish-Arab understanding. It is worth bearing that in mind in connection with what Mr. Lipsky said earlier in the afternoon when he drew a distinction between the attitude of the American Zionists and the attitude of the European and Palestinian Zionists. I believe that his distinction was regrettably invidious in this respect, that it gave the impression that we Americans are the people who take a high and noble and idealistic position and that the other people are the ones that take a practical position. I am not willing to accept that compliment, speaking as one American Zionist. There is a distinction -- there is a distinction between people who are at a long distance from a problem and people who are in grips with that problem at close range and every day. It is because of that difference that a number of the American delegation found themselves compelled in spite of the resolution at our Convention, to vote for the majority resolution. It is because of that difference that even the non-Zionists, men like Mr. Warburg, found themselves compelled to vote for that resolution.

"One of the interesting opportunities that I had at the Agency meeting was that of serving as the chairman of the Committee on Organization which had before it the whole problem of the organization of the non-Zionist section of the Jewish Agency. We all feel that that section is badly in need of organization, I shall not say, reorganization, because there has never been proper organization of the non-Zionists in the Jewish Agency. That weakness was especially manifest in the American delegation. At least on the continent there is a Jewish Board of Deputies in England that was represented by Mr. Laski and there are other organizations who send their spokesmen to these sessions, but here in the United



States, without organization, but merely by personal summons, a number of notables appear as the representatives of the non-Zionists in American Israel, and it was recognized by everybody that we must take steps to organize the so-called non-Zionist sentiment in this country so that it may function normally and with organizational responsibility.

"There were times, as you know, when there was a crisis in the deliberations of the Agency, but I think we can point with pride to the fundamental sense of unity among the Jewish people touching Palestine that these crises were successfully overcome thanks to the statesmanship of Dr. Weizmann and sportsmanship of Mr. Warburg, and above all to the inherent imperativeness of the Jewish cause in the Jewish Homeland.

"With reference to the Zionist Congress itself, I am going to give you just a few general impressions. This is not the time to rehearse the debate, but I cannot help stating this fact, that never in my experience with deliberative assemblies have I witnessed such a profound respect obtaining between two antagonists in a highly controversial issue. Mr. Ussishkin and Mr. Ben Gurion stood at opposite poles in that issue, but not for a moment did they waver in their profound respect for Zionist idealism and in their affection for one another personally, and that condition percolated down throughout the whole constituency of the Zionist Congress. We are bound to respect one another, because every one of us, no matter what side he took, realized the cogency of the other point of view. Everyone of us experienced a "Chalukel Deioth" -- every one of us suffered mental and intellectual and spiritual partition in his own mind and soul -- a constant tug between the yes and the no.

"It was a question of whether from the standpoint of realpolitik it could be expected that the British Government could be compelled to enforce the Mandate, as it should be enforced. In the light of the mounting Arab nationalism, in the face of the new Arab independent states, in the light of the whole international situation, the question was could England be forced to implement the Mandate. And those who argued that public opinion could force it, that we have friends in Parliament as indicated by the Parliamentary debates, that the voice of the American Government could be brought to bear on the situation, were answered by others who said, how far will your friends go; how far will Washington go in this matter; and as for the friends in Parliament, did they by their speeches in that famous debate really mean categorically opposition to the plan of partition, or did they intend that by their speeches, Jews might have a stronger position in the bargaining with the British Government. And so we left that Congress with profound respect of one another regardless of how we voted.

"And the third impression that I had, which I think was shared by many, was that this Congress was a demonstration of the capacity of the Jewish People and the Zionist movement for self-government. No Congress could possibly have been faced with greater difficulties. The proceedings proved that Zionism is capable of governing its affairs in Palestine in a way that should redound to the credit of the Jewish People. The climax of the Congress was, of course, that historic and momentous and breath-taking register of the votes. When that was done, the spirits of the delegates seemed to be let down, which was regrettable. Delegates, including many General Zionists, were willing to call it a day with the conclusion of that debate and that vote. It made a bad impression upon

other parties, and I hope that in preparation for other Congresses we may be able among ourselves to agree that a delegate elected to that high responsibility is solemnly bound to play his part in the Congress to the very end.

Lauding the work done in the second week of the Congress dealing with colonization, land acquisition, education, labor and other questions, Dr. Goldstein said

"The Keren Hayesod budget of nearly two million dollars will have to be provided; the unemployment problem which is unfortunately increasing from day to day will have to be taken care of; the land acquisition program of the J.N.F. will have to go on.

"Many of us left Zurich with mingled feelings of remorse and pride, remorse that we ourselves have not done more in the past. Despite what may be said about the seventeen years of Administration of the Mandate, we must be frank enough to admit that there were years -- perhaps five, six, seven, eight years-- when the opportunities were not limited, and if during those years we had the resources, there would be a different story to tell today. That was remorse. But at the same time, there was a feeling of pride, because even that Mandate offered to a Jewish State, unacceptable as it is, is nevertheless as a tribute to Zionist achievements. We were Zionists during the past forty years, and if we had not done what we did, even this meager offer would not be made to us today. Therefore, our slogan should be: 'action first -- discussion later'."

MR. LIPSKY then presented the following draft for a resolution:

"The Administrative Committee of the Zionist Organization of America records its loyal acceptance of the political resolutions of both the Zionist Congress and the Council of the Jewish Agency, and pledge the fullest cooperation and support of the Executive of the Jewish Agency on the part of American Zionists.

"The declared intention of the Mandatory Government to move at the Council of the League of Nations for a radical change in the terms of the Mandate and to propose an alternative plan for the administration of Palestine, has created an entirely new political situation which should engage the serious attention of all Zionists. It would be an avoidance of obligation to the interests of the Jewish People for the Zionist Organization to refuse to explore the possibilities of any alternative plan that may be submitted by the Mandatory Government with the approval of the League of Nations, and, more specifically at this time and under present circumstances, of any definite proposal for the setting up of a free Jewish State in a part of Palestine.

"In view of the fact, however, that the political resolution adopted by Congress and the Agency Council neither accepts nor rejects the suggestion of a partition of Palestine, but subsequently gives authority to the Executive (without committing itself or the Congress or the Council) to negotiate with the Mandatory Government with a view to ascertaining the precise terms of its proposal for the setting up of a Jewish State, and provides that, when such a definite proposal is at hand, it shall summon a special Zionist Congress to consider its recommendations, the Administrative Committee of the



Zionist Organization of America calls upon all Zionists to hold in abeyance any commitment with respect to the proposal for the setting up of a Jewish State in Palestine until the Executive, as a result of the negotiations authorized by the Congress, is prepared to submit its definite recommendations in the matter.

"In the meantime, the Zionist Organization of America calls the attention of the Jews of America to the fact that under all circumstances, including the proposal for the setting up of a free Jewish State in Palestine, there are urgent needs that demand the support of the Jewish People for the strengthening of our position in Eretz Yisroel through the instrumentalities of the Jewish National Fund and the Keren Hayesod."

DISCUSSION ON RESOLUTION:

Mr. Chipkin felt that there are some things that those present would like to hear and know, even after we adopt this resolution, things that we have not yet heard in some of the reports.

The Chairman stated that the other members of the Delegation will report tonight at the larger meeting.

Mr. Chipkin added that all who have listened to the reports feel deeply indebted and appreciate their sincerity, but he hoped it would not be taken amiss if some of us who have remained behind in this country and had to depend upon reports in the press were still confused and asked for further clarification. He called attention to the attempt made in this country by one of the newspapers to ascertain the sentiment of the masses on the question: If you would get a Jewish State with better terms, would you accept it? A large number of Jews said they would accept it if they had better terms; but what these improved terms are they did not know. He felt that if many Jews who had voted in favor of these improved terms would know what they are, they might change their opinion. We do not know what the leaders know. There seems to be an inclination on the part of some of our leaders to forget the kind of training we had and to ask us to change over night. Mr. Lipsky is mistaken when he expects us to undergo a sudden transformation, such as he proposed this afternoon, that we should forget that the Zionist movement has grown out of sentiment. There are certain practical factors, however to be considered. How is it possible for Zionists who have been taught all these years that they must explore the sentiments of the generations for Zion, not to demand that now. Mr. Chipkin then submitted the following questions:

1. What guarantees are offered by the Arabs and the English for the internal and external security of Jews in the New Jewish State, if Jews agree to accept partition?

(Rabbi Wise replied: None)

2. If it be true that four-fifths of the land in the proposed Jewish State is now owned by Arabs, how is this land to become Jewish against Arab will?



3. If we abandon the appeal to the moral will of England to preserve the Mandate, how would we rely on England's will to preserve the Jewish State?
4. If partition is to be only a temporary measure, what provisions in the proposed agreement are being made to preserve these rights for future generations of Jews, or are these rights to be permanently abandoned?

Mr. Richards then rose to discuss Mr. Lipsky's resolution. He did not favor the mood of pessimism and defeatism that was being created. He called attention to the fact that during the High Holidays he had heard a number of Rabbis and other speakers who started out to oppose partition and ended up by opposing and destroying everything else in the way of sentiment and faith and belief in all that we build up. That is something that Mr. Lipsky's resolution does not meet, he felt. It is a mood that is going to obstruct us and hurt us, especially from the point of view of everything constructive that has to be pushed forward. The resolution is vague and anything as indefinite as that will not cope with the situation, will not provide the encouragement that is now needed and will not remove the confusion that has crept into the minds of so many American Jews. This is a time that has tried men's souls. Mr. Lipsky has attempted to explain the difficulties and the necessity of remaining in suspense, -- going forward and backward at the same time, and saying yes and no almost simultaneously. The result of our method of going backward, the result of the struggle and strife has created, in my opinion, a very dangerous state of mind, a hurtful attitude. What has happened in connection with the partition is of tremendous historic import. Partition and cutting apart has become the most conspicuous part of the discussion. The idea of a Jewish State has been subordinated and eclipsed in the discussion. To meet the situation we have, through our paper and through all our publications and our utterances, to take a very hopeful and courageous attitude if we want to go forward and also push ahead in any and all circumstances.

#### DISCUSSION:

Mr. Abraham Goldstein stated that as a result of the reports made here, he has learned a number of things about the Congress he did not know before. He is convinced that no Jew can be opposed to a Jewish State, and that the Congress resolution must be interpreted not in the light of a decision but for the purpose of studying the whole question of Palestine, especially in view of the world crisis which confronts us. This crisis is more serious than any previous one, because after all the energy and money we have put into Palestine to date, we stand much more to lose now than ever before. He thought therefore that the Administrative Committee should appoint a Political Committee to study all the facts and then issue a statement to the public.

Mr. Braham proposed that the Administrative Committee should go on record as being in favor of the establishment of a Jewish State and approve the portion of the Congress resolution relating thereto. He suggested also that in the event the Congress is convened before the next annual Convention, a special Convention be convoked.

Mr. Wilson observed that the Administrative Committee was meeting not merely to hear reports but to formulate a resolution or statement for the public which is

to inspire them for the coming year's work. He pointed out that irrespective of our desires, we will have a Jewish state in a smaller Palestine. He felt, however, that out of this State will develop the Eretz Israel we all want, and that this should be the sense of the resolution.

Rabbi Zwelling was of the opinion that the proposed statement was not sufficiently clear. He suggested therefore that it be carefully edited and thereafter submitted for further consideration to a special meeting of the Administrative Committee.

Mr. Allen stated that he did not agree with Mr. Lipsky that Zionism is a "business" and that from the business point of view we must yield to expediency. The Jewish people, he pointed out, never yielded to expediency. However we should take what is being offered to us, provided, however, we do not waive in writing any part of Palestine which Jewishly and historically belongs to us.

Mr. Lipsky urged that we should avoid getting into all kinds of controversies with one another about matters which are indefinite and change every few weeks. The proposed resolution should be adopted and in the meantime, until a decision is reached, we should keep our minds open and carry on the work of the Zionist movement in a spirit of friendship and cooperation. Therefore the Administrative Committee should hold in abeyance any commitment in the matter in order that the business of the Zionist Organization may proceed.

Mr. Abramowitz then moved the adoption of the resolution.

Mr. Szold pointed out that Mr. Ben Gurion stated explicitly that unless we get Haifa, the plan will not work. Ormsby-Gore said, according to the New York Times of September 6th, that Haifa is the commercial capital of Palestine. It is perfectly clear that a special regime will have to be established at Haifa. It is important to keep this matter open, and in the meantime, to emphasize the important Zionist work that has to go on irrespective of the outcome.

Mr. Rothenberg thought it was perfectly clear that if the Congress thought it inadvisable to commit itself, we should not do so.

It was thereupon moved, seconded, and unanimously carried

THAT the resolution presented by Mr. Lipsky be adopted in principle; that the President be empowered to appoint a Committee to edit the phraseology of the resolution.

Meeting adjourned at 6:00 P. M.

Respectfully submitted,

MORRIS MARGULIES

Secretary



MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE OF THE ZOA

HELD SATURDAY EVENING, SEPTEMBER 19, 1937 - 40 West 68th Street

PRESENT: Messrs. Dr. Wise (in the Chair), Cowen, Fertig, Fierst, Dr. Goldstein, Imber, Lipsky, Kraomer, Markewich, Margulies, Ress, Schwartz, Siegel, Caplan (by invitation).

Excuse for absence - Judge Rothenberg.

SECRETARY'S REPORT:

1. Membership: Mr. Margulies reported that this year, as in previous years, following the Convention, letters were sent out over the President's signature to the delinquent members whose dues are in arrears, of whom there are about 6,000. There were 189 responses including 80 members who raised their dues from \$3. to \$5. Subsequently, a follow-up in the form of a New Year's Greeting was sent out to the members whose dues remained unpaid, and the response already seems to indicate that the \$5. dues decided on at the Convention will not prove very difficult to secure except in groups where the membership consists of husbands and wives. In this connection the Secretary read communications from Rabbi Silver of Cleveland, and Rabbi Feuer of Toledo, urging a reconsideration of the decision for a \$5. dues. Mr. Margulies thought, however, that the \$5.00 dues ought to stand, except in cases of husband and wife belonging to the same District, who should pay \$5. and \$3. respectively, with only one copy of the New Palestine being sent them.

2. Regions: The Secretary suggested that no additional refunds be allowed to the Regions over the \$1. refund from the membership dues. Suggestion approved.

3. Fortieth Anniversary Fund: Mr. Margulies reported that in response to Dr. Wise's appeal, the sum of \$17,750 was pledged at the Convention for the special Fortieth Anniversary Fund, of this \$8,277 has been paid and



\$9,473 is still outstanding. Every effort is being made to collect the remaining pledges, and the Secretary appealed to the members of the Executive to see to it that their District pledges are paid.

4. Budget: Mr. Margulies pointed out that the Finance Committee cannot fix the budget for the new year until it receives direction from the Executive on matters of policy. He submitted the following preliminary budget prepared by the Finance Committee:

Debt Charges . . . . .	\$ 21,747.
Administrative Expenses. . .	71,000
New Palestine. . . . .	24,000
Dos Yiddishe Folk. . . . .	5,850
Education Department . . . .	10,335
Subsidies. . . . .	13,000
Special Loan . . . . .	6,000
Contingent . . . . .	3,500

The Secretary added that this budget amounting to about \$156,000 was \$21,000 less than last year. An income of \$66,000 net is expected from membership, leaving a balance of \$60,000 to be secured. The Secretary called the attention of the Executive to the fact that during the current year the UPA allocated \$54,000 for the ZOA, of which \$34,500 has been paid up to date, and \$19,500 is still to be paid.

Dr. Wise observed that any budget which will be set up will have to be ~~provisional~~ until a decision is reached by the UPA as to its 1938 subvention to the ZOA.

Dr. Goldstein was of the opinion that the ZOA could count upon a minimum sum of \$30,000 from the UPA, for the new fiscal year.

Mr. Lipsky inquired whether the Fortieth Anniversary Fund is included in the expected income for the year, to which Mr. Margulies replied that it was his understanding that this fund was to cover items not provided for in the budget such as the proposed Washington Bureau, subsidy to Pro-Palestine Federation, political work, etc.

Mr. Lipsky suggested that whatever budget is adopted should be in effect only till January 1st at which time the UPA will be in a position to consider the allocation to the ZOA.

Mr. Fierst urged that the ZOA representatives on the UPA Board use their utmost endeavors that the allotment is the same as last year, otherwise the ZOA will be obliged to function only as a skeleton organization.

Mr. Lipsky was of the opinion that the money collected for the Fortieth Anniversary Fund should be included in the budget.

As an additional source of income, Mr. Lipsky proposed the following motion which was seconded and carried unanimously:

THAT that part of the annual membership dues assigned for the payment of the shekel obligations of members of the ZOA shall hereafter be held in a special fund, out of which there shall be paid, from time to time, the shekels of the ZOA membership required in order to enable them to function as voters in Zionist Congress elections whenever they may be held.

Mr. Lipsky further moved, and it was seconded and carried

THAT where husband and wife are both enrolled as members of the ZOA, and only one copy of THE NEW PALESTINE is sent to the family, then in such cases the dues of the wife shall be \$3. per annum instead of the required \$5. per annum.

**BUSINESS TO ORGANIZATIONS:**

With reference to this item on the agenda, Dr. Wise suggested that this be referred to a subcommittee after discussion here, or that the Executive direct the Finance Committee to act in the matter.

Mr. Margulies was of the opinion that the Executive should decide how



the subsidies to the Organizations were to be spent by them, and that the ZOA subsidize specific activities of these organizations instead of the organizations in general.

It was moved, seconded and carried

THAT a special committee of 3 or 5 be named by the Chair to bring back a report to the next meeting of the Executive regarding subsidies to organizations and departments.

RELATIONSHIP WITH HADASSAH:

Dr. Wise was of the opinion that the President and Vice-President of Hadassah should automatically be invited to attend the meetings of the Administrative Committee of the ZOA.

Mr. Lipsky pointed out that a new factor had developed with regard to Hadassah which until the last Congress election had never figured as an autonomous political body.

The question was raised by Dr. Wise and others, that in view of the approaching Hadassah Convention, whether or not the whole subject of the ZOA contract with Hadassah should be reconsidered and revised.

Mr. Cowen was of the opinion that the whole question of relationship with affiliated organizations, should be considered by the Executive before taking it up with the organizations concerned.

It was moved, seconded and carried

THAT a committee be named from the Executive to consider the problem of the relationship of the ZOA to its affiliated organizations.

LUNCHEON TO RHYS DAVIES AND MORGAN JONES:

The Secretary reported that a luncheon was being tendered to Mr. Rhys Davies and Morgan Jones, Members of Parliament, on Wednesday, September 29, at the Hotel Astor.

Dr. Wise added that if Capt. Cazmot, Conservative Member of Parliament, will have arrived here by that date, he should be included among the guests of honor.

Decided to approve the above arrangements.

BUDGET:

It was moved, seconded and carried

THAT the preliminary budget submitted by the Finance Committee be tentatively adopted pending fuller and further study of the problem and further action before January 1, 1938.

SURVEY OF ORGANIZATION FUNCTIONS AND ACTIVITIES:

It was moved, seconded and carried:

THAT a committee be named by the President with power to make a very careful study of the Organization and departments and report on the efficiency and economy thereof with a view to coordination, etc. This Committee shall consider the terms of reference to be presented to the Executive to serve as a basis of a further survey of the work of the ZOA.

MEETINGS OF EXECUTIVE:

Decided that meetings of the Executive take place every first and third Wednesday evenings.

Dr. Wise suggested that the members of the Executive receive a complete schedule of meetings for the next three months.

Meeting adjourned 11:15 P.M.

Respectfully submitted

MORRIS MARGULIES

Secretary



ההסתדרות הציונית של ארצות הברית

# ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

111 FIFTH AVENUE  
NEW YORK

STEPHEN S. WISE  
*President*

ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN  
JOSEPH KRAEMER  
WILLIAM M. LEWIS  
ABBA HILLEL SILVER  
ELIHU D. STONE  
NATHAN STRAU'S  
*Vice-Presidents*

MORRIS ROTHENBERG  
*Chairman, Admin. Committee*

LUDWIG LEWISOHN  
*Honorary Secretary*

MORRIS MARGULIES  
*Secretary*

## EXECUTIVE

LOUIS LIPSKY  
CHARLES A. COWEN  
M. MALDWIN FERTIG  
ABRAHAM GOLDBERG  
ABRAHAM GOLDSTEIN  
RABBI EDWARD L. ISRAEL  
RABBI ISRAEL H. LEVINthal  
SAMUEL MARKEWICH  
RABBI IRVING MILLER  
CHARLES RESS  
A. J. RONGY  
CARL SHERMAN  
WILLIAM I. SIEGEL  
ROBERT SZOLD

## Associate Members

ISAAC IMBER  
ADRIAN SCHWARTZ

## FINANCE COMMITTEE

LOUIS P. ROCKER  
*Chairman*

MORRIS WEINBERG  
HARRY P. FIERST  
*Treasurers*

ABRAHAM KRUMBEIN  
ABRAHAM LIEBOVITZ  
ELIAS PREISS  
LOUIS RIMSKY  
SIGMUND THAU

ISRAEL MALTIN  
*Auditor*

September 22, 1937.

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE OF THE Z.O.A.:

Please note that in accordance with the decision made at the last meeting, regular meetings of the Executive will hereafter take place on the evening of the first and third Wednesday of every month. I am herewith submitting to you the dates for October, November and December:

October 6  
October 20  
November 3

November 18  
December 1  
December 15

We were obliged to make one exception: the date listed November 18 is on a Thursday. We will not be able to hold a meeting on the 17th of November -- which is a Wednesday night -- because on that evening the performance of the "Night of Stars" will be given.

Please note the above dates on your calendar. Formal notice will be sent to you a few days prior to each meeting.

Sincerely yours,

*Morris Margulies*  
Morris Margulies,  
Secretary.

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SIGMUND THAU

ISRAEL MALTIN  
*Auditor*

September 29, 1937.

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver  
The Temple  
Cleveland, Ohio

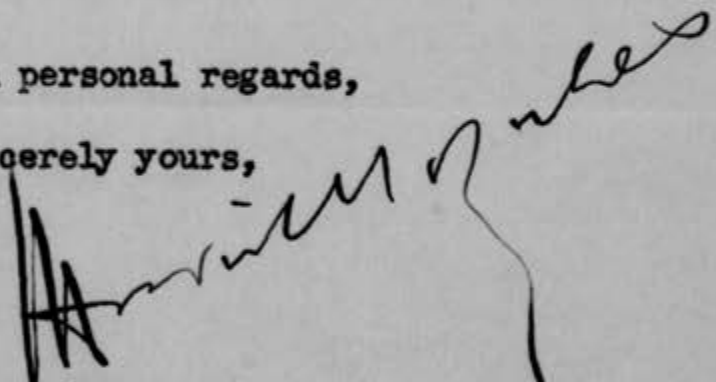
Dear Rabbi Silver:

Mr. Nathan Sahr, the Secretary of the Schenectady Zionist District, the best Zionist we have in that community, writes that you are scheduled to speak in their city before the Public School Association, and desires that I use my influence with you to have you agree to meet either at luncheon or for dinner, with the Zionists of Schenectady. Mr. Sahr himself vouchsafes the statement that the function will be confined exclusively to the Zionist and Jewish leaders of the community; that it will not be given any publicity so as not to interfere with your public appearance, and in the nature of things will be limited in attendance.

You would be rendering the Organization a great service if you would kindly consent to allow the Zionists of Schenectady to tender you this form of reception.

Awaiting your response, I am, with personal regards,

Sincerely yours,

  
Morris Margulies,  
Secretary.



October 11, 1937

Mr. Morris Margulies, Secretary,  
The Zionist Organization of America,  
111 Fifth Avenue,  
New York, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Margulies:

You may recall the conversation which we had in Detroit at the time of the Jewish National Fund Convention with reference to the dues of the Zionist Organization of America and the situation in the community here where the newly organized Zionist organization of the Temple on the Heights is billing its members at three dollars dues per annum. You expressed the thought that, as far as the ZOA is concerned, it is not interested in the dues which the individual Zionist organization charges its members provided the headquarters of the ZOA receives three dollars per member. May we proceed on that basis? It may be possible for us to work out an arrangement whereby we would charge our members three dollars dues and raise a supplementary fund among some of our members who are financially more able to carry on our local activities. Inasmuch as the Region is not yet in existence, there is no point at present in raising a dollar tax per capita for the Region.

I remain                      Hoping to hear from you in the near future,

Very sincerely yours,

DR. F.M. FALKMAN, Financial Sec'y  
14128 Superior Road

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE Z.O.A. EXECUTIVE, HELD ON TUESDAY EVENING,  
OCTOBER 19, 1937, 8:30 P. M., AT THE J.I.R., 40 WEST 68TH STREET, N.Y.C.

PRESENT: Messrs. Dr. Wise (in the Chair), Cowen, Goldberg, Goldstein, Rabbi Goldstein, Lipsky, Margulies, Markewich, Rabbi Miller, Ress, Judge Rothenberg, Sherman, Siegel, Weinberg; Caplan (by invitation); Mesdames Epstein and Jacobs.

Excuses for Absence from: Rabbi Israel H. Levinthal, Elihu D. Stone.

SECRETARY'S REPORT:

J.N.F. Conference: Mr. Margulies reported briefly on the Detroit J.N.F. Conference. He referred to the report of the proceedings which appeared in The New Palestine. From the administration point of view the Z.O.A. was very well represented at the Conference. Delegates who came from many parts of the country expressed satisfaction with the Conference.

40th Anniversary Fund: Thus far \$8,930 has been received on account of the 40th Anniversary Fund of the Z.O.A., which is more than fifty per cent of the amount pledged. The total receipts of the Fund will probably reach \$13,000 to \$15,000.

Membership: Membership activity started earlier this year than heretofore. Last year, as of October 18th, there was received in membership dues \$696.50; this year, \$1598.00. September made a similar showing with \$1445 this year against \$696 last year.

Deficit: The report of the Finance Committee, which met recently, shows that last year on September 30th, we had a deficit of \$58,173; this September it was reduced to \$35,707. Actually, the net deficit is only \$29,707,--- the additional \$6,000 being an indebtedness to the 40th Anniversary Fund.

Chicago: Concerning his recent visit to Chicago, the Secretary reported that he had met with the leaders of the Zionist Organization of Chicago and of the Midwest Zionist Region, and the differences which had previously existed between personalities appear to have been ironed out, thus making way for the harmonious working of the Organization in that part of the country. Recognizing that the present Chicago membership which numbers 1,476 was too unwieldy for one unit, eight districts are to be established. Steps were also taken to raise a fund of \$1,500 necessary to keep the office functioning for three months. Rabbi Goldman was the first to answer with a contribution of \$300 which assured the success of the appeal. Others who responded included Max Shulman, Dr. A.K. Epstein, Judge Fisher, Rabbi Morton Berman, Rabbi Abramowitz, A. Smoler, Phil Hoffman, Samuel Jacobson, S.D. Schwartz and William Robinson. The Chicago Organization has worked out a budget to cover a year's running expenses, and gives every promise of meeting its budget. All those present felt that this marked a new beginning in Chicago's history. Some \$500 was paid on account of current membership dues, and a definite promise was made to remit membership monies between the first and fifth of every month.

The Secretary further reported that arrangements were completed for a series of talks by Dr. Joachim Prinz. The Zionist Organization of Chicago will take advantage of Dr. Prinz's presence by launching a general campaign

and the establishment of additional districts. This effort will be called "Zionist Week".

"NACHSHON":

The Secretary read the following communication from Mr. Aaron Weiss of Wilkes-Barre, Pa.:

"I would appreciate it if you would drop me a line and tell me something about that organization or group called 'Nachshon'. One of the men was down here and is making every effort to sell stock in this organization. I certainly would like to know something about it to make sure that the proposition is absolutely on the level and will not leave a trail of regrets."

The "Nachshon" is a maritime corporation organized by the Histadruth for the development of the Tel-Aviv port. Agents are now touring the country to sell stock for the company.

Attention was also called to the activity of the P.A.S.A. in this country. PASA is the Palestine Agricultural Settlement Association, recently called into being by the Jewish Agency.

A discussion ensued as to the attitude of the Z.O.A. toward these enterprises.

It was moved and carried

THAT a circular letter be sent to the Zionist Districts throughout the country, instructing them not to participate in any Palestine investment enterprise without first inquiring of the National Office of the Z.O.A. as to the authenticity of the Company approaching them for investment or contributions; and

THAT the President name a Committee to study the aims and activities of the existing Palestine investment companies.

"KFAR SHMARYO":

Mr. Lipsky called attention to a letter he received regarding a proposed memorial to Dr. Shmarya Levin in the German-Jewish colony, "Kfar Shmaryo". The total amount involved is approximately £3,000. The intention is to establish a house in which will be placed various mementos left by Dr. Levin.

Dr. Wise recalled that Dr. Levin's greatest interest was the Hebrew University, and thought perhaps a memorial was being planned by the University.

Mr. Goldberg was of the opinion that the "Kfar Shmaryo" offered a very appropriate memorial to Dr. Levin.

Judge Rothenberg felt that we owe something larger in tribute to Dr. Levin's memory, considering what he has done for American Zionism. The



"Kfar Shmaryo" memorial is too small and unimpressive.

Mr. Lipsky pointed out that this is a personal thing, and in his opinion in keeping with the spirit of Dr. Levin,

Dr. Wise thought that Dr. Levin would have preferred this type of memorial. He suggested that whoever writes the appeal ought to indicate that this is a personal tribute to which Dr. Levin's personal friends are invited to contribute. Dr. Wise thereupon moved, and it was seconded and carried

THAT the Zionist Organization of America cooperate in the proposed memorial to Dr. Shmarya Levin, in the Colony "Kfar Shmaryo"; that Mr. Lipsky be invited to serve as Chairman, and Mr. Eisenman as Treasurer of the Committee; that the Zionist Organization of America undertake to secure the sum of L500.

#### UNITED PALESTINE APPEAL:

The Chairman called attention to the fact that instructions are to be given to the Z.O.A. representatives in the present U.P.A. so that when we elect our representatives to the 1938 Palestine Appeal they may know what we expect of them.

Dr. Goldstein suggested that a motion should be made that the United Palestine Appeal be constituted as at present.

Mr. Ress expressed the thought that the Z.O.A. is not a party to the contract which constitutes the U.P.A.

Judge Rothenberg pointed out that we have always proceeded on the theory that the Z.O.A. was the policy-making organization.

Dr. Wise stated that the Zionist Organization of America is the American division of the World Zionist Organization, therefore its views in all such matters are of vital interest; he reminded the Executive that when the United Palestine Appeal was organized it was the Z.O.A. that made it possible.

Mr. Ress asked if that meant that all who are members of this body and who might be members of the U.P.A. Board of 1938, even though they are appointed by the Keren Hayesod, are to be given instructions.

Dr. Wise explained that we are not here to give instructions. We are here to reach a decision for ourselves. But once we reach a decision, whatever decision we reach is binding upon those whom the Z.O.A. names as its representatives.

Mr. Margulies called attention to the fact that the Mizrachi and the Poale Zion representatives, whether in the J.N.F. or U.P.A. always act on insinuations from their central committee.

Dr. Goldstein pointed out that in his opinion the Detroit Conference, through resolutions adopted, clearly indicated that it desires the present arrangement between the J.N.F. and the Keren Hayesod to be continued.

Mr. Lipsky questioned whether the delegates before voting for these resolutions were made fully acquainted with the details of the contract now in force.

Rabbi Irving Miller inquired whether the conclusions reached in Detroit were arrived at after all sides of the problem had been presented.

Rabbi Goldstein stated that those who presented the case submitted both sides -- the Keren Hayesod and the Keren Kayemeth; that it was pointed out to them that the present arrangement places the Keren Hayesod in the background. The delegates felt that some means should be found for solving this problem, but that the most important thing to be considered is the maintenance of the present structure and the avoidance of two competitive campaigns. Dr. Goldstein concluded that it was the sentiment of most of the people that if a serious change be made in the structure of the U.P.A., the Keren Kayemeth would probably be forced into a competitive campaign, and that the only way to avoid that was to maintain the present arrangement.

Mr. Ress expressed the opinion that the Detroit Conference decision is by no means conclusive, that it ought not preclude our very careful examination of the entire subject anew.

Dr. Wise said it was merely a recommendation. The objection to the present arrangement, as he understood it, grew out of the fact that for a number of years--certainly in the years of the United Jewish Appeal--Palestine and Zionism lost its special place. During two years of the United Palestine Appeal the Keren Hayesod had been completely submerged. It may be as Dr. Goldstein thinks, Dr. Wise added, that the Keren Hayesod has been submerged because of the lack of aggressive initiative on the part of those responsible for its management. There is another school that believes that it has been submerged because it has no such attractive, fascinating things to offer as land purchase. The Keren Kayemeth is, by virtue of the genius of its appeal to the masses, enabled to make a day-by-day appeal through Flower Day, Flag Day, etc. The Keren Hayesod has no such opportunity, but it must be resurrected. It must be brought to public notice again. After all, it is the major fund. If we did not get another dunam of land, we would have to spend millions to settle on what we have. The Keren Hayesod covers every item in the Agency budget but land.

Dr. Wise stated further that the proposal is to make the campaign a Palestine Foundation Fund (Keren Hayesod) this year, with the understanding that the division of funds be the same as during the previous year.

Dr. Goldstein proposed that in the conduct of the U.P.A., the publicity this year emphasize the Keren Hayesod. Many opportunities could be found in the conduct of the Campaign to stress the Keren Hayesod. Therefore, he reiterated, we have two distinct problems: (1) the question of fund-raising and (2) the question of publicity for the Keren Hayesod. As to some of the minor points, such as directors, Dr. Goldstein said he regarded that also as a point which can be corrected. The Conference naturally left it to the Administration of the Jewish National Fund to work out some of these minor details, and they can be worked out.

We in the Keren Hayesod, Mr. Ress stated, after having entered into a contract creating the United Palestine Appeal, carried out the spirit of that



contract literally. We concentrated all our efforts in the United Palestine Appeal. There was not, therefore, any activity that the Keren Hayesod could enter into, as a result of the very nature of the United Palestine Appeal. The Keren Kayemeth continued all its activities. In addition to its regular activities it conducted special activities in the nature of separate campaigns, not improperly. It is easy enough to talk about publicity for the Keren Hayesod, but effective publicity is the kind of publicity the J.N.F. got through the Detroit Conference, which was a Conference to launch a Campaign, in addition to the United Palestine Appeal. That type of publicity is the only kind which counts. We cannot do it if we do not have some kind of campaign, some kind of specific fund-raising campaign.

Dr. Goldstein asked of the Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Keren Hayesod, why the Board of Directors of the Keren Hayesod had never been summoned to a meeting throughout the year, and why he had never had the opportunity of functioning as a member of that Board.

Mr. Riss said that Dr. Goldstein was present and participated in the discussions of the meeting of the Keren Hayesod Board.

Dr. Goldstein reiterated that he had never been invited to the meetings of the Board of Directors of the Keren Hayesod.

Mr. Lipsky pointed out that the Keren Hayesod is a Board of Directors that has transferred its administrative machinery to the United Palestine Appeal. The Keren Hayesod meets only as a Board of Directors. Its machinery and activities have been absorbed by the United Palestine Appeal. The National Fund has a complete machine. When the National Fund Committee comes together they have to do that work for which the machine was created, and in view of the fact that the money comes into the pool, it is obvious that the U.P.A., and the Keren Hayesod in the U.P.A., has no objection to the Keren Kayemeth being active. We opened an office to maintain the identity of the Keren Hayesod. We, as the Keren Hayesod, receive half of the money of the U.P.A. There are questions raised with regard to the Keren Hayesod and they are being settled in the U.P.A. We have an absorption of the Keren Hayesod in the U.P.A.

(At this point Dr. Wise was obliged to leave the meeting. Before leaving he requested Judge Rothenberg to take the Chair.)

Mr. William Siegel suggested that before reaching a final decision on the matter, it could be referred to a committee for study, which committee shall submit a report to the next meeting of the Executive.

The Chairman called attention to the fact that the time is very short and action must be taken without delay. He asked whether there was any definite proposal.

Mr. Lipsky said he knew of no definite proposal; that Dr. Goldstein and he have had a number of discussions, and Dr. Goldstein knows what is involved.

Dr. Goldstein thought that we should continue the United Palestine Appeal as at present constituted. He added that a small committee might be appointed to revise some of the details. He pointed out that the Keren Kayemeth



is practically out of the Welfare Funds, but when there are two demands made on the Welfare Funds, one from the Keren Hayesod and one from the Keren Kayemeth, both will suffer.

Mr. Röss proposed that the Campaigns be separated,--that the Keren Hayesod be permitted to organize and conduct a Keren Hayesod Campaign, and that the Jewish National Fund shall continue its usual efforts, plus any special undertaking which it thinks it ought to carry on. But in order to avoid rivalry and competition interference, a Committee should be appointed, made up of representatives of both Organizations and of representatives of the Z.O.A. and perhaps the other Zionist parties, to act as a coordinating Committee between the two separate campaigns. The only other way, he thought, would be for the Keren Hayesod and the National Fund both to remain in a United Palestine Appeal and both to give up their identity as formal Organizations, whose object would be only to transmit money to Palestine.

Mr. Lipsky moved

THAT the Executive of the Z.O.A. agrees that the terms of the contract between the Keren Hayesod and the Keren Kayemeth in the U.P.A. should be amended to meet the objections to the present agreement, and that a Committee be appointed for the purpose of drawing up a new contract.

Judge Rothenberg gave a review of the period which led up to the present situation; how the logic of events made necessary the creation of the United Palestine Appeal. Following the riots we went into the American Jewish Campaign. Later we broke that up and organized the American Palestine Campaign. In the present U.P.A., the Keren Hayesod has not suffered, so far as money is concerned. The name Keren Hayesod could have been publicized in the United Palestine Appeal. Certain events, celebrations, could have been held in which the name Keren Hayesod could have been brought forward. Those who feel that the money interest of the Keren Hayesod is being affected because the word Keren Hayesod is not appearing in the forefront of the Campaign are entirely mistaken. And those who do not say that, have no argument at all. The Keren Hayesod is the budget of the Jewish Agency for Palestine. It was, in the beginning, the budget of the World Zionist Organization, and then it became the budget of the Agency. The Chests know that they are raising money for the Jewish Agency budget, that they are giving for education, for colonization, and for a variety of things which the Keren Hayesod does. To break up the United Palestine Appeal, which has been a successful thing, would be a great mistake. But if we go into a partnership, there are certain limitations. We cannot simply do all the things we can do when we are separate.

Judge Rothenberg added that he felt all along that the Jewish National Fund was going beyond the limitations of a fair partnership. One partner cannot go out and have a machinery of its own and establish a campaign which goes beyond the limits of quiet collections which we thought of in the beginning. We made the same complaint against the J.D.C. in our joint campaign with them. That was one of the reasons which led to a break with the J.D.C. That is where a change can be made. There must be reason applied to that situation. The Jewish National Fund must be fair. If we want to keep up the value of the name Keren Hayesod, we can do it within the U.P.A. through functions. The fact that it has not been done until now does not mean that it cannot be done. There can be

many functions which can be had. There should not be a separate fund-raising function in the U.P.A. They should be functions which will keep alive the word Keren Hayesod.

Mr. Abraham Goldberg expressed his agreement with Mr. Lipsky's motion. We are all interested that the Keren Kayemeth should live and grow and develop. It is therefore in the interest of real unity to allow the Keren Kayemeth to continue as it did. However, a clause must be inserted in the contract to the effect that the Keren Kayemeth will not conduct separate campaigns. The U.P.A. is the fund-raising organization which raises funds for all activities, but the Campaign must be run by the Keren Hayesod.

The following motion was then formulated:

THAT it is the sense of the Executive of the Z.O.A. that there shall be no break-up in the United Palestine Appeal; that the United Palestine Appeal shall continue with its present partners, the Keren Hayesod and the Keren Kayemeth.

(Mr. Ress did not vote; otherwise the motion was carried unanimously)

It was further moved and seconded

THAT a Committee be appointed for the purpose of considering any changes that may be required in the contract now existing between the Keren Hayesod and the Keren Kayemeth,--the Committee to be named by the President of the Z.O.A.

This motion was unanimously carried.

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NEXT MEETING OF ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE:

Decided to leave to the discretion of the Chair the date of the next meeting of the Administrative Committee.

Meeting adjourned at 11:45 P. M.

Respectfully submitted,

MORRIS MARGULIES,

Secretary

ההסתדרות הציונית של ארצות הברית

# ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA



111 FIFTH AVENUE  
NEW YORK

STEPHEN S. WISE  
*President*

ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN  
JOSEPH KRAEMER  
WILLIAM M. LEWIS  
ABBA HILLEL SILVER  
ELIHU D. STONE  
NATHAN STRAU'S  
*Vice-Presidents*

MORRIS ROTHENBERG  
*Chairman, Admin. Committee*

LUDWIG LEWISOHN  
*Honorary Secretary*

MORRIS MARGULIES  
*Secretary*

## EXECUTIVE

LOUIS LIPSKY  
CHARLES A. COWEN  
M. MALDWIN FERTIG  
ABRAHAM GOLDBERG  
ABRAHAM GOLDSTEIN  
RABBI EDWARD L. ISRAEL  
RABBI ISRAEL H. LEVINthal  
SAMUEL MARKEWICH  
RABBI IRVING MILLER  
CHARLES RESS  
A. J. RONGY  
CARL SHERMAN  
WILLIAM I. SIEGEL  
ROBERT SZOLD

*Associate Members*  
ISAAC IMBER  
ADRIAN SCHWARTZ

## FINANCE COMMITTEE

LOUIS P. ROCKER  
*Chairman*

MORRIS WEINBERG  
HARRY P. FIERST  
*Treasurers*

ABRAHAM KRUMBEIN  
ABRAHAM LIEBOVITZ  
ELIAS PREISS  
LOUIS RIMSKY  
SIGMUND THAU

ISRAEL MALTIN  
*Auditor*

November 11, 1937

Dr. F.M. Falkman  
14128 Superior Road  
Cleveland, Ohio

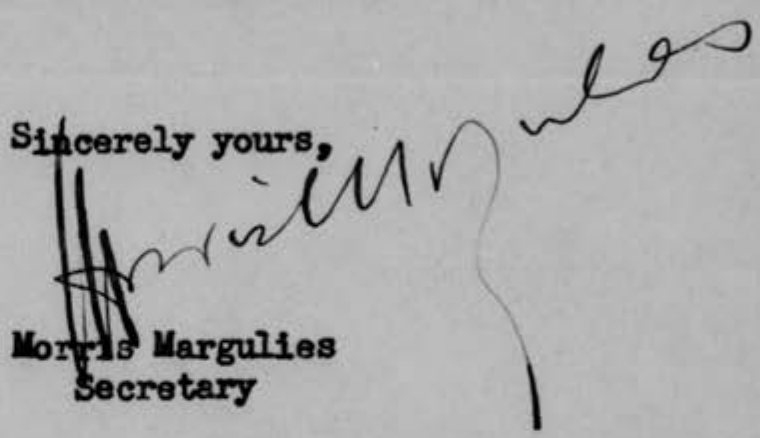
Dear Dr. Falkman:

Just a note of inquiry as to how the Cleveland Zionist Society is progressing with its membership. To date we have not received a single dollar in membership dues. I know that last year you did not begin your membership activities until December, but I had hoped that this year, because of the great need to keep the Organization in readiness for whatever political contingency may arise, those of us who, like yourself, are desirous of having the Z.O.A. render the most effective service, will do everything within their power to complete the membership work at the earliest possible moment.

I would appreciate it if you would drop me a note giving the Cleveland Zionist Society membership status.

With personal regards,

Sincerely yours,

  
Morris Margulies  
Secretary

MM:HG



ההסתדרות הציונית של ארצות הברית

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ELIAS PREISS  
LOUIS RIMSKY  
SIGMUND THAU

ISRAEL MALTIN  
*Auditor*

November 12, 1937

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver  
The Temple  
E. 105th St. & Ansel Blvd.  
Cleveland, Ohio

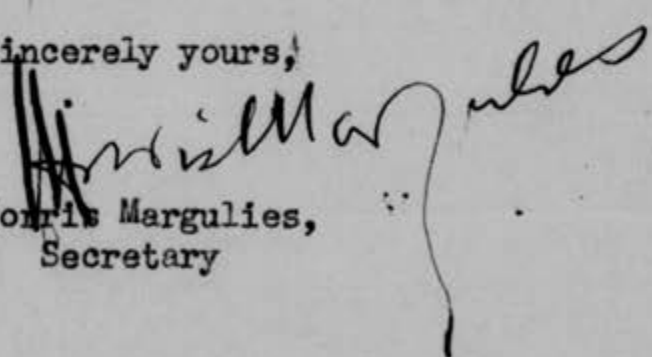
Dear Dr. Silver:

Both Morgan Jones and Rhys Davies have speaking engagements for November 28th. Jones is not available for any date during that period but Davies is free on the 23rd. The fee will be \$100. If you can use Davies on that date, please communicate with me.

As to the speaking ability of the two men, there is not very much that I can add to what Dr. Wise said in his letter of November 10th. Jones is the more impressive speaker of the two but Davies has a very fine personality, is a good speaker and has been in Palestine whereas Jones has not.

With personal regards,

Sincerely yours,

  
Morris Margulies,  
Secretary

MM:ML

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE OF THE ZOA

HELD MONDAY EVENING, NOVEMBER 29, 1937 - 40 West 68th Street

PRESENT : Dr. Wise (in the chair) Messrs. Goldstein, Kraemer, Levinthal, Margulies, Ress, Rucker, Sherman, Szold, Weinberg, Mrs. Epstein; Mr. Caplan (by invitation); Mr. Lawrence Cohen (representing Avukah)

Excuses for Absence from - Mr. Charles Cowen, Rabbi Irving Miller, Mr. William I. Siegel - because of previous speaking engagements.

REQUEST OF WESTCHESTER REGION FOR OFFICIAL RECOGNITION :

The Secretary submitted the request of the Westchester Zionist Region for official recognition as a region, and recommended that the application be granted.

Mr. Ress, a member of that Region, stated experience indicated that Westchester works better as a separate unit.

Dr. Wise inquired whether this would involve any additional expense, to which Mr. Margulies replied that the Region would be entitled to a refund of \$1 from the dues, as provided by the Convention ruling.

Mr. Ress stated that the Region would be willing to leave it to the National Office, whether it is entitled to receive the same amount as would have to be expended by the national office for Westchester, and that the Region would be prepared to refund to the National Office any balance out of the dollar due them.

It was moved, seconded and carried

THAT official recognition be extended to the Westchester Zionist Region.

REQUEST OF AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS FOR PAYMENT OF AFFILIATION TAX :

Mr. Margulies recalled that the Executive had acted on this matter some time ago and had authorized the Finance Committee to pay to the American Jewish Congress an affiliation tax of \$750 on the basis of 30,000 members. The funds for this purpose have not been available, however, and by this time there is due to the Congress the sum of \$1500 for two years.

Dr. Wise stated that under the circumstances the ZOA should be called upon to pay only half that sum, or \$750.

Mr. Margulies believed that this money could be secured by allocating the total among the various districts, on the basis of the respective membership.

It was moved, seconded and carried

THAT Mr. Margulies take up this suggestion with the Finance Committee, with the understanding that the ZOA will make up the difference not covered by the Districts.

MEMBERSHIP REPORT :

The Secretary reported that from October 1st to November 29, 1937 payment was received for 3,628 members as against 2,825 from October 1 to November 30, 1936. The membership dues received for this period totalled \$9,950.35 for 1937 as against \$6,991.46 last year.

Mr. Margulies added that according to present indications the Organization is ahead of last year and there has been no decline in the number of members because of the increase in the dues from \$3 to \$5.

SURVEY COMMITTEE :

The Chairman called upon Mr. Charles Ress for a preliminary report of the recently appointed Survey Committee.

Mr. Ress stated that the committee is functioning but is not yet ready to make its report, which, however, will be submitted in writing to the next meeting of the Executive.

PRO-PALESTINE FEDERATION :

Mr. Margulies reported that Mr. Cowen had seen Mr. Charles Edward Russell in Washington, and the latter was not aware of how much money the ZOA had actually spent for the Pro-Palestine Federation and the Herald. Accordingly an itemized statement was sent to Mr. Russell, showing that from June 17, 1936 to Oct. 28, 1937 the sum of \$6,337.51 was advanced to the Federation by the ZOA. Upon receiving this information, Mr. Russell replied under date of November 11th:

"Thank you for your letter of yesterday with an itemized account of the moneys advanced to or paid for the Pro-Palestine Federation. I had no idea that these payments had reached any such sum. As President of the Federation, I have to ask that no more money be advanced to it by the Zionist Organization of America except with my approval."

Mr. Margulies added that since the receipt of this letter no further payment has been made to the Federation.

The Secretary added that Mr. Cowen was supposed to submit a report to this meeting, but in view of the change in dates, he had accepted a speaking engagement and is unable to be present.

PIERRE VAN PAASSEN - SPECIAL MONTHLY BULLETIN :

Mr. Margulies was of the opinion that something ought to be done by the ZOA in connection with keeping the non-Jewish element in this country informed on Palestine, and the most effective way would be for the Organization to issue a monthly bulletin similar to "Palestine" published by the British Palestine Committee. In connection with the editing of this publication, it has been pointed out by Dr. Wise and others, that Mr. Van Paassen would be most valuable. It has therefore been proposed that Mr. Van Paassen should be engaged for this purpose at a salary of \$75 per week, to include speaking engagements, particularly before Christian audiences.



Mr. Caplan urged the publication of this bulletin without delay and the building up of a mailing list of influential persons who should receive the publication.

It was moved, seconded and carried ..

THAT a Committee of Three -- Mr. Röss, Mr. Margulies and Dr. Wise - be appointed to work out the necessary details.

It was moved, seconded and carried also

THAT the employment of Mr. Pierre Van Paassen at a salary of \$75 per week, as of November 1st, be approved, with the understanding that he is to edit the proposed bulletin and to give a certain number of speaking engagements each month.

Mr. Caplan strongly urged that this bulletin should be divorced from the Pro-Palestine Federation.

REPORT ON KEREN HAYESOD AND JEWISH NATIONAL FUND NEGOTIATIONS FOR LAUNCHING THE 1938 UNITED PALESTINE APPEAL :

Dr. Goldstein reported that a committee representing the Keren Hayesod met with a committee representing the Keren Kayemeth and agreed upon the terms of a new contract for the 1938 United Palestine Appeal. In addition the memorandum submitted in behalf of the Zionist Organization of America, adopted by this Executive, was approved by both bodies acting jointly. An Administrative Committee for the UPA was then nominated, so that virtually the details for launching the 1938 campaign have been completed. There now remains the final fixing of the date of the annual conference which will probably take place on January 22 and 23 in Washington.

Dr. Goldstein added that the most important thing to report is that both bodies jointly, unanimously agreed on the Chairman of the new campaign who has been the chairman of the previous campaigns - Dr. Stephen S. Wise.

It was suggested at the instance of Dr. Wise that irrespective of the procedure in previous years, the Administrative Committee of the UPA, so far as it lies in the power of this Executive to propose its membership, shall be made up of persons who have the capacity for securing funds for the Jewish Agency for Palestine, and that no man shall be chosen on any other grounds.

Dr. Goldstein called attention to the fact that last year a number of notables were added to the committee, whose attendance at meetings grew less and less frequent and the committee resolved itself into the same handful of persons who functioned previously.

Mr. Röss pointed out that the persons referred to by Dr. Goldstein were subsequently appointed on the Finance Committee where they functioned regularly.

Mr. Röss suggested that there be two groups - one group to serve as an advisory committee or administrative campaign committee or Board of Directors, and the other an Executive Committee. In this way representation could also be given to the Zionist parties.

Dr. Goldstein observed that at the Congress two years ago it was ruled that wherever there are parties, they must be represented in the fund-raising effort.

Dr. Wise added that this was with the understanding that the parties would cooperate in the raising of the funds. What is needed is an Administrative body covering fund-raising, which group could include the non-Zionists. The Zionist parties could be included in the general set up of the UPA which shall have two groups; one called an Administrative Committee which shall devote itself to the securing of funds for the Jewish Agency for Palestine; and the other a committee made up in part of representatives of parties, that shall devote itself to the consideration of all other problems arising out of the relation of the UPA to Palestine.

Rabbi Levinthal stated that a much simpler way would be to revise the list and make it satisfactory to the Chairman.

It was moved by Mr. Ress and seconded and carried

THAT in constituting the membership of the Administrative Committee, too great importance has been given to party representation to the neglect of the more important principle; that members of the Committee shall be primarily useful for fund-raising.

THEREFORE this Executive recommends that the whole matter be referred back to the Committee for discussion, with the request that they revise the list in accordance with the points raised here;

FURTHER that the committee shall give careful consideration to the possibility of creating two groups, one of which shall have the active administration of the campaign itself, and the other to act as the Council of the UPA.

Dr. Wise observed that two men have come into the field, either of whom would be particularly qualified to act as head of this fund-raising effort. One is Harold Jacobi who is deeply interested in Palestine and Zionism, and the other is Senator Straus who now holds one of the most responsible positions in the Government.

Dr. Goldstein pointed out that in view of its Zionist constituency, the UPA must be controlled by Zionists.

Meeting adjourned 11 P.M.

Respectfully submitted

MORRIS MARGULIES  
Secretary

# ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA



111 FIFTH AVENUE  
NEW YORK

STEPHEN S. WISE  
President

December 7, 1937

ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN  
JOSEPH KRAEMER  
WILLIAM M. LEWIS  
ABBA HILLEL SILVER  
ELIHU D. STONE  
NATHAN STRAU'S  
Vice-Presidents

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver  
% The Temple  
Cleveland, Ohio

MORRIS ROTHENBERG  
Chairman, Admin. Committee

Dear Rabbi Silver:

LUDWIG LEWISOHN  
Honorary Secretary

MORRIS MARGULIES  
Secretary

I have just learned that Dr. Walter Fischel of the Hebrew University is scheduled to speak in Dayton on Saturday, December 25th. Dr. Fischel, who undoubtedly is known to you, is an outstanding scholar, a very interesting personality and a delightful speaker. He has lectured before a number of the Universities in this country including Harvard and Yale.

I can arrange for him to address a meeting at Cleveland on the 26th of December for as modest an honorarium as \$50. including all expenses. I would <sup>respectfully</sup> urge that you take advantage of Dr. Fischel's presence in your section of the country.

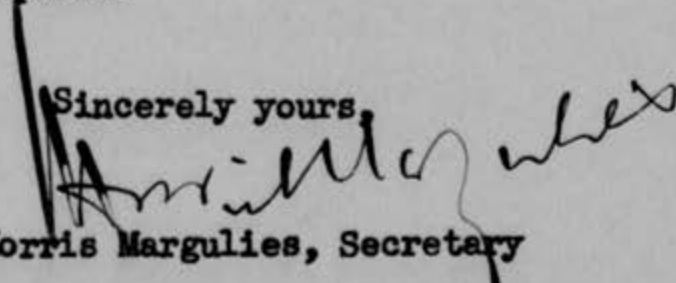
Dr. Fischel's topics are:

1. The Marranos in Middle Asia (On a community of Crypto-Jews in Iran, discovered on his journey)
2. Jerusalem - Baghdad - Teheran (A Jewish journey through the Middle East)
3. Modern Iran and its Jewish community.
4. By the Rivers of Babylon - Impressions of a journey to Iraq.
5. Jews, Half-Jews and Crypto-Jews in the Orient.
6. Jews and Jewish Fate in Islamic countries.
7. Oriental Jews in Palestine.
8. The social and spiritual awakening of the East.

I would appreciate an early response.

With kind regards,

Sincerely yours,

  
Morris Margulies, Secretary

EXECUTIVE  
LOUIS LIPSKY  
CHARLES A. COWEN  
M. MALDWIN FERTIG  
ABRAHAM GOLDBERG  
ABRAHAM GOLDSTEIN  
EDWARD L. ISRAEL  
ISRAEL H. LEVINthal  
SAMUEL MARKEWICH  
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ELIAS PREISS  
LOUIS RIMSKY  
SIGMUND THAU

ISRAEL MALTIN  
Auditor



MINUTES OF MEETING OF Z.O.A. ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE, HELD ON  
SUNDAY, DECEMBER 12th, 1:30 P.M., at the ASTOR HOTEL, NEW YORK

PRESENT: Judge Morris Rothenberg (in the Chair), Isaac Allen, New York; Dr. Abraham Ball, Albany, N. Y.; Dr. Ilie Berger, Providence, R. I.; Samuel Berman, New York; Herman W. Bernstein, New York; Samuel Berson, Brooklyn, N. Y.; A. D. Braham, New York; Adolph Brinberg, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Dr. Frances Burnce, Dorchester, Mass.; Israel S. Chipkin, New York; A. B. Cohen, Scranton, Pa.; Jacob Cohen, Haverhill, Mass.; Sol Cohen, Richmond Hill, L.I.; Charles A. Cowen, New York; Daniel Ellison, Baltimore, Md.; Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, New York; Benjamin Evarts, Holyoke, Mass.; Dr. David Feldman, Philadelphia, Pa.; Hon. M. Maldwin Fertig, New York; Harry P. Fierst, New York; David Frankel, Trenton, NJ; Jacob Ginsburg, Newton Upper Falls, Mass.; Abraham Goldberg, New York; Dr. Israel Goldstein, New York; Harry Grayer, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Leo Guzik, New York; Isadore A. Hassin, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Isaac Imber, New York; Arnold K. Isreeli, Bronx, NY; Rabbi Abraham I. Jacobson, Amsterdam, N. Y.; Sidney Jaffe, Philadelphia, Pa.; Harold Jaffer, Mt. Vernon, N. Y.; Samuel Judenfreund, New York; Samuel Kanarvogel, New York; Mordecai Konowitz, Jamaica, L. I.; Joseph Kraemer, Newark, N. J.; Abraham Krumbein, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Dr. Harris J. Levine, Bronx, N. Y.; Meyer Levy, New York City; Judge Wm. M. Lewis, Philadelphia, Pa.; Samuel Margoshes, New York; Morris Margulies, New York; Louis Myers, Bronx, N. Y.; Elias Preiss, New York; Dr. Harry Projector, Bronx, N. Y.; Jacob H. Rand, New York; Judge Hyman J. Reit, New York; Charles Ress, New York; Menahem Ribalow, Bronx, N. Y.; Bernard G. Richards, New York; Louis Rimsky, New York; Dr. Morton J. Robbins, Nashua, N. H.; Henry Rosenbaum, Plainfield, N. J.; Dr. Julius M. Rosenthal, Monticello, N. Y.; Moses Robinson, Bronx, N. Y.; Jochanon I. Rudavsky, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Jacob I. Schaffer, Bronx, N. Y.; Samuel Schleimer, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Rabbi H. E. Schwartz, Hempstead, L. I.; Bernard Shelvin, New York; Judge Joseph Siegler, Newark, N. J.; Rabbi Julius Silberfeld, Newark, N. J.; Dr. Solomon Smelin, Bronx, N. Y.; Abraham Spicehandler, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Joshua Sprayregen, New York; Hon. Elihu D. Stone, Boston, Mass.; Judge Nathan Sweedler, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Robert Szold, New York; Sigmund Thau, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Samuel Umansky, Meriden, Conn.; Meyer W. Weisgal, New York; Dr. Stephen S. Wise, New York; Leo Wilson, Bronx, N. Y.; Leo Wolfson, New York; Rabbi Harry Z. Zwelling, New Britain, Conn.

Excuses for Non-Attendance were received from Rabbi Maurice J. Bloom, Newburgh, N. Y.; Rabbi Barnett R. Brickner, Cleveland, Ohio; David Friedman, Norfolk, Va.; Dr. J. L. Goldberg, Astoria, L. I.; Rabbi H. R. Goldberger, Altoona, Pa.; Rabbi Solomon Goldman, Chicago, Ill.; Abram M. Granowitz, Johnstown, Pa.; Morris Greenberg, Bronx, N. Y.; Isidore Hershfield, Washington, D. C.; Jacob B. Hoffman, Philadelphia, Pa.; B. Horwich, Chicago, Ill.; Rabbi Edward L. Israel, Baltimore, Md.; Prof. Gustave Klausner, St. Louis, Mo.; Samuel Kranzberg, St. Louis, Mo.; Rabbi I. H. Levinthal, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Louis Lipsky, New York; Mortimer May, Nashville, Tenn.; Joseph Reder, Dorchester, Mass.; Aaron Riche, Los Angeles, Calif.; Dr. A. J. Rongy, New York; Simon Shetzer, Detroit, Mich.; Dewey Stone, Taunton, Mass.; Joe Weingarten, Houston, Texas; Dr. Alex S. Wolf, St. Louis, Mo.

SECRETARY'S REPORT:

The Secretary presented the attached report on the meetings of the Z. O. A. Executive held since the last meeting of the Administrative Committee.

DISCUSSION ON SECRETARY'S REPORT:

The Chairman called for discussion on the Secretary's report.

Dr. Wise moved, and it was seconded and unanimously carried

THAT a summary of the minutes of each meeting of the Executive be printed in the subsequent issue of The New Palestine.

Mr. Spicehandler said it was very difficult to comment on a belated report. He urged that a meeting of the Administrative Committee be held every month so that the members be kept informed of the current situation.

The Chairman explained that the intent was to have a meeting once a month. However, owing to intervening functions or activity, it was found necessary to bring the date of the next meeting of the Administrative Committee before the Executive.

Dr. Wise pointed out that frequently many of the officers of the Organization are out-of-town covering speaking engagements on Sundays.

Judge Reit supported Dr. Wise's proposal to report the Executive meetings regularly in The New Palestine, which would remedy the situation.

Judge Sweedler said that the problems of the last few months cannot be digested at one meeting. He criticized the procedure of the meetings of the Administrative Committee, which he said, was called upon to acquiesce to everything already acted upon by another body. He asked what had been done about the constitution.

Mr. Umansky expressed his disagreement with the view of Judge Sweedler. Furthermore, he did not think it possible to hold monthly meetings when officers of the Organization have out-of-town engagements. He believed it could be left to the Z. O. A. Executive to decide upon the dates of Administrative Committee meetings.

Mr. Guzik said he had not heard the details of the budget, and asked what action is anticipated with regard thereto.

Mr. Fierst .. reported that the Finance Committee has submitted a tentative budget of about \$158,000 for the ensuing year. The various items were considered by the Executive Committee which decided to continue with that budget until January 1st, when there will be more definite information on the financial arrangement between the Z. O. A. and the U. P. A. After January 1st we hope to adopt the budget for 1938.

The Chairman added that he assumed the Finance Committee will bring the budget before the Administrative Committee for approval.

The Chairman suggested that the next meeting of the Administrative Committee be



held within a month, on Sunday, January 16th.

It was thereupon decided to hold meetings of the Administrative Committee once a month, -- preferably the third Sunday of the month.

REPORT ON POLITICAL SITUATION:

The Chairman called upon Dr. Wise to give a report on the political situation.

Dr. Wise stated that his principal sources of information were the Falcor bulletins and the foreign press. He had written to Dr. Weizmann in October, pointing out the difficulties of not being informed about the situation in Palestine and London and of the progress of the negotiations. He added, however, that he had received two confidential letters from Dr. Weizmann, the contents of which, could not be made public, but that he had shared these communications with his fellow-chairman of the UPA. At that time Dr. Weizmann was in grave doubt as to what would be the next step in the situation, and repeated that there was to be a second Commission of Inquiry for the determination or delimitation of the frontiers.

Dr. Wise pointed out that it appears that the Colonial Office seems to be increasingly uncertain as to its own plans judging from the contradictory statements it continuously issues. In the meantime Dr. Weizmann had decided then to remain in London until the Commission went to Palestine. However, since the Commission had not been appointed after all these weeks, Dr. Weizmann proceeded to Palestine where he is at present.

Dr. Wise then reported that there were no members of the Executive in the London Office at the time. This should be remedied with one or two members of the Executive remaining in London all the time. Moreover, someone should be designated in London to act as liason between the Executive and all the Zionist Organizations in every country, and to furnish each organization with weekly reports on recent developments.

Dr. Wise stressed the necessity for action. He stated that there are apparently two groups, one of which thinks that partition is coming. Some say by March the Government will be prepared to submit a report to the House of Commons. Dr. Wise pointed out that partition cannot come immediately unless it is done by fiat. Moreover according to Dr. Weizmann, no decision can be taken on any proposal unless it is first considered by the Political Executive of the Jewish Agency. Dr. Wise added, however, that the appointment of Sir Charles A. Tegart, for the purpose of reorganizing the Palestine police and the appointment of a new High Commissioner, may imply that the Government is inclined to implementation rather than partition.

It seemed to Dr. Wise therefore that there are these things to be considered:

- 1) Whether one or more persons should be sent to Palestine, in order to meet with and confer from day to day with the Executive of the Jewish Agency. Except for Mrs. Jacobs who is just arriving in Palestine and who technically represents the non-Zionists, there is no one in Palestine today who represents the American Zionists.
- 2) Dr. Wise stressed the fact that while no one in Zurich promised to hold his judgment in suspense until the next Congress there was however to be a truce pending the presentation of the report by the Agency Executive at a special meeting of the Congress. Dr. Wise



said that he felt that those who believe that partition must be accepted, however delimited, have the right and duty to make their point of view known. On the other hand, those who believe that a tragically geographically limited Palestine is no adequate basis for a Jewish National Home, still have their duty to pronounce their views to their fellow-Zionists. That, however, does not mean that those who hold this view may not have to capitulate or make any change. Dr. Wise feels that he has two obligations -- his personal obligation which is to make his views known with respect to what he still believed would be the danger of partition, and the second, to secure a maximum response for Palestine, for land purchase, for settlement and for immigration.

#### DISCUSSION ON POLITICAL REPORT:

Mr. Shelvin called attention to the activities of the non-Zionist members of the Political Commission. He stated that they were engaged in preparing a Memorandum to the Colonial Office against partition, giving their assimilationist theories concerning Palestine. Mr. Shelvin asked if Dr. Wise had any information on this subject.

Dr. Wise said there had been two meetings of the Political Commission. At the first meeting at the end of September, nothing was done of a tangible nature. Another meeting was held about the 10th of November. Dr. Wise had cabled to Lord Melchett and asked him to send a full report, so that we would have some understanding of what is happening. Dr. Wise said he did not think anything happened, excepting that there were rumors about a separate Memorandum to the Colonial Government by the non-Zionist members of the Political Commission of the Agency. They were stiffly rebuked for this by Dr. Weizmann. One deplorable event has operated to the advantage of the non-Zionist members of the Agency, namely, the action of Meir Grossman in revealing confidential documents pertaining to conversations between Dr. Weizmann and Major Ormsby-Gore, resulting in strained relationship between Dr. Weizmann and Major Gore. However, the thing has been explained away. Major Gore understands that Dr. Weizmann was not responsible for the publication of that Memorandum, and the matter appears to be straightened out.

As for the non-Zionists in America, Dr. Wise said that six or eight weeks ago he proposed that there be a meeting of half a dozen responsible leaders of the non-Zionist section of the Jewish Agency in America with an equal number of the Zionist group, in order to arrive officially at a common point of view. That was submitted to Dr. Karpf who is a member of the Executive of the Agency, and through him to Dr. Cyrus Adler and to Mr. Sol M. Strook who has been named in a sense to represent the late Mr. Felix M. Warburg. Dr. Karpf reported that the non-Zionists wished first to meet without us, and that they did meet. A telephone message had come to him from Dr. Karpf, suggesting that they were ready to meet. Dr. Wise pointed out that the Jewish State is the real cause of Zionist offence in the eyes of non-Zionists in America and in England. When the meeting between the representatives of the non-Zionists and Zionists in America will be held, a report will be submitted to the Executive of the Z. O. A. and the Executive will report to the Administrative Committee.

Mr. Sprayregen agreed that it was logical that American Zionists should be

represented in the discussions abroad and it was essential to have a unified point of view even if both sides have to make certain compromises.

Mr. Silverman stated that he thought there was an invitation from Dr. Weizmann to Dr. Wise to join him abroad.

Mr. Rothenberg pointed out that Dr. Wise is a member of the Commission named at the Congress, which is called upon to negotiate with the British Government, but he did not know whether Dr. Wise had been asked to come to London.

Dr. Wise replied that Dr. Weizmann wrote him that in view of the fact that the new Commission will reach its decision in Palestine, there would be no purpose in his coming to London at present. Dr. Wise added that before he could leave for Palestine it is essential to bring about an understanding of the American point of view.

Judge Fromberg stated that he had been to Palestine and the Congress last summer, and he was impressed by the attempts to minimize the influence of American Zionists. In order to make the work of American Zionists more effective, it was important that America be represented both in London and Palestine to participate in the decisions and to keep the American organization constantly informed.

With regard to more intimate contact between American Zionists and the World Zionist Organization, Mr. Elihu Stone observed that it was deplorable that Dr. Weizmann had not been in a position to keep the Americans informed about the activities of the last few months, which situation must be remedied, since American is entitled to know what is going on.

Mr. Stone continued, that as an individual Zionist, the President of the Z. O. A. has freedom of opinion, but not as President of the Organization and as an officer of the World Zionist Organization. Paragraph 7 of the Congress resolution, which authorized and directed the Executive to negotiate with the Mandatory for the purpose of ascertaining the best terms, meant that the newly elected Executive, headed by Dr. Weizmann, had a mandate to negotiate. Therefore Dr. Weizmann and the Executive are negotiating as the representatives of all by virtue of the specific authority given to them by the Congress. He pointed out that at the outset of the Congress, in his opening address, Dr. Weizmann stated that the specific terms of the Royal Commission report were not satisfactory and recommended their rejection. The Congress so stated in the resolution finally adopted, which authorized Dr. Weizmann to proceed to negotiate with a view to ascertaining whether more territory, broader boundaries, etc. could not be obtained, and that only with the united support of the Jewish people could such negotiations be successful. Under the circumstances, the leadership of the Z. O. A. is not free to obstruct Dr. Weizmann and the Executive, and to interfere with and impede the progress of these negotiations. Therefore it behooves Zionist leadership to cooperate and help Dr. Weizmann obtain the best possible conditions, with a view to establishing a Jewish state in part of Palestine which is the intent of the majority resolution adopted at the Congress.

(Here the Chairman interrupted and said that that was not the language of the resolution.)

Mr. Stone replied that he was not quoting the language but the intent of the majority resolution. He stressed the fact that there were two resolutions --



minority and majority, the former clearly stated that the Executive was not to negotiate on any basis involving partition---this was rejected. The logical deduction therefore is that the majority resolution for negotiations on such a basis was intended.

Here Dr. Wise inquired from Mr. Stone whether under the terms of the resolution adopted by a vote of 5 to 3, Dr. Weizmann was prohibited in the course of his explorations, from insisting upon the British Government implementing the Mandate in its entirety.

Mr. Stone replied that he did not think Dr. Weizmann was free to do that, especially under paragraph 7 of the resolution.

Dr. Wise stated that there were other paragraphs in the resolution, particularly paragraph 2. Mr. Stone answered that all the other paragraphs of the resolution reflect the attitude of the Congress, but only paragraph 7 calls for action on the part of Dr. Weizmann and the Executive. It is the duty of the leadership of the Z. O. A. to cooperate, and not directly or indirectly to inspire the adoption of resolutions against partition by important groups in America, notably Hadassah, and also to crystallize non-Jewish public opinion against the policies authorized by the Congress, as evidenced by articles against partition in the Pro-Palestine Herald, subsidized by the Z. O. A.

Dr. Wise interrupted by saying that he had tried to persuade Mr. Russell to be more temperate in his statement.



JUDGE ROTHENBERG'S REMARKS:

The objection which Mr. Stone has taken to the continued opposition of the President of the Zionist Organization to partition, is equally applicable to me, as Chairman of the Administrative Committee, if such conduct may be deemed improper. Since the Zionist Congress was held I have on several occasions publicly expressed myself against partition, as I did immediately following the Report of the Royal Commission. But let us see whether or not we are within our rights in doing so. I did not have the privilege of attending the last Zionist Congress because of judicial duties. It was a source of deep regret to me that I could not go. It was the first important Zionist International Conference that I had missed in many years. But I assure you that I followed with breathless interest everything that transpired at the Congress. I must say that I have listened with considerable amazement to the statement of Mr. Stone. I am sorry that we have not at hand the Congress Resolution on partition. But I think that I remember its contents very distinctly. In view of that Resolution and what took place at the Congress immediately following the adoption of the Resolution, it is very strange indeed to hear Mr. Stone say that continued opposition to partition is in contravention of the action of the Zionist Congress. Coming as his statement does on the heels of an editorial in The New Palestine which appeared to argue for the muzzling of the anti-partitionists, I think it important that we examine the record on the subject. Let us see who more nearly is acting in the spirit of the Congress Resolution -- those who urge the acceptance of partition, or those who oppose it.

Let me recall to you firstly that at the last Convention of the Zionist Organization of America, a Resolution was unanimously adopted against the proposal to partition Palestine, which already then was foreshadowed. If there be any official indication as to the opinion of the Zionists of America on the subject, it must be regarded as contained in that Resolution. Following the Convention came the World Zionist Congress, where a long and heated debate on the Royal Commission's proposal to divide Palestine into a Jewish and an Arab State took place. At the close of that debate a Resolution was adopted unequivocally rejecting the partition scheme and calling upon the Mandatory Power to continue to administer Palestine under the terms of the Mandate. A provision was inserted in that Resolution authorizing the Executive of the Jewish Agency for Palestine to negotiate with the Mandatory Power with a view to ascertaining the explicit terms of the partition proposal and to report back the result of the negotiations to the next Zionist Congress and the Council of the Jewish Agency. Following the adoption of that Resolution, a question arose as to whether the Resolution was an implied commitment to the partition principle. The nein-zagers were suspicious that such an interpretation might be placed upon it by the ya-zagers. Mr. Ben Gurion then arose at the Congress and explicitly stated that there was no intention to commit anyone at the Congress to partition by the Resolution adopted. That statement was intended to allay the fears of the nein-zagers and to maintain the unity of the Zionist Organization by permitting freedom of conscience on so fundamental a matter affecting the future of Palestine. Possibly the Executive, after their negotiations with the British Government, will present to the next Zionist Congress a proposal that may be more acceptable. That will be for the Congress to consider. But until the next Congress and the Council of the Jewish Agency have definitely spoken on the subject, the status is that the partition recommendation as contained in the Royal Commission Report has been rejected by the Congress. And no one has the right to say that <sup>it</sup> is a breach of Zionist discipline to continue an attitude of opposition to partition.

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And now a word as to the expediency of our urging partition at this time. The Executive is, as we understand it, negotiating with the British Government for better terms. Is it wise to permit the British Government to gain the impression that the Jews are willing to accept partition on any conditions? Is that calculated to produce better terms? In any event, surely those who oppose partition are more in harmony with the spirit of the Congress Resolution than those who favor partition. There are many who believe -- and it was reported that Dr. Weizmann was among them -- that Dr. Wise and his followers at the Congress had rendered a genuine service by the attitude they had taken; that by doing so they had strengthened Dr. Weizmann's position vis-a-vis the British Government.

One more word: The partition proposal goes to the very heart of Zionist aims and Zionist ideals. Has it not always been considered fundamental Zionist creed that the substantial solution of the Jewish problem requires that they be given the opportunity to develop and settle in the whole of Palestine-- that such was their historic right? Is it not a negation of Zionist aspirations to compress the Jewish National Home into 2,000 square miles of territory, with Jerusalem out, with Haifa bottled up and with 225,000 Arabs remaining within the tiny Jewish State? Is this not reducing the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate to a shadow of their original meaning? We who are opposed to partition are not opposed to the Jewish State idea but to a Jewish State that is illusory, that will not be economically self-sustaining and that will be beset on all sides by infinite dangers.

As to the charge of lack of cooperation with Dr. Weizmann, that is wholly unfair and unfounded. Dr. Wise and others of us who are not favorably disposed to the partition scheme offered, are nevertheless working as hard as ever before for Palestine, and giving complete support to Dr. Weizmann and the Executive in the work for Palestine. Recently, I attended a meeting of Jewish leaders from all parts of the country at which Dr. Wise took occasion to defend Dr. Weizmann in very forceful terms against imputations which had been made against Dr. Weizmann, and I did likewise. Despite his opposition to the partition program as at present offered, you know and I know that Dr. Wise is giving the best that is in him to raise the maximum of funds for Palestine, and we are giving Dr. Wise fullest support in his efforts. We have travelled to various cities in behalf of the United Palestine Appeal and defended the Zionist position.

Partition is not a matter on which we can be called upon to surrender our views. We have not worked and lived and dreamt with the movement all these years that we shall lightly assent to a proposal which robs Palestine of four-fifths of its present territory and threatens the basic ideals of the Zionist movement. While continuing to give Zionist activities the maximum of support, we nevertheless have earned the right to think and to speak honestly on a subject that may affect Palestine for all the years to come.

#### DEATH OF MR. MAX SHULMAN:

The Chairman reported, at this juncture, the receipt of a telegram with the sorrowful tidings of the sudden passing of Mr. Max Shulman, for many years Vice-President of the Z.O.A., former President of the Mid-West Zionist Region and President of the Z.O.A. of Chicago, whose entire life was dedicated to Eretz Israel. All present rose in silence as a mark of tribute. An appropriate resolution of mourning and condolence was dispatched to the widow and the Zionist Organization of Chicago.



CONTINUATION OF DISCUSSION:

Resuming the discussion, Mr. Spicehandler said that the first step toward cooperation should be to send a representative to London and Jerusalem to keep the ZOA informed. Moreover he felt that the Zionist rank and file believe that something can be done by the ZOA to secure better terms from the British Government. Irrespective of the terms of the Congress resolution, the question is whether we will allow the Yishub, the mainstay of Zionist political power, to be economically destroyed. If the weight of American Jewry is not brought to bear upon the negotiations with the British Government on partition, then everything will be endangered including the heroic efforts of the Palestine Yishub.

Mr. Wolfson stated that the lack of information may be due to the fact that there is as yet nothing tangible to convey by the Executive. He suggested that the ZOA send a liaison officer to London or Palestine, or both, or appoint someone locally to keep the ZOA informed unofficially as to what is going on but no one should be sent to interfere with the activities of the Executive.

Mr. Richards expressed the opinion that the Congress resolution adopted by the majority was binding upon the entire Zionist movement.

The Chairman interrupted, by stating that the Congress resolution did not imply this.

Mr. Richards retorted that everything would be meaningless if the final conclusion of the Congress was not binding. He did not say that the decision was absolute and devoid of certain reservations; but to continue what amounts to a campaign against the essential point of the movement, was not only bad discipline, disloyalty but suicidal and ruinous. The continuation of this "debating society" paralyzes the movement. In this connection he cited the fact that the literature of the Education Department was controversial. He stressed the fact that our obligation is to work in the spirit of the resolution, authorizing the World leadership to negotiate under certain circumstances. What is most deplorable is the fact that some American Zionists are belittling the great idea of Jewish State about which finally we are able to talk freely. He said that we must go forward with a positive point of view (though he personally deplored partition) and when the matter comes back to the next Congress, everyone should speak his mind freely, but in the meantime we must go ahead in a spirit of moral enthusiasm, since controversy and belligerency will be most harmful to the leaders of the World Zionist Organization in the tremendously important task confronting them.

The Chairman then called upon Mrs. Judith Epstein, President of Hadassah. Mrs. Epstein said that Hadassah had taken a stand which is contrary to that which has been proposed here as a correct disciplined stand. She expressed her disagreement with those who believe that the Zionist Organization at this time should have nothing at all to do with the political problem which is before us. The Zionist Congress did accept something as a basis of negotiations and we have nothing else before us on which to speak. If the next proposal is to be found better than this one, we must have a method of comparison. Hadassah members understand that they are to keep an open mind, and at the same time there is nothing released from the Hadassah office which does not say that the only thing is to get concrete accomplishment in Eretz

Israel. Mrs. Epstein urged, therefore, that the Z.O.A. should not take the stand that complete cessation of discussion is essential for carrying on practical work.

Recalling Dr. Wise's reference to the lack or inadequacy of information received from Palestine, Dr. Projector expressed the thought that the Z.O.A. should have two representatives in Palestine at the present time -- one "nein-zager" and one "ya-zager". As for the Congress resolution, Dr. Projector felt that the only logical conclusion at which we can possibly arrive is that the Report of the Royal Commission was rejected by the Congress, but that the Jewish State, as such, was not rejected. Dr. Projector expressed the belief that unlicensed freedom of speech must at times be curtailed for the sake of discipline and what's best for Palestine.

Judge Rothenberg said he thought that Dr. Weizmann made it clear in a speech at the Congress -- that he (Dr. Weizmann) was of the opinion that the opposition was of service.

Mr. Stone expressed the opinion that while England acted with or without our sanction in various matters in Palestine, there is one thing that England cannot do without Jewish approval and that is, the establishment of a Jewish State.

Mr. Shelvin supported Dr. Wise's suggestion to have a representative in London or in both places. However, if the representative is to represent the political points of view of American Zionism, no one individual may satisfy us. Mr. Shelvin also expressed himself in favor of free discussion on partition and Jewish State.

The Chairman then read paragraphs 7 and 8 of the Congress resolution as follows:

7. "The Congress empowers the Executive to enter into negotiations with a view to ascertaining the precise terms of His Majesty's Government for the proposed establishment of a Jewish State.

8. "In such negotiations, the Executive shall not commit either itself or the Zionist Organization, but in the event of the emergence of a definite scheme for the establishment of a Jewish State, such scheme shall be brought before a newly-elected Congress for consideration and decision."

Mr. Goldberg stated that the Administrative Committee should not devote itself merely to discussion of the statements made by Dr. Wise, but to evolve a plan of action and direction to the leadership. He added that the Chairman's interpretation of the resolution is correct, although unfortunate. It was felt that accepting this resolution was the only way of preventing a split between the Ya-Zaggers and the Nein-Zaggers, and while the continuation of discussion by both sides is permissible, that was not the real inference of the resolution. If it was really intended to reject partition in any form, even the resolution of the "Nein-Zaggers" was not satisfactory.

Mr. Goldberg observed that Dr. Weizmann had stressed two points; viz, if we secured enough territory of Palestine to bring into Palestine two million Jews, and if we were granted true sovereignty, he would accept partition.



Moreover every member of the Executive, with the exception of Prof. Brodetzky, were in favor of the resolution inferentially, though perhaps not technically, for a Jewish State in a part of Palestine.

In connection with suppressing one's opinion, Mr. Goldberg stated that this has no place in the Zionist movement and that should not be subject of discussion here. The Committee should give its main attention to the present situation. The situation is such that the British Government says: "The Jews are opposed to partition; the Arabs are opposed; the Agudath Israel is opposed; the Emir is opposed, then who is to cooperate?" Under the circumstances, it seemed to him that Great Britain may consider abandoning the entire Jewish State project.

Mr. Goldberg pointed out that although the Convention went on record opposing partition, when the American delegates arrived in Zurich and listened to the appeals of the delegates from Poland and other countries, he and others felt that they could not be bound by that resolution. With the continuation of the present state of affairs, with the natural increase of the Arabs, and the reduction of Jewish immigration, we stand to lose everything, especially when the Arabs are demanding a parliament in Palestine. Mr. Goldberg therefore appealed to Dr. Wise to use his tremendous power and influence in cooperating to secure better terms from the British Government. He added that no one really favored partition but the question was which was the better method of securing a Jewish State and having as many Jews admitted into the country as possible. Those who are ruling themselves out of a great opportunity to help build up an independent Jewish State in Palestine are doing themselves a great wrong.

Mr. Goldberg again personally appealed to Dr. Wise not to allow things to drift along but to lead American Zionism in cooperating with Dr. Weizmann, in order that the best possible terms may be secured for Jewish Palestine. He therefore proposed that a committee be appointed headed by Dr. Wise and Mr. Rothenberg in order to find a way of united action through compromise. This will enable Dr. Weizmann to tell the British Government that he has the backing of American Jewry, and the American public opinion, and thus be able to secure the best possible terms, and come to the next Congress as a united group with all Jewry behind it.

The Chairman then called upon Mr. Robert Szold.

MR. ROBERT SZOLD'S REMARKS:

If I gather the sentiment of the gathering, we are fairly well of an opinion that there should be discussion, both on partition and anti-partition. Mr. Goldberg was not here when it was asserted that discussion violated the Congress resolution - that it was disloyal. We are all agreed now that discussion is in order.

It might be worthwhile to dwell on the wording of the Congress resolution, so that that matter will be laid at rest once and for all. The Congress resolution says that "the scheme of partition put forward by the Royal Commission is unacceptable". Now then, Congress rejected the Jewish State and the partition that was recommended by the Royal Commission. A large part of Mr. Goldberg's speech this afternoon is in favor of the acceptance of that scheme. Is that in keeping with the Congress resolution? There was an article in The New Palestine not long ago, advocating a Jewish State no matter how small. I take it that that can be said in a debate to be

disloyal to the Congress resolution, because the Congress resolution said that a Jewish State, "no matter how small" is absolutely unacceptable. We cannot say that it is "undisciplined" or "disloyal" when a man says that a Jewish State, even the size of Tel-Aviv, is unacceptable.

Mr. Szold further stated: "Mr. Goldberg<sup>said</sup> we have got to accept the proposed scheme because the Arabs are too strong. If these Arabs are so strong; if we are defeated -- those are the anti-Zionist arguments -- we have got to accept whatever is put upon us, he says. The Arabs are strong; Britain is weak -- and we must accept this. What arguments are those except anti-Zionist arguments, and what arguments are those except defeatist arguments? That is the spirit of defeat and it is not the spirit of getting "all of Palestine".

I had no intention of going into the arguments for partition, or for a Jewish State, or against partition, or against a Jewish State. I consider the whole discussion out of order. The fact of the matter is that Congress decided absolutely that they did not vote for partition. When the Paltor put out a statement that the Congress voted in favor of partition, an official denial was made. The Congress said further: There has got to be another Congress. They said: We will not decide; we don't reject the possibility of something. And I don't reject the possibility of something. The Congress resolution says plainly, that the Executive cannot commit itself even personally, and therefore it is clear that there was a mandate given to the Zionists of the world to discuss this matter, to know what is involved, to get ready for a decision at the next Congress. And in order to get ready for a decision at the next Congress we have to know why the Royal Commission Report was bad and why it did not satisfy the Jewish needs.

It seems to me that the proposal to avoid discussion is absolutely against the wording of the Congress resolution which says: Get ready for the next Congress when the negotiations with Great Britain will be completed.

We have got to exercise our intelligence, our emotions, our best judgment on this thing. It seems clear to me that if there is a powerful anti-partition attitude, the only result is that the hands of the negotiators are strengthened to state to Ormsby-Gore that he has some opposition. I understand that that argument was used. So that, as far as disloyalty to the negotiators is concerned, it seems to me that it is absolutely loyal and absolutely serviceable. It is absolutely in line with the Congress resolution.

What are we to do now? I would build up Zionist sentiment in this country. I would let the Executive know, not by formal resolution, but I would give them all the ideas from both sides.

It seems to me that the chief thing that can come and ought to come out of this meeting is a matter of attitude - attitude toward your Zionism. These arguments which are given and which are supposed to be the only arguments which can be discussed are the arguments of the anti-Zionists, of defeatists, of tired people. What our attitude should be is one of absolute defiance of defeat. We have got to recognize that we are in a tough spot and will be for a number of years. We go on with our work in the Keren Hayesod and in the Jewish National Fund. The pamphlet which Dr. Goldstein recently published was a magnificent pamphlet with a historical perspective.

We want a fighting Zionism which will not yield to the spirit of defeat. But in the meantime, let's keep our Zionist spirit firm, dignified --and never give up.



Dr. Robbins stated that everyone recognized that the present situation in American Zionism, has been very detrimental to Zionist efforts and achievement. He proposed therefore that either at the forthcoming UPA conference in Washington, or at a special convention the situation should be considered in order to arrive at united action through a crystallization of American Zionist opinion, which should be binding upon Zionists.

It was decided to refer this proposal to the Executive.

Rabbi Zwelling then moved, and it was unanimously seconded and carried

THAT the President of the Zionist Organization of America appoint a committee of ten members who are intimately acquainted with all the problems involved in partition, and bring a concrete recommendation to the next meeting of the Administrative Committee.

Dr. Wise then made the following statement:

"No one could listen to Mr. Goldberg and Mr. Szold without being deeply moved.

"There are two things which I wish to say today for the record, because they are bound up with my own sense of unshakeable loyalty to the Zionist movement. I shall not speak again -- about the right of a Zionist to express himself. Every one concedes that. I don't think there has been any attempt to muzzle us. Although I am the most faithful reader of The New Palestine, I have not felt muzzled by it.

"I am sure that neither Mr. Stone nor Abe Goldberg meant what they said--namely, that unless we do certain things, we obstruct and hinder Dr. Weizmann. I think there ought to be enough reliance and faith placed in the commonsense -- I do not even say Zionist loyalty -- of the President, to enable one to believe that he will know how to differentiate between his own personal convictions, and his obligations as head of the Z. O. A. In every Zionist address I delivered since my return from Europe, I have made it my business to say that whether partition comes or not, the thing for us to do is to widen our stake. If we get a little beyond the margin which the Government offers in the terms of the Peel Commission, it will have a very hard time ruling us out. Wherever I have gone, I have said that the way to answer partition is by united and redoubled effort. I believe it myself and therefore I could honestly communicate it to others.

"I wish to make this clear. With regard to developing a 'debating society', I have found that Zionists have never in America been on the qui vive since the days of the Balfour Declaration than they are today, because they are arguing and debating, and so it is throughout the country. It has dynamited the Jews of America into vigorous thinking in terms of Eretz Israel.

"I don't want to find it necessary ever again to express my personal loyalty to and affection for Dr. Weizmann, but I think a great 'avlah' is done to Dr. Weizmann by those who speak of him as wanting a Jewish State on the basis of partition. Of course he wants the best we can get. Weizmann admitted that strong opposition was a help to him. Supposing no one of us had said a word against partition, what would his position have been? Then Gore would have said, 'the Jewish people are ready to accept partition on any terms!' Therefore

a strong opposition was needed .

"I came back from the Congress and said that Weizmann reached a greater stature than ever before. I respect him more profoundly today, but still he may be mistaken. He is human like the rest of us.

Referring to the possible areas that may be offered to the proposed Jewish State, Dr. Wise continued:

"I want the Jewish State as much as you but I do not want a Jewish state that cannot live. Therefore the greatest service some of us can do -- if we can do it honestly -- is to stand against the basis of partition.

" You tell me about Polish Jews. You know I would give my life in order that Polish Jews be freed of their unspeakable misery, but after all, no one takes a poll or referendum of the men in the front line trenches and asks how shall we conduct our campaign. For once the judgment of Polish Jews is invalid. Men like Abe Goldberg commit a great 'Avlah' by deluding Polish Jews and talking about an immigration of 100,000 a year. We had 61,000 one year, and one-half of that 61,000 were self-supporting, reasonably well-to-do Jews. Today there are no well-to-do Polish Jews who come to Palestine. How can we get 100,000 Polish Jews into Palestine a year? If there was any proof that 500,000 Polish Jews can come into a partitioned Palestine , I would endorse partition today. But we cannot get them within such a limited boundary as proposed with perhaps a little of the Negev and Jerusalem.

"I approve of the proposal that the Chairman of the Administrative Committee name a committee of ten or twenty men and women who shall within the next month prepare a report for submission to the next meeting of the Administrative Committee for action. In the meanwhile we should request to Palestine to send us information concerning the current moves or trends in the whole problem of relations with the British Government. You read what Ormsby-Gore said the other day, 'we are not sending the Commission now' which means that everything is delayed. We can get a man to go to Palestine, and when he goes he must be sure that he will be representative of Zionist judgment and conviction in America.

"Wherever we go some of us are for partition, some against; some are for a Jewish State under all circumstances -- but we are all for the largest, greatest, noblest, most enduring Eretz Israel that Jews can establish again."

#### TRIBUTE TO MR. FELIX M. WARBURG:

In paying tribute to Mr. Warburg on behalf of the Zionist Organization of America, Judge Rothenberg spoke as follows:

"I think it is fitting and proper that before we adjourn we place upon the record of this meeting the deep sorrow of the Zionist Organization of America at the death of one of the noblest figures in American Jewish life, a great Jew, a warm friend of Palestine, a strongly unifying influence in American Israel, FELIX M. WARBURG.

" I should like the President of the Zionist Organization of America to say a word".



DR. STEPHEN S. WISE:

" I wish merely to say this: For a good part of my life I had grave, serious differences with Mr. Warburg. But there was never a moment in my life when I failed to respect and to honor him as a Jew and as a Jewish leader. Felix Warburg's whole-hearted devotion to the welfare of his people was in tragic contrast to the indifference and unconcern of many Jews in America who have something of his financial power, something of his strength in certain respects, and yet, who regard their support of Jewish interests as passing, as a pastime, as a sorry obligation, - who think of help for Jews merely as one of the charitable obligations that Jews must take upon themselves.

"I am glad I may say that in the last year of Mr. Warburg's life, I had the privilege of seeing a great deal of him. Sometimes I wondered at his sensitiveness, at his concern, at his fears, but I never for one moment failed to see that every thought of his with regard to Eretz Israel was bound up with his great love for and his utter devotion to Klal-Israel. He was not a Zionist as we are Zionists, but his great heart and his generousities embraced nearly all Jewish causes. He was, as Judge Rothenberg has rightly said, a really great Jew. There is no one to take his place. No one gives, as he gave his life. Twice within three months he journeyed to Europe when he had no right to do so and was forbidden to do so, - for his People's life, its security and its honor came first. And therefore, Mr. Chairman, we unite today in doing his memory honor, and we say of him as did our Fathers of any goodly servant of Israel who passed: "The memory of this righteous man be a blessing to his People and move us to serve our People in its hopes, with his devotion, with his spirit, and with his loving concern for every hope and need and ideal of world Israel."

TRIBUTE TO DR. JOSEPH LURIE:

The Chairman then called upon those present to rise in silent tribute to Dr. Joseph Lurie who recently passed away.

Dr. Lurie, since 1907, was the leader of Hebraic education in Palestine. The network of Hebrew schools that now covers the whole of Palestine was inspired, organized and built up through the efforts of Dr. Lurie. Before coming to Palestine, he was actively interested in the development of Yiddish literature. "Dos Yiddishe Folk" in Wilna, of which he was the editor, was not only a fine Yiddish literary publication, but also served to develop an intensive Zionist propaganda. Dr. Lurie was a man of great modesty, and his career has been an inspiration to the younger generation of Hebrew teachers, whose work is now so important a factor in the cultural development of the National Home.

Meeting adjourned at 6 P. M.

Respectfully submitted,

MORRIS MARGULIES,  
Secretary

ההסתדרות הציונית של ארצות הברית

# ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA



111 FIFTH AVENUE  
NEW YORK

STEPHEN S. WISE  
*President*

ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN  
JOSEPH KRAEMER  
WILLIAM M. LEWIS  
ABBA HILLEL SILVER  
ELIHU D. STONE  
NATHAN STRAUS  
*Vice-Presidents*

MORRIS ROTHENBERG  
*Chairman, Admin. Committee*

LUDWIG LEWISOHN  
*Honorary Secretary*

MORRIS MARGULIES  
*Secretary*

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CHARLES A. COWEN  
M. MALDWIN FERTIG  
ABRAHAM GOLDBERG  
ABRAHAM GOLDSTEIN  
EDWARD L. ISRAEL  
ISRAEL H. LEVINTHAL  
SAMUEL MARKIEWICH  
IRVING MILLER  
CHARLES RESS  
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CARL SHERMAN  
WILLIAM I. SIEGEL  
ROBERT SZOLD

## Associate Members

ISAAC IMBER  
ADRIAN SCHWARTZ

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MORRIS WEINBERG  
HARRY P. FIERST  
*Treasurers*

ABRAHAM KRUMBEIN  
ABRAHAM LIEBOVITZ  
ELIAS PREISS  
LOUIS RIMSKY  
SIGMUND THAU

ISRAEL MALTIN  
*Auditor*

February 14, 1938

Rabbi A. H. Silver  
The Temple  
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Rabbi Silver:

An unusual responsibility rests on the Zionist Organization of America in 1938 in stimulating American Jewry to raise larger funds than ever before for the rebuilding of the Jewish National Home.

A few weeks ago the National Conference for Palestine, held in Washington, adopted a quota of \$4,500,000 as the goal for the United Palestine Appeal in 1938. No one, who is aware of the present economic situation in Palestine or who realizes the necessity of increasing the absorptive capacity of Palestine in view of the European situation can do anything but believe that the \$4,500,000 is a very minimum.

In 1937 we reached one-half that quota. If we are to do far better, as we must, each Zionist leader must regard the obligation to the United Palestine Appeal as a paramount task in the current year. We must see to it that in Welfare Fund communities there is a more realistic appreciation of the overseas needs and that allocations to the United Palestine Appeal are measured, not in terms of what is given to other causes but in relation to the fate of the Jewish people which we are seeking to safeguard. In other communities, where campaigns are held independently for the United Palestine Appeal or in combination with other causes, there should be larger giving and wider giving.

In the past few years, Zionist leadership has had an opportunity to devote itself to educational and propaganda activities. We cannot relax in these, but we must take on the additional responsibility of more concentrated effort for the United Palestine Appeal, which is the one authorized instrument of the Jewish Agency Executive.



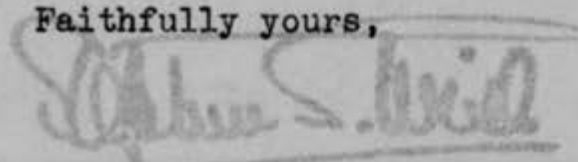
- 2 -

So that there may be no misunderstanding of the paramount place that the United Palestine Appeal must occupy in our fund-raising activities, I am enclosing herewith, for the attention of yourself and our other friends, a copy of the resolution that was adopted at the National Conference for Palestine in Washington. It makes very clear the fact that no other Palestine fund-raising activity must be launched until after the maximum obligation to the United Palestine Appeal has been met.

The values that we have created in Palestine, the foundations that have been laid by the Chalutzim, are jeopardized by the political and economic turmoil that has been sweeping Palestine for the past two years. If we in America will be as firm as are the Chalutzim in Palestine, we shall be able to withstand this newest onslaught.

Please let me hear from you immediately as to the action taken in your community for a campaign on behalf of the United Palestine Appeal.

Faithfully yours,



Stephen S. Wise  
President

SSW/GH

MINUTES OF MEETING OF ZOA EXECUTIVE HELD  
TUESDAY, MARCH 15, 1938 - 8:30 P. M.  
111 FIFTH AVENUE

PRESENT : Messrs. Goldstein (in the chair) Cowen, Fierst, Abraham Goldstein Margulies, Ress, Rucker, Siegel, Rothenberg; Cohen and Imber (representing youth organizations) Bernstein, Fisher, Golub, Maltin (by invitation).

Excuses for absence - from Messrs. Wise, Lipsky, Goldberg (at Actions Committee meeting in London; Elihu Stone, Edward Israel.

ARRIVAL OF MR. LEIB JAFFE :

Mr. Margulies quoted the following excerpt from a letter from Mr. Leo Herrmann, General Secretary of the Keren Hayesod:

"It is my pleasant duty to bring to you knowledge that Mr. Leib Jaffe, Managing Director of the Keren Hayesod, has been invited to head this year's Keren Hayesod campaign in Canada, in order to attend the Meeting of the General Zionist Council. From there he will sail for New York by the S.S. Queen Mary, due in New York, on March 21st, and remain three days in your city. Possibly Mr. Jaffe will meet some of the prominent American Zionists at the London meeting and, possibly, make the journey with them. In any case, however, Mr. Jaffe's three days' stay in New York should be brought to your knowledge."

It was decided to tender a luncheon to Mr. Jaffe, On March 23rd, if possible, jointly with the Keren Hayesod, unless the latter prefers to arrange a separate function.

ARRIVAL OF MR. ALEXANDER L. EASTERMAN :

Mr. Margulies called attention also to the impending arrival of Mr. Alexander L. Easterman, chief foreign correspondent for the London Daily Herald, official British Labor organ, who would be prepared to lecture on Palestine during his stay in America.

Mr. Margulies added that it is proposed to handle all these bookings through Mr. Henry G. Davis of the Workers Education Bureau of America, who arranged the lectures of Morgan Jones and Rhys Davies. The Lecture bureau at first asked a fee of \$125 including expenses, but is now willing to book Mr. Easterman for Zionist Districts at a fee of \$50 plus expenses. In any case this will involve no financial responsibility on the part of the ZOA which, however, will notify the Districts that Mr. Easterman is available for lectures during his stay here and can be booked directly through the lecture bureau. Mr. Margulies inquired whether the Executive thought it necessary to arrange a luncheon for Mr. Easterman.

It was decided that Mr. Davis be asked to arrange a luncheon for Mr. Easterman, upon his arrival next week.



CABLE FROM JERUSALEM RE IMMIGRATION CERTIFICATES :

The Secretary reported the receipt of the following cable from Jerusalem yesterday:

"IF ANY CERTIFICATES (CAPITALIST) REMAIN UNUSED ARRANGE IMMEDIATELY THEIR SURRENDER CONSUL AND ARRANGE CONSUL WIRE JERUSALEM CANCELLATIONS GIVING NAMES AND NUMBERS CERTIFICATES WIRE

JEWAGENCY".

Mr. Margulies added that the office had been in touch with the British Consul about the matter. Moreover there were no such unused certificates, and the Jewish Agency in Jerusalem was being informed accordingly.

SUBSIDY TO GENERAL ZIONIST KIBBUTZIM :

The Secretary reported that since the last meeting of the Executive, a reply had been received from Mr. D. Bahral, Deputy Treasurer of the Jewish Agency in Jerusalem, to the letter sent by Dr. Wise regarding the subsidy to the General Zionist Kibbutzim:

In this letter Mr. Bahral states that the rumors which have reached American of the insufficient attention and support received by the General Zionist Kibbutzim from the Jewish Agency are without foundation. He then proceeds to give a detailed report of the status of the four General Zionist Kibbutzim; viz Kibbutz "Akiba" in Besan, one of the three kibbutzim constituted under the name "Maoz"; two Kibbutzim of the Hanoar-Hazioni - "A" and "B"; Kibbutz "Akiba" of Hadera in Beisan; and "Shear Yashuv" of Hanoar Hazioni, organized for the creation of Moshav Ovdim. He points out also that in all matters concerning the Kibbutzim, the Department of Colonization is in close touch with Messrs. Gruenbaum and Rottenstreich who represent the General Zionists in the Executive.

Mr. Imber stated that the correspondence he had received from the youth leaders of the General Zionist Kibbutzim clearly indicates the unfair manner in which work is being allocated and other alleged discriminations. He proposed therefore that someone be empowered by the Executive to go into all the correspondence on the subject and ascertain all the facts for presentation to the Executive.

Mr. Cowen agreed with Mr. Imber that the matter should be investigated.

It was moved, seconded and carried

THAT a committee of two or three be appointed with power to communicate with Palestine, and to ascertain all the facts to be submitted to the Executive.

MARCH 27th MEETING OF ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE AND RECEPTION TO ACTIONS COMMITTEE DELEGATES :

A discussion took place regarding the advisability of inviting other organizations to participate officially in the reception to the returning ZOA delegates to the Actions Committee meeting.

It was finally moved, seconded and carried

THAT the Acting President together with a small committee arrange the conduct of the public reception next Sunday afternoon.

Upon motion of Mr. Rothenberg it was decided that the agenda of the Administrative Committee meeting on Sunday morning, March 27th, should include reports of the activities of the various departments of the ZOA, and that the supplementary notice to the members should include the agenda.

SECRETARY'S REPORT :

Mr. Margulies reported that the total membership as of March 1st was 12,326 compared with 12,803 on March 1, 1937, or a decrease of 477 members. However due to the increase in the dues from \$3 to \$5 there has been an increase in income from \$37,331.76 in 1937 to \$41,236 for 1938. Moreover the decrease in membership is not alarming since it is in cities which will show marked improvement by the Convention. Mr. Margulies added in New York City, on the other hand, the membership shows an increase of 555 over the corresponding period of last year.

Mr. Margulies reported further that attempts are being made to organize new regions and strengthen existing regions. For instance in New Jersey where for some time there existed only a paper organization, a temporary regional committee has been established with Mr. Henry Rosenbaum of Plainfield, Acting Chairman, and gratifying results are indicated. Arrangements are also being made for a field secretary. In addition, next Sunday a conference will take place in Cincinnati for the purpose of forming a lower Ohio-Indiana-Kentucky and Tennessee region. Two weeks ago a conference took place to initiate the establishment of a Northern Ohio Region.

Mr. Margulies pointed out that the increase in membership is indicated only in those communities where strong districts are already functioning, and in order that the Organization may really grow, it is essential to establish new districts and regions.

Mr. Imber urged that wherever possible Masada chapters be invited to the various regional conferences.

Judge Rothenberg observed that his recent visit to southern communities in behalf of the United Palestine Appeal convinced him that if the ZOA had adequate forces in the field, in view of the heightened sentiment for Palestine, the membership could be greatly increased. He urged that Mr. Simon J. Levin, the UPA Seaboard regional director, and other UPA directors should be asked to devote more time to the needs of the ZOA, which will also redound to the benefit of the UPA.

Mr. Fierst agreed with Mr. Rothenberg and stated that when Mr. Bernard Stone is through with the UPA campaign on the Pacific Coast, he should devote some time to the work of the ZOA.



Mr. Ross pointed out that the Convention made it mandatory for the Executive to divide the country into regions and establish such regions where none are in existence. He inquired if a comprehensive plan had been worked out in order to carry out that resolution.

Mr. Margulies replied that efforts were being made to map out the boundaries of the various regions, and to comply with the spirit of the resolution.

At the suggestion of the Chairman it was then moved, seconded and carried

THAT the Secretary be requested to work out a plan of organizing the country into regions, and an estimate as to the cost of maintaining that type of regional organization on an efficiently functioning basis, to be submitted to a future meeting of the Executive.

BOARD OF EDUCATION DEPARTMENT :

The Chairman called upon Dr. Golub to report for the Education Department.

Dr. Golub reported that from January 1st to March 15th, the Education Department had distributed 10,281 pieces of literature of which 2,775 was free to districts, and 7,506 sold to individuals, bringing in a total of \$267 in cash, and a balance of \$340, the full amount being \$607.87. During the past two months five pamphlets have been issued: "Health Conditions in Palestine" by Dr. I. Zeligs (not even Hadassah has prepared anything on this subject); reprint of Brandeis' "The Jewish Problem and How to Solve It" (in this connection, Dr. Goldstein suggested the possibility of getting Mr. Brandeis to make an additional statement to supplement the pamphlet which was written some years ago); "Jewish Culture in Palestine" by A. H. Friedland; a Program for the Districts on the White Paper; and "Why Zionism" by Dr. Golub.

Dr. Goldstein inquired how the attention of the Zionists is called to this literature.

Dr. Golub replied that together with the monthly summary of Palestine news, of "Highlights", sent by the Education Department to District Chairmen, Secretaries and Cultural Chairmen, a letter is mailed announcing whatever new material is ready. The Districts then order accordingly.

Dr. Goldstein asked whether it would be feasible to suggest to the Jewish National Fund to announce in its monthly bulletin all the items available in the Education Department, likewise with the Masada, Hadassah, Avukah and Young Judaea publications, and in the general press.

Dr. Golub replied that reviews of some of the pamphlets had been sent to the Anglo-Jewish papers some time ago but the response was not very good. He added, however, that the other suggestions were very good.

Dr. Goldstein then stated that if the Executive deemed it advisable for the New Palestine to announce the availability of this literature, it might prove very helpful.

Dr. Golub pointed out that he sends such announcements to The New Palestine from time to time, and that the official organs of the English Zionist Organization carry standing advertisements on the back covers of all their literature.

Mr. Ross moved and it was seconded and carried

THAT the New Palestine be requested to carry standing advertisements announcing the literature of the Education Department.

Dr. Golub reported further that he had gotten up a "Prof. Quiz" test on Zionism and Palestine, to be used at District meetings.

With regard to the Forum, Dr. Golub stated that the two lectures thus far were excellent. At the first forum Mr. Maurice Samuel gave a brilliant analysis of the present situation in Palestine, and last Sunday night Prof. Bavli and Mr. Regelson (who substituted for Mr. Friedland because of the latter's illness) delivered splendid talks on the Literature of Palestine. As for the expenses, speakers' fees will amount to \$225 and publicity and advertising \$150, making a total of \$375. There is practically no charge for the hall, and the sum of \$86.45 has been collected for admission fees from those who are not members of the ZOA or Masada. It is expected that the total income will be about \$150.

In reply to a question by Dr. Goldstein as to how the Forum is circularized, Dr. Golub stated that notices are sent to ZOA members, and various ZOA youth groups. In addition announcements are made in all the party publications.

Dr. Golub then reported on the education conference held recently specifically with reference to the youth problem; namely, what can the Zionist Districts do to Zionise the Hebrew Schools, what can the Districts do to keep the organized youth in the Zionist Organization, what can the Districts do to organize the non-Zionist youth in Centres and synagogues? A number of concrete suggestions were made including the adoption of a syllabus worked out by the Bronx Zionist region for the Hebrew schools, closer cooperation between Young Judaea, Masada and the ZOA, the appointment of district educational administrative committees to administer various educational tasks, and cooperation with Jewish centre executives as far as possible.

Dr. Goldstein asked how much direct contact there was between the Department of Education and Avukah, Masada and Young Judaea.

Dr. Golub explained that there was direct and continuous contact with Young Judaea and Masada for whom he prepared their educational programs, but Avukah calls upon the Education Department only when it needs assistance.

Dr. Golub added that the Department cooperates with Regions and Districts with regard to their educational needs and has also cooperated in the matter of speakers.



The Chairman asked whether the speakers booked by the Education Department are in consultation with the Organization Department.

Mr. Margulies stated that he turns over about one-fourth of the requests for speakers to Dr. Golub who has been very helpful.

Mr. Ross was of the opinion that it was not advisable for the Education Department to issue political material such as contained in the Program on the White Paper, without submitting this first to the Political Committee.

Mr. Cowen stated that he was in accord with Mr. Ross' point of view regardless of how ably the statements contained in the White Paper Program, have been made.

It was therefore moved, seconded and carried that the Executive should pass on brochures or programs to be issued by the Education Department on political matters.

REPORT ON DOS YIDDISHE FOLK

Dr. Bernstein submitted a report on Dos Yiddishe Folk, showing a circulation of 2,200 made up as follows:

Subscribers . . . . .	750
ZOA Members . . . . .	600
Sale on Newstands . . . . .	250
Mexico . . . . .	150
Canada, Argentine and other American countries . . . . .	200
Mailed Gratis to Zionist Federations and leading Zionists in Palestine, Poland and America . . . . .	250

The expenses amounting to \$5600 were divided as follows:

Printing, 20 issues @ \$165 per issue. . . . .	\$ 3,300
Editorial salaries . . . . .	1,000
Editorial contributions @ \$40 per issue . . . . .	800
Proof reading assistance, etc. @ \$10 per issue . . . . .	200
Postage, etc. . . . .	300

Estimated income \$1,650 as follows:

Subscriptions . . . . .	\$ 750
On account of membership. . . . .	600
Payments from Mexico, Canada and others . . . . .	300

After some discussion, it was moved, seconded and carried

THAT the Finance Committee in consultation and cooperation with the staff of Dos Yiddishe Folk and The New Palestine make a canvass of the possibilities of obtaining additional subscribers, and report their recommendations to the Executive.

MEMORANDUM FROM MR. MONTOR:

The Secretary read a memorandum from Mr. Montor regretting his inability to attend this meeting of the Executive, as he was leaving for Cleveland to confer with Dr. Silver in connection with the campaign. Mr. Montor took occasion, however, to stress to the members of the Executive the importance of making the UPA a keystone in Zionist activity during the coming year. He also acknowledged that this year The New Palestine has been giving an increasing measure of attention to the needs of the UPA, and the results had been fruitful in the direction of larger interest in the UPA among Zionist groups.



Dr. Goldstein explained that in accordance with the decision of the last meeting of the Executive, he had consulted Mr. Montor as to how The New Palestine could be made to serve the purposes of the UPA more effectively. Dr. Goldstein expressed the hope that as a result of further consultation a proper solution may be found to this question which will not only redound to the benefit of the UPA but also result in increased circulation for The New Palestine.

REPORT ON JEWISH NATIONAL FUND:

Mr. Mendel Fisher, Executive Director of the Jewish National Fund submitted a detailed report on the various activities of that Fund.

Mr. Fisher observed also that the Keren Kayemeth is anxious to purchase land that is at present available at strategic places in Palestine, for which large sums would be required, and the Head Office of the Keren Kayemeth feels that American Jews might arrange a long term loan over a period of ten or twenty years.

The members of the Executive discussed the question whether such loan would find response in the United States. Attention was called to the success of the Tel Aviv loan. It was pointed out, however, that in view of the present situation in Palestine, it might be more difficult to undertake such loan now. On the other hand, there is tremendous sentiment for Palestine all over this country which could be capitalized.

Mr. Margulies took this occasion to point out that the efforts of individual ZOA members and Districts are not fully reflected in the above figures submitted by Mr. Fisher.

After some discussion it was suggested that the Executive Director of the JNF, together with the Secretary of the ZOA work out some method of keeping the record of the ZOA's participation in the JNF more accurately.

Meeting adjourned 11:45 P. M.

Respectfully submitted

MORRIS MARGULIES

Secretary

MINUTES OF MEETING OF Z.O.A. ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE,  
HELD ON SUNDAY, MARCH 27TH, 10:30 A. M. AT THE PENNSYLVANIA HOTEL

PRESENT: Judge Morris Rothenberg (in the Chair), Heinrich Abramowitz, Isaac Allen, Adolph Brinberg, Israel S. Chipkin, Laurence Cohen, Charles A. Cowen, Harry P. Fierst, Jacob Fishman, Abraham Goldberg, Isidore A. Hassin, Isaac Imber, Arnold K. Isroeli, Samuel Judenfrend, Samuel Kanarvogel, Abraham Krumbein, Dr. Harry J. Levine, Louis Lipsky, Morris Margulies, David Podolsky, Elias Preiss, Hon. Hyman J. Reit, Charles Ress, Monahem Ribalow, Bernard G. Richards, Louis Rimsky, Moses Robinson, Jochanon I. Rudavsky, Jacob Schaffer, Irving Schätzberg, Rabbi Harry E. Schwartz, Abraham Spicehandler, Joshua Sprayragon, Judge Nathan Swoedler, Robert Szold, Moyer W. Woisgal, Leo Wilson; Dr. Frances Burnee, Dorchester, Mass.; A. B. Cohen, Scranton, Pa.; Jacob Cohon, Haverhill, Mass.; Col. Bonj. F. Evarts, Holyoke, Mass.; Dr. David Foldman, Phila., Pa.; David Frankol, Trenton, N.J.; Jacob Ginsburg, Newton Upper Falls, Mass.; Rabbi Wm. Greenfield, Waterbury, Conn.; Jacob B. Hoffman, Phila., Pa.; Harold G. Jaffer, Mt. Vernon, N.Y.; Aaron Levinstone, Newark, N.J.; Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Phila., Pa.; Judge William M. Lewis, Phila., Pa.; Louis Linderman, New Haven, Conn.; Morris Mallove, New London, Conn.; Max Nigrosh, Mattapan, Mass.; Harry A. Pinos, Newark, N.J.; John Rissman, Chicago, Ill.; Dr. M. Robbins, Nashua, N.H.; Henry Rosenbaum, Plainfield, N.J.; Charles Rosengarten, Waterbury, Conn.; Dr. Julius M. Rosenthal, Monticello, N.Y.; Mrs. John D. Safer, Washington, D.C.; Julius Stone, E. Boston, Mass.; Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, Mrs. David de Sola Pool, Mrs. Rebecca Shulman, of Hadassah.

Excuses for non-attendance were received from Harry J. Kahn, Rabbi I.H. Levinthal, Dr. Harry Projector, Dr. A.J. Rongy, Dr. Solomon Smelin; Ralph Bass, Mattapan, Mass.; Joseph Goldberg, Worcester, Mass.; Rabbi H.R. Goldberger, Altoona, Pa.; Rabbi Solomon Goldman, Chicago, Ill.; Isidore Hershfield, Washington, D.C.; B. Horwich, Chicago, Ill.; Rabbi Edward L. Israel, Baltimore, Md.; Wm. M. Katz, Chicago, Ill.; Prof. Gustavo Klausner, St. Louis, Mo.; Samuel Kranzberg, St. Louis, Mo.; Dr. M. B. Lichtenstein, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Mortimer May, Nashville, Tenn.; Jacob Rabinovitz, Boston, Mass.; Aaron Riche, Los Angeles, Cal.; Louis Rosenberg, Houston, Texas; Simon Shetzer, Detroit, Mich.; Dowey D. Stone, Taunton, Mass.; Joe Weingarten, Houston, Texas; Senator Jacob Weiss, Indianapolis, Ind.

The meeting was called to order at 11 A.M. with Judge Rothenberg in the Chair. Judge Rothenberg welcomed the large number of out-of-town members present, and also informally welcomed the members who attended the Actions Committee meeting in London. He then called upon Mr. Margulies to render his report.

SECRETARY'S REPORT:

Mr. Margulies reported that since the last meeting of the Administrative Committee on January 16th, the Executive held four meetings. The first meeting took place on January 19th, when the Secretary reported on his visit to Chicago a few days previously and contrasted the present situation in that city with that during his visit in October. The city has now been divided into eight functioning districts with the leaders of the



community showing a greater awareness of their Zionist responsibility and a full measure of cooperation. The results are reflected in a greatly increased membership and regular monthly remittance of dues to the national office. Their goal this year is 2500 members which is double that of the previous year.

In addition, the Secretary attended the Midwest Regional Conference at Chicago where the Midwest territory was definitely outlined and a program of activity adopted. In conjunction with the Conference, a memorial meeting was held for the late Max Shulman, at which an eulogy was delivered by Mr. Lipsky, and a message read from Dr. Wise. The meeting decided to commemorate his memory by the establishment of a Hebrew Library at the Hebrew Theological College in Chicago, and a Kfar Shulman in Palestine. In connection with these projects, the local Chicago Zionists requested to have the advice and approval of the national office. It was the consensus of opinion of the Executive that this effort should not be undertaken without the approval of the J.N.F. and that if possible the fund raising for the memorial should be deferred until after the local Welfare Fund campaign is concluded.

The meeting proceeded to a further discussion of the report of the Survey Committee which, since the last meeting of the Executive, had been circulated among the members of the Executive and Finance Committee. In compliance with the suggestion of the Survey Committee, the Chairman of the Finance Committee submitted a budget drawn up after January 1st, based on the estimated of income and expenditures from October to January. It was decided that all observations made by individuals or Committees on the report of the Survey Committee shall be circulated within ten days among the members of the Executive and Finance Committees, and that a meeting of the Executive be called by the Chairman as soon as possible thereafter, for the special consideration of the report.

\* \* \* \* \*

Accordingly, the following meeting of the Executive, on February 9th, was devoted entirely to the further consideration of the report of the Survey Committee. After a full discussion, it was decided that a joint meeting be arranged between the members of the Survey Committee and the Finance Committee, at which time the Survey Committee report be considered in the light of the detailed discussion at this meeting of the Executive, by an enlarged Survey Committee which shall be asked to bring in not merely critical and evaluative, but also constructive suggestions, for the future conduct of the Organization.

\* \* \* \* \*

The third meeting of the Executive was held on March 2nd, at which it was decided to recommend to the Administrative Committee that the next Z.O.A. Convention be held beginning Saturday evening, July 2nd, through Tuesday, July 5th. A communication was submitted from the Zionist Federation of Great Britain and Ireland requesting action on the following resolution adopted by the British Federation:

"That this Board would welcome a solution for the future of Palestine which would provide for the establishment of a Jewish Dominion within the British Commonwealth of Nations."

In view of the importance of this resolution the Executive decided that the matter be referred to the Political Committee and the discussion deferred until after the return from London of Dr. Wise and Mr. Lipsky.

Dr. Goldstein, who in the absence of Dr. Wise, served as Acting President, and in that capacity presided at the meeting, called for reports of the various committees and departments of the Organization.

Mr. Ress, as Chairman of the Survey Committee, stated that in accordance with the decision of the previous meeting, his Committee had been reorganized and consists in addition to Messrs. Ress, Siegel and Thau, of the following members: Dr. Goldstein, Mr. Lipsky, Mr. Rucker, Mr. Chipkin, and Mr. Szold. The enlarged committee had one preliminary meeting and at this state could merely report progress.

In the absence of Mr. Rucker, Chairman of the Finance Committee, Mr. Maltin, submitted a preliminary financial statement. It was decided that the Finance Committee be requested to present a budget for the remainder of the current year. This budget, with an up-to-date and comprehensive statement, will be submitted to this meeting of the Administrative Committee.

Dr. Bernstein read a detailed report of the activities of the Palestine Department. The Chairman observed that even when the immigration situation is at its lowest ebb, the Palestine Department is performing a useful function.

In the report on The New Palestine submitted by Mr. Caplan, it was shown that The New Palestine is published at present in 31,250 copies per issue, and that as the membership increases, the figure automatically increases. (The circulation now is 32,000). It was pointed out that formerly 8,000 copies were mailed directly to U.P.A. contributors, for which the U.P.A. was billed the actual cost of printing. Dr. Goldstein stated that it might prove to have been unwise on the part of the U.P.A. to have discontinued this service, especially when the cost was so nominal, and unwise on the part of the Z.O.A. to have permitted these 8,000 persons to be deprived of Zionist propaganda. He suggested therefore that the Executive recommend to the U.P.A. the resumption of this service. In this connection, attention was called to a resolution of the last Convention, directing the Administration to see to it that U.P.A. contributors of \$25 and over receive The New Palestine. It was therefore decided that Dr. Goldstein be asked to call the attention of the U.P.A. Administration to the resolution of the Convention and to the request of the Executive that arrangements be made by the U.P.A. to carry out the Convention decision. It was suggested also that negotiations be entered into with Hadassah and the Order Sons of Zion with a view to their memberships receiving The New Palestine.

Mr. Imber on behalf of Masada reported that during the past two months ten new chapters had been organized, and that there had been a general increase of 20%, during this period, in the previously established groups. The total membership of Masada is 1626, the largest increase in membership being expected immediately before the Convention. Attention was called to the fact that Masada had reached the point where several of its groups had graduated into the senior Z.O.A. ranks, and that former Young Judaea groups were now graduating into Masada. Moreover, a committee had been appointed to



work out a plan whereby Masada will benefit from Young Judaea, and the Z.O.A. from Masada. It was urged by various members of the Executive that the Masada members of over 25 years of age should be requested to join the senior Z.O.A. ranks.

Mr. Cohen reported for Avukah, stated that the present membership of Avukah totals about 1,100, representing an increase of several hundred over last year, and that it must be borne in mind that Avukah periodically suffers a loss in membership of those who leave the Campus upon graduation. Six new chapters have been added and five more are expected before the year is over, the total at present being 46 chapters. Preparations have begun for the annual Palestine Fellowship whereby it is hoped to send one or more students to Palestine for an entire year's sojourn, and efforts are being made to exploit the fellowship competition for an increase in chapters and members. In this connection, the Chairman proposed that the President of the Z.O.A. be placed on the Committee of Judges which awards the fellowship in order to have a closer tie-up between Avukah and the Z.O.A. In addition, arrangements are being made by a number of New England Avukah chapters for a joint fellowship, and there was a possibility of similar action being taken by the Chicago Chapter. It was urged that some method be devised to bring the Avukah alumni into the Z.O.A., though it was observed that there are many former Avukah members in the ranks of Zionist Districts throughout the country. It was suggested also that the J.N.F., the Z.O.A. and Hadassah contribute to a common fund which will enable several young persons to spend a year in Palestine, in the hope that when they return they will more than repay the original investment, either as leaders in their respective localities or as part of the civil service in the Zionist movement. The Executive felt that a special meeting should be devoted to a discussion of the youth problem in an attempt to find a solution, since a radical change in structure, approach and method of procedure is very essential.

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The last meeting of the Executive was held on March 15th. Attention was called to the fact that Mr. Leib Jaffe, Managing Director of the Keron Hayesod, would spend a few days in New York, enroute to Canada where he would direct the Keron Hayesod Campaign.

The attention of the Executive was also called to the impending arrival of Mr. Alexander L. Easternman, chief foreign correspondent for the London Daily Herald, official British Labor organ, who would be prepared to lecture on Palestine during his stay in America. The Secretary reported that arrangements had been made whereby Mr. Easternman will be available to Districts at a cost of \$50 per lecture, plus expense.

The question of the subsidy to the Central Zionist Kibbutzim was raised again, and it was decided to appoint a Committee to communicate with Palestine and to ascertain all the facts.

The Secretary reported on the attempts that are being made to organize new Regions and to strengthen existing Regions. In this connection, it was urged that U.P.A. directors be asked to devote more time to the needs of the Z.O.A., which will also redound to the benefit of the U.I.A. It was decided that the Secretary work out a plan of dividing the country

into Regions, and submit an estimate as the cost necessary for the maintenance of Regional Organizations on an efficiently functioning basis.

Continuing the procedure of departmental reports, brief statements were submitted covering the activities of the Department of Education and Dos Yiddishe Folk.

On the matter of Zionist publications, the Executive decided that the Finance Committee, in consultation with and the cooperation of the staffs of both Dos Yiddishe Folk and The New Palestine conduct a canvass of the possibilities of obtaining additional subscribers and report their recommendations to the Executive. Dr. Goldstein reported that in accordance with the decision of the previous meeting of the Executive, he had conferred with the U.P.A. with a view to restoring the U.P.A. contributors to The New Palestine subscription list.

The final report submitted was that by Mr. Mendel Fisher covering the activities of the Jewish National Fund. It was pointed out that the efforts of individual Z.O.A. members and Districts are not fully reflected in the figures submitted by Mr. Fisher, and it was therefore suggested that the Executive Director of the J.N.F. together with the Secretary of the Z.O.A. work out some method whereby the Z.O.A.'s participation in the J.N.F. shall be more accurately recorded.

#### Membership:

Concerning membership, Mr. Margulies stated: "As of March 25th, 1938, the membership reached a total of 31,373, comprising 4,120 new members enrolled since the beginning of the current fiscal year, October 1, 1937 and 10,654 renewals. The balance, 16,599, represents members who paid dues after January 1st, and whose renewals are due before the end of the fiscal year.

"Since some of the Districts have not as yet remitted to the national office, the full amount of dues collected, the actual figures of those who have renewed their membership is larger.

"The number of Districts throughout the country now totals 265, located in 198 cities in 38 states -- an increase of 7 Districts since October 1st.

"The improved membership status is also reflected in the income from membership. Thus, as of March 16, 1938, the membership income amounted to \$48,449 as compared with \$43,232 for the same date last year. New York takes the lead in the membership enrollment, although not in proportion to the size of its Jewish community.

"Due to the establishment of uniform dues, the net average income from each member has increased from \$2.08 last year, to \$2.55 this year.

#### General Observations:

"The membership results during the past six years show that the membership enrollment has doubled on the basis of a three-year cycle. Thus, whereas in 1932 there were approximately 8,000 members, at the end of 1935 the membership totaled approximately 16,000. Towards the end of 1938 we will double this



membership and have more than 31,000 enrolled. Barring unforeseen circumstances we may look forward to a membership in 1941 -- the end of another three-year cycle -- of approximately 60,000.

"To achieve this, the method of organization will have to undergo some changes, with emphasis laid on a new phase of organization activity. Between 1932 and 1935, we concentrated all our efforts in building up the existing Districts and establishing new ones. Since 1935, we strengthened these Districts with the result that some of them have doubled and others tripled their membership. If we are to succeed in doubling the membership between 1938 and 1941, a large number of new units will have to be established, since the existing Districts would have reached the highest point in their numerical strength for their efficient functioning.

"The creation of new Districts can be effected only through the establishment of Regions, which would be in a position to utilize local efforts to this end.

#### Regions:

"At the last Convention we finally took definite action with regard to the establishment of Regions. We have now as follows: Midwest Region with headquarters in Chicago, which is making gratifying progress. The acting Chairman is Mr. Robert Hoss of Milwaukee. The Chairman of the Region was the late Mr. Max Shulman. We are organizing a State Region in New Jersey, with Mr. Henry Rosenbaum of Plainfield as Acting Chairman. It is expected that New Jersey will show a great improvement over last year before the forthcoming Convention. Last Sunday we succeeded in organizing the first new Region in the last five years, in the Ohio Valley, comprising part of Ohio, part of Indiana and the State of Kentucky. Rabbi James G. Heller has been elected Chairman of the new Region. The headquarters of the Ohio Valley Region will be in Cincinnati.

"There is now in the process of being organized another Region of Upper Ohio and Eastern Michigan, with Detroit as its headquarters. Mr. Laurence Crohn, Chairman of the Detroit Zionist District, and Rabbi Leon Feuer, Chairman of the Toledo Zionist District, are in charge of the work. In addition we have the following established Regions: The Seaboard Region with headquarters in Baltimore, Md., of which Mr. Daniel Ellisen is the Chairman; the Tri-State Region, with Pittsburgh as headquarters, of which Rabbi Lichter is the Chairman; the New England Region, with headquarters in Boston, of which Mr. Ralph Bass is the Chairman; the Connecticut State Region, of which Rabbi Wm. Greenfield is Chairman; the Texas Region, with Mr. Charles Spinner as Chairman.

"In Greater New York there are now three functioning Regions: The Long Island Region, of which Mr. Mordecai Konowitz is Chairman, with headquarters at Jamaica, which shows the best improvement of any Region throughout the country; and of course, the best improvement in Greater New York; the Brooklyn Region with Mr. Louis J. Moss as Chairman; and the Bronx Region with Mr. Meyer Levy as Chairman.

"In the membership this year New York is in the lead. The volume of propaganda work this year has been larger than that for any previous year covering the same period. 45 outstanding speakers furnished by the national office addressed 313 meetings in 108 communities covering 26 states. This report refers only to those meetings in which we have cooperated and meetings for which we provided the speakers. This does not include those meetings numbering in the many hundreds held throughout the country and addressed by local speakers. In this connection the Regions have been most helpful having furnished the Districts, especially in the smaller communities, with speakers, and helped to arrange meetings throughout the country.

"In addition, the national office has arranged successful tours. At this moment two tours are being conducted by eight personalities and lecturers, in the New England territory alone by Mr. van Paassen and Rabbi Sandrow. The previous tours arranged include those by Abraham Goldberg, in the New England Region; Maurice Samuel, Midwest Region, Wm. I. Siegel, New England Region; Mrs. Ida Silverman, New England Region; Abraham Goldberg; Tri-State Region; Morris Margulies, Chicago; Dr. Ludwig Lewisohn, in scattered sections.

"Considering the present recession in the economic situation throughout the country, which cannot fail to have its effect on the membership enrollment, it is significant that despite the establishment of a uniform dues, the membership work is continuing on a satisfactory basis. However, diligent and effective efforts are necessary both on the part of the Zionist Districts as well as members of the Administrative Committee, in order to maintain the present tempo in the membership enrollment."

The Chairman called for comments on the Secretary's report which he thought was very interesting and encouraging.

Mr. Preiss observed that the membership total as reported by the Secretary included 4,000 new members and 10,000 renewals, thus far this year. He inquired as to the number of members in good standing last year at the same time and what steps are needed to place the remaining 15,000 members in good standing in order that the budget may be covered.

Mr. Margulies replied that from the financial point of view the income from membership exceeds by \$5,000 that for the corresponding period of last year. Every effort is being made to intensify the membership activities, in order to secure before the next Convention, an increase in the membership over last year. Mr. Margulies added that all the delinquent members will be circularized upon consultation with the respective districts.

#### REPORT ON ACTIONS COMMITTEE MEETING IN LONDON:

In view of the lateness of the hour and the fact that the public meeting at which the delegates to the Actions Committee meeting in London will speak was scheduled for 2:30 P.M. the members of the Administrative Committee decided to defer consideration of the other items on the agenda, and to proceed immediately with the reports on the Actions Committee sessions.

Before calling upon Mr. Lipsky, Judge Rothenberg observed that he could not recall any international gathering in recent years which assembled under such difficult conditions as the Actions Committee sessions in London. Not only were our own affairs in a perplexing state, but the tragic events in Austria occurred just at the time when the Actions Committee was in session. Nevertheless he expressed the hope that the delegates would bring some word of cheer to stimulate American Zionists at this critical time. It was with great pleasure therefore that he called upon Mr. Louis Lipsky to present his report.



REPORT OF MR. LOUIS LIPSKY :

"As the Chairman observed, in every instance whenever representatives of the ZOA have gone over to Europe, they have been plunged into a situation quite different from that which prevailed in the United States. It has always been necessary for those who go over to adjust themselves to a new set of circumstances, a new mood and a new method of approach. The decision with regard to the Actions Committee meeting was made within forty-eight hours. Many were of the opinion that the meeting should be held in Jerusalem, but owing to the unusual circumstances and the expected departure of the new Technical Commission for Palestine, it was decided to convene the Actions Committee in London.

"There were two questions that confronted the Zionist movement: One, the most important was the economic question, and the other dealt with the political situation. The effect of the political uncertainty is revealed in the economic situation. However, the economic life of Palestine is the target of the severest attacks of all. I think very few people are alarmed by the disorders as such, since the Government has undertaken very energetic methods to suppress the disorders, the effect of the disorders and the effects of the vacillating Government's political policy which are seriously hampering the economic effort of the Jews - these give cause for concern. And so far as the Keren Hayesod is concerned, it is quite apparent that the ordinary budget adopted at the last Congress is insufficient for purposes of emergency.

"The Keren Hayesod has practically absorbed its income up to date in the operations of the first five months, and a shortage will arise because the Keren Hayesod is compelled to undertake efforts that are normally required of the Government and which the Government does not do. The Keren Hayesod has to meet every emergency with the means at its disposal, so that unemployment falls as a burden upon the Executive or the Keren Hayesod. Thus the Executive has to do the things which in the United States is done by the government. Credit has to be established. Funds have to be accumulated. As a matter of fact, many of the things that are now undertaken in Palestine have to be supplied with national funds in order that credit may be maintained. The result is that at the end of this year, the Executive will in all possibility, be facing a deficit which will have to be covered. It is already making endeavors to cover this deficit through loans. The credit of the Keren Hayesod in London is very good, but the credit that we have in London has to be reinforced by added financial support in the way of additional income. Otherwise the credit will have no basis.

"The Actions Committee gave due attention to these economic and financial matters. Very interesting reports were submitted by Eliezer Kaplan and Dr. Ruppin, and it should be a source of satisfaction and comfort to all Zionists to know that during this period of uncertainty, during this period of attack on the front of Jewish life, the Jews have maintained their position with considerable strength and resourcefulness. Although many of the ordinary enterprises are suffering a setback, every point, every position that the Jewish people have occupied at the beginning, they still maintain. The Port of Tel Aviv is a symbol of the energy of the Jews in Palestine in the midst of these disturbances. They have built up something of permanent economic value in the Port. And not only in the matter of the Port but in various parts of Palestine, systematically with a tremendous

(continuation of Mr. Lipsky's report)

amount of courage and with a daring which very few people expected of Jews living under such circumstances, we have built up points that have extended the operations of the Jewish National Home. We have strengthened every position that we held in industry and commerce and made provision for the unemployed.

"It was felt at the Actions Committee meeting that some action ought to be taken by the Zionists of the world to balance what has been done by our people in Palestine. The amount of taxes and assessments being paid by every individual in Palestine is above the normal. They have accumulated a fund for unemployment; they have made sacrifices for the Keren Hayesod and the Jewish National Fund to an extent that would strike most people in the United States as being astounding. They are contributing about 12% of their income in extraordinary self-assessments. They (the workmen) are giving, for example, 12 days of their labor for the unemployment fund. They are taxing themselves for the Port at Tel Aviv and doing everything that is humanly possible in order to maintain the structure of the work in Palestine. It was the decision of the Actions Committee that the organized Zionists of the world - without interfering with the campaigns of the Keren Hayesod, Keren Kayemeth -- are to be called upon to make a self-assessment equivalent to a certain extent to that being made by every Jew in Palestine. This will indicate to the Jews of Palestine that the Zionists of the world are standing shoulder to shoulder with them, not only in the ordinary work of collecting for the Keren Hayesod and Jewish National Fund, but also in the extraordinary contributions that they are making to maintain the front at this time.

"The other important subject of the meeting was the political situation. There has been to date no formal step on the part of the Mandatory Government with regard to a proposal in connection with a Jewish State in a part of Palestine.

"The delay in action on the part of the British Government was not merely due to negligence, but a delay caused by certain conflicting political views. It appeared that after the Zurich Congress certain Jewish elements exercising an influence upon the political factors in England had created the impression that the Jews, as well as the Arabs, as well as the whole public opinion in general was adverse to the establishment of a Jewish State. Through the Foreign Office an impression was conveyed to the Cabinet of the English Government that it might be an advisable thing under the circumstances to reconsider the whole matter of the future of Palestine. All the efforts that were made in order to establish peace between the Arabs and the Jews were taken as indication of the fact that in all probability if the Jews are ready to make terms with the Arabs why should not the English themselves make terms with the Arabs, and under cover of the peace that was to be made with the Arabs, an arrangement could be arrived at which would place the situation in a wholly different position with regard to the Mandate and with regard to the proposal for a Jewish State, and would enable England as a matter of fact to get rid of the whole issue of the Jewish National Home. In other words, there arose in the Foreign Office and the Colonial Office a difference of opinion. The difference of opinion was reflected in the White Paper. The White Paper presents a trial in the Foreign Office and the Colonial Office to arrive at a compromise as to how to proceed with regard to the Jewish National Home. The White Paper



(continuation of Mr. Lipsky's report)

indicated that so far as England was concerned they were playing a waiting game. It was one of the most astute documents that was devised by the Foreign Office and the Colonial Office to enable England to do whatever she pleases. It enabled the Commission to do anything they please, and whatever decision they arrive at, the Government would make the final decision and settle the matter in accordance with this new circumstance. In all these proceedings the Colonial Office stood determined to carry through the plan that we submitted to the League of Nations during the summer. Ormsby-Gore has been doing his best to maintain that plan.

"It was quite obvious to any one attending the meeting in London that the Executive was placed in a very embarrassing and awkward position. The resolution adopted by the Zionist Congress in Zurich authorized the Executive to carry on negotiations with the Mandatory Government, with a view to securing definite proposals with regard to a Jewish State in a part of Palestine. It was assumed, as a matter of course that the Executive in pursuing these negotiations would have to take for granted that a proposal based on the Peel report could safely be submitted to the Zionist Congress. As a rule it is understood that anything a negotiating committee reports may be rejected. But it was assumed that anything they offered to negotiate would be accepted. But another mood was created throughout the political world, as if it were perfectly in order, after the Congress adopted a resolution for negotiation -- it was perfectly in order for Zionists and non-Zionists, and Jews who have nothing whatever to do with the movement, to come along and say that under no circumstances would any proposal be accepted if it was submitted to the Zionist Congress. To create such a position meant practically undermining the authority of the Executive in the course of its negotiations.

The Executive found itself on all sides surrounded by forces who were convinced that it is their business to carry on propaganda in order to destroy any possibility of there coming out of these negotiations any proposals for a Jewish State. I think that in that respect, in respect to the action taken by the Committee in London, something was done to rectify a situation which was becoming impossible. In the name of the Executive, in the address of Dr. Weizmann, and in the address of Ben Gurion, certain fundamental declarations were made, and the Actions Committee by its acceptance of these declarations without demur, practically gave its approval of these declarations. It is the intention of the Executive--this was approved by the Actions Committee--to secure from the British Government definite proposals with regard to a Jewish State, on the basis of the Peel report, with such improvements as may be secured, and to submit that to the Congress. In the meantime the Executive will continue its policy of protecting and maintaining our rights under the Mandate and until some substitute is devised by the Congress the Mandate shall be enforced. In the meantime it is assumed as a matter of course, as a matter of loyalty and discipline in the Zionist movement, that all elements in the Zionist movement forego the luxury of debating in advance, any idea or proposal that may come from the Mandatory Government for a Jewish State.

"I think that the remarks made by Ussishkin at the end of the Actions Committee meeting reflect the whole attitude of the Actions Committee. It stands to reason that when we are facing very serious combinations in world politics, and when something may happen which will destroy the very foundations on which we are laboring in Palestine, it is of the utmost importance that we Zionists know where we are going, and that we

(continuation of Mr. Lipsky's report)

defend our position together, and that there be no two ways to reach the end, but the one way decided on by the Congress -- and the Congress has decided that we are forced by circumstances in the direction of considering the proposal for a Jewish State.

"Anybody who was at the sessions in London for a week or two, and close to the scene of operations in Europe, will realize that the world is undergoing a change, and that all concepts of international conduct previously accepted, as a matter of course, have been disturbed by what is going on; that the English Government itself, one of the most powerful Governments in modern history, is suffering confusion and uncertainty of purpose with regard to its own destiny, and that the whole European struggle calls for a new adjustment in relations, and in these adjustments where lawlessness seems to be upheld and all the forces of evil and injustice have command, it is of the utmost importance to know where we stand and that we do not allow ourselves to be caught unprepared. It should be a matter of commonsense for the Jewish people to understand, that we in the Zionist movement are not living in a world far away, but we are living in a world where every act of Government here, there and elsewhere affects us seriously, and we can only build our life on a platform on which life itself is being enacted. In Palestine there is growing up a deep understanding of the realities of the situation. They realize that their own strength and the resources available are a weighty factor in the situation, and are more important than words.

Mr. Lipsky then referred to the remarkable achievement in the settlement of Hamuta, which he stated was of the greatest importance to the Jewish future in Palestine.

The Tel Aviv Port is a political fact. It does not compare with New York Harbor or the Harbor at Cherbourg, -- but this dock represents strength. It is from that dock that ships can go out. It is from that dock that men who ply the small boats can make their exit and go out on the sea. If you have that, you have something much more important than any agreement.

"The meeting of the Actions Committee served a vitally important purpose. It has made the Zionist Organization, which is the most important instrument of Jewish life, a workable body. It has not allowed the Zionist Organization to become an anarchistic group of people -- with every group doing as it likes. In all the world nationalities are consolidating their resources and making everything available for the central purpose, and if we do the same thing through the Zionist Organization and consolidate everything that we have, then we will have something which we can operate with. I think that we can safely say that if only the Jews outside of Palestine will serve the cause as it is served by those who are in Palestine, then we have nothing to fear. It is to that end that the Executive has thought it proper that a branch of the Executive of the Jewish Agency be established in the United States, for the purpose of building up our political defenses in behalf of Palestine. That matter will be submitted to a meeting of the Executive of the ZOA and then will come up before the Administrative Committee. It is felt throughout Europe, not only with respect to the Zionist movement, but also with regard to all matters of Jewish interest, that the Jews of America have a very important part to play in regard to what is going to happen to the Jewish people in the next decade. There is no Jewry in



(continuation of Mr. Lipsky's report)

Europe that is free, --nowhere-- not even in England, and the only free Jewry there is in the world is right here in the United States.

And just as in 1914 we launched a movement here which had its echo all over Europe, so in the things that are to be done in the next few years, the Jews of America, in accordance with the demands of the situation, will play a decisive role. We have to provide the means; we have to create the channels of action,--and the Jews of America become the authors of the destiny of the Jewish people.

Deploring the lack of unity and consolidation in the American Zionist movement, Mr. Lipsky said:

"When we were called upon in London to report how many organized Zionists there were in America, we had to enumerate then all --Zionist Organization of America, Mizrachi, Poale Zion, Hadassah -- and if we add them altogether we have a formidable army. We have over 120,000 organized Zionists in the United States if we take them altogether, but those 120,000 organized Zionists are not an army. Each has its own little corner and separate plank on everything that goes on in Jewish life. If we are doing anything of any consequence in meeting our responsibility as Zionists, first of all, we should see to it that some order is created in the strength that we have built up. There is no doubt that these 120,000 people represent the very essence and quintessence of everything that is national in Jewish aspirations in America, and could command the situation if we were united.

"At any rate, in London there was unanimously found a way to bring about understanding and a line for Zionist activity that will bring about order in the situation and eliminate something that is very distressing, and I hope that we in the United States will do the same."

REPORT OF MR. JACOB FISHMAN:

"It became clear as soon as we arrived in London to attend the sessions of the Actions Committee that no sensational events of dramatic value were to be expected. We have been accustomed to expect from many meetings explosive happenings, but with the exception of many enlightening facts and stock-taking of what has happened since the Zionist Congress, the Actions Committee has not produced anything very sensational. But despite this early disappointment over the lack of anything of a sensational nature, there is no question whatsoever that after the sessions took place, everybody felt that it was a much needed gathering, and that it was productive of a great deal of good.

"I will try to give you some of the sidelights on the sessions, and tell you perhaps some of the things that you may not have been familiar with up to this time.

"The principal discussion naturally centered on what took place since the Zurich Congress. There were a number of delegates who felt that something was being kept back from us. It was mostly a question of bad news. We thought we did not get all the bad news in store for us. Fortunately Dr. Weizmann laid this thing to rest when he presented his report. While the sessions of the Actions Committee were going on, Dr. Weizmann was very busily engaged during that period seeing members of the British Cabinet." The speaker referred to the political changes going on in London and the effect upon the Palestine situation.

"Now, one of the things that we learned at the Actions Committee, which perhaps was not so well known was the extent of the deep intrigue on the part of the so-called peace-drivers, or peace party. We knew, naturally, that the peace drive was inaugurated by a number of people, but we thought that at least some sort of sincerity animated those people, and that they really and truly believed that that narrow peace, such as perhaps would be able to spare us partition or other unwelcome happenings, could be arrived at. And the picture which was revealed at the Actions Committee, with the correspondence open to us, was distressing to the lowest degree."

Mr. Fishman related that the Executive itself was at one time dragged into useless peace maneuvers when it could not ignore an invitation from Dr. Magnes, who stated that the Mufti himself and other influential Arabs are willing to make peace on some sort of an acceptable basis. There were outlined a number of stipulations, the very first of which was that a sovereign State in Palestine be established within a specified time, followed by a number of other stipulations, from which it seemed that the Arabs are making certain concessions to the Jews with regard to regional autonomy, national autonomy, and other things. When Dr. Magnes was asked whether he has any warrant for knowing that these stipulations represent the convictions or the opinions of the Arabs, and as to whom those Arabs represent - he said that among those Arabs are some of the Mufti party and other national Arabs in Palestine.

But when this matter was examined and looked into, after a long train of correspondence it was discovered that the entire plan had nothing to do with Arabs, that it was purely a sort of fantastic draft gotten up by one Englishman, a certain Colonel Newcombe. The leader on the Jewish side was Mr. Hyemson. Dr. Magnes was just a trap-door as he has been on a number of other occasions. He was told that this represented an Arab draft,



whereas when it was finally brought down to a test, it turned out that the Arabs said the reverse of what was in this draft, that they had never consented to anything that savors of recognizing in any way the Jewish National Home, or the right of Jewish immigration. And our friend Dr. Magnes himself had to humiliatingly admit that since he had tried to draw in the Executive in these negotiations, that he had discovered that he was mistaken and that this did not represent any of the Arabs and their program.

Describing the various rumors of alleged peace agreements between Dr. Weizmann and the Arabs, Mr. Fishman continued:

"From this you will see what the Executive had to contend with during these months that were so full of stress and terrible ordeals. I hope that this chapter -- this drive that is meant only just to draw us into something through which we will have to sacrifice eventually everything -- I hope that this has now been laid to rest.

"Taking stock of what has happened in Zionist circles during this time, we have discovered that there still exists a misunderstanding among Zionists as to what the Executive of the Jewish Agency is to fight for. Is it to fight for the Mandate? Or is it to fight for the best plan of a partitioned Jewish State -- for liberal proposals of a Jewish State? And, naturally, you can see that by what has happened among us here in the United States -- Hadassah has passed a resolution requesting the Executive to conduct its negotiations only on the basis of the Mandate, of a non-partitioned State. That the Executive will continue to press the enforcement of the Mandate pending the outcome of the negotiations on the partition scheme was made clear by Ben Gurion in his speech, as well as by Dr. Weizmann. Ben Gurion said something to this effect: That the Executive of the Jewish Agency as a body is neither for or against partition. Individually they may have different opinions. He himself would be for a Jewish State with frontiers that are better than the Peel Report, but as a body the Executive of the Jewish Agency is neither for nor against, but it has a mandate -- it has a resolution from the Zurich Congress -- which it considers as its direction, and the way the Executive understands this mandate from the Zurich Congress is that they have to defend the Mandate with all the means at their command, so long as there is no Jewish State. But then Ben Gurion threw out this challenge to the members of the Actions Committee that still believe that the Executive should lay the entire stress on the Mandate: He told them that the Zurich resolution imposes upon the Executive a dual obligation. The Mandate itself has dual obligations, and so the Zurich resolution placed upon the Jewish Agency has dual obligations. But the way he understands it, and the way his colleagues on the Executive understand it, is that they are to fight for the Mandate until something else eventuates, but that they consider their paramount duty to get a clear and concise plan from the British Government with regard to a Jewish State.

"We are not scrapping the Mandate. We are going to fight for the Mandate, but this is not the burden of the resolution of the Zurich Congress. At the Zurich Congress we decided finally that it was the duty of the Executive of the Jewish Agency to obtain the best possible terms for a Jewish State. We all knew that the Executive was not going to sit with folded arms and simply wait until this proposal comes to them from the British Government. That we would have to fight for such a plan, we made it very clear.

"It was very interesting to watch Mr. Ussishkin, who represents symbolically the opposition at the Congress. His action can be compared with the month of March in which we are meeting here -- "March comes in like a lion and goes out like a lamb". Something of the same nature took place in Mr. Ussishkin's psychology. His opening and main speech that he delivered was practically on the same lines as at the Congress, when again he stressed the possibility of declining to submit to the majority. I don't want to say that he threatened, but he reiterated time and time again that in such questions there can be no majority and no minority, and you can understand that the argument of his caused quite a great deal of surprise and counter-statements by other people. But when it came towards the end, as you already know, Mr. Ussishkin spoke in a different tone, and it is very characteristic and very important for us to know that this was in contrast to the speech that Mr. Ussishkin delivered at the farewell gathering to Dr. Weizmann in Palestine under the auspices of the Vaad Leumi. At that meeting, he turned to Weizmann and said to him, "I am sorry, Dr. Weizmann, that I cannot give you my blessings upon your mission." And you know what Dr. Weizmann's answer was -- in his inimitable way he said, that so far as he is concerned, he wears blinders and sees only one purpose in front of him, and while he regretted very much that Mr. Ussishkin could not wish him luck, he will have to go on his way, because he believed that this is the only way. He said it much better than I could reconstruct it in my memory. Nevertheless at the close of the Actions Committee meeting, Mr. Ussishkin declared himself satisfied with Dr. Weizmann's statement, that unless certain conditions are fulfilled, he himself will not consider them, nor will he bring any such offer to the Congress. In other words, if the new proposal will not be better than the Peel proposal, he will himself turn it down and he will not submit anything at all to a special Congress, and Mr. Ussishkin declared himself thoroughly satisfied with that statement, and said that he felt much easier now, and he does hope that Dr. Weizmann will get better terms.

"I may perhaps call your attention to the fact that at the meeting of the Administrative Committee held on our return from the Zurich Congress, I said the same thing. I said that Dr. Weizmann would not let us down, that he would not propose anything that is not better than the Peel report -- and he has demonstrated this.

"Far more interesting was the reaction of the "rank and file" of the Actions Committee. For instance, Group B -- their leader Dr. Schwartzbard said very distinctly that he had seen the light. In view of what had happened, in view of this conspiratorial work, and in view also of what he has learned for himself in his part of Poland, he began to see the thing in a different light. The Mizrahi, furthermore, took a different attitude. We were reminded of what took place a day before the opening of the meeting of the Actions Committee, when we listened to the debate on Palestine in the British Parliament. There were some members of the Labor Party who were opposed to Partition, but at the same time clamored, "Why doesn't the Government proceed with Partition; why does it drag along the decision; why does it not make an end of it?" So naturally at this time, Mr. Ormsby-Gore replied to them: "Why do you hurry us for partition when you are against it? You are either for or against it." But nevertheless this debate was very illuminating and enlightening, and we saw some of the things that make for various complications.

"In summing up the proceedings, I wish to state that there was a better understanding as to what is the duty of the Executive after the Zurich Congress. There was also a better understanding as to what is the duty of the Zionists, as Mr. Lipsky has told you. I think we have -- both ya-zagers and nein-zagers -- every reason to be satisfied with the political resolutions adopted. I think they represent the real will and expression of the organized Zionists.



The resolutions are not partisan, and call for a minimum of loyalty from every Zionist. Our own President Dr. Wise deserves a great deal of credit. He has put in a great deal of work in helping to frame this resolution, and I think that this will now be valid - I would not say sacrosanct for every Zionist.

"Dr. Weizmann told us in one of his final speeches, that while the situation was very complicated and very uncertain a few weeks before, it has now been cleared up. Dr. Weizmann expressed the idea that what has happened in Austria would have a salutary effect upon Zionist fortunes. The more Great Britain is disillusioned and disappointed with the acts of certain dictators, the more things look better for our case.

"This is my personal impression. If anybody should ask me what I think are the chances of Partition, I would say that I do not entirely agree with Dr. Weizmann. Dr. Weizmann said in his last speech, that he is confident and hopeful that there will be a better proposal than the Peel report. I certainly hope and wish that it will be so, but as regards my own personal and private opinion, I don't think that Partition is as yet out of the woods, or a Jewish State is out of the woods. I have formed an opinion -- I cannot tell exactly on what basis, but it is my opinion, that the new Technical Commission will have no political jurisdiction. Everything will be decided in London. That is why the London front again becomes so important -- and the London front has been neglected, before Dr. Weizmann had gone back to London.

"I believe that the meeting of the Actions Committee, though not productive of any sensational material, had a very beneficial effect upon the whole Zionist Movement, and I am fully confident that the Zionists now will find the way to unity of action and to support the Executive of the Jewish Agency and Dr. Weizmann who is working as no man has worked before, and for this reason alone, I am convinced that the meeting of the Actions Committee was certainly worthwhile."

REPORT OF MR. ABRAHAM GOLDBERG:

"First, I want to say a word that nobody touched, the question of London. When we went to London it was understood that we go there in order to clarify, so naturally the talk went around: 'To London to clarify--the city of fogs'. But the weather that week turned out to be ideal. The place was properly chosen and equipped for a meeting of clarification. You hear now that we are going to have three fronts. In our politics we have two fronts -- Jerusalem and London. Then Dr. Weizmann went to Jerusalem and stayed there for months in expectation of the Commission's arrival. Since this Technical Commission will be appointed in the very near future, Dr. Weizmann thought it his duty to be on the spot, in order to take up the negotiations with this Commission. The Commission did not come. In the meantime, the London front was neglected. As soon as Dr. Weizmann left London, nobody was there to take care of our London front which began to creak, as it was explained here, because a conspiracy was hatched, a real conspiracy in the mask of peace. They wanted us to give up the Mandate and the Balfour Declaration, before we take any step. What we were to get was a Palestine State, but with two Arabs to every Jew. Naturally, it implies an Arab State. And the concessions given to us comprised, as you well know, a little bit of immigration. The bitter pill was sweetened by the proposed provision that the Jews may also migrate into other Arabic countries. In other words, they would give us a chance to scatter the Jews, to 'atomize the Jews even in Palestine. Many Zionists fall for that scheme. On the basis of that position, these men began to say: 'Good Zionists are in agreement with us'. Good Zionists means 'against partition'. Bad Zionists are those who want a Jewish State in a part of Palestine.

Referring to the Spur given to the above scheme by Sir Herbert Samuel, Norman Bentwich, with the support of non-Zionists, Arab circles and even some Zionists, Mr. Goldberg said:

"Our political front in London was in the greatest danger, and therefore there was a hurry call for Weizmann and Ben Gurion, but especially for Weizmann.

And you heard what he had to go through, and that is what we were faced with in London in order to show British officials and British public opinion that when Weizmann speaks he does not speak for himself, like Magnes and others. He had to point out that the Jewish people as represented by the majority of Zionists are against such a scheme. As a matter of fact, when this scheme became known, the whole Actions Committee said, "we will never accept it. We must draw a line of demarcation between us and the assimilationists who are ready to sell our birthright for a mess of pottage" And that is why we had to reestablish our front in London. And the day after the Actions Committee meeting was over, Dr. Weizmann returned to Palestine again to maintain the Palestine front.

"The Congress resolution was subjected to many interpretations. Everybody saw in that resolution what they wanted. There were some who said that when Weizmann goes before the Mandatory Government and says, "Give me better conditions," he is validating that resolution, because, in their opinion, the resolution gives him the only right to ascertain all the facts. But what shall Weizmann meantime try to do -- fight for the enforcement of the Mandate - and that question was the crux of the debate.



(continuation of A. Goldberg's report)

On this point Dr. Weizmann made it very clear that it is impossible to carry on a mission which is contradictory. You cannot come to the Mandatory Power and say "maintain the Mandate -- not in a negative sense-- don't violate the Mandate until we have a proposition for a Jewish State-- any violation of the Mandate before we have accepted the proposition of a Jewish State will be fought to the bitter end -- but in a positive sense -- we come before British officials and say, "keep the Mandate alive" -- and "what about the Jewish State", the Mandatory Power will say, "why are you bothering us about better conditions when you believe that the existing Mandate can do all these things?"

"You can well realize with what a situation Weizmann was faced. No Jewish State had been accepted.

Weizmann said: "I cannot carry on unless you give me men, money and discipline".

"Lipsky has told you about the Yishub. Despite the terrorism faced for two years they nevertheless made progress. They have made sacrifices and have contributed to the maintenance of the unemployed by giving out of their very mouths. They have contributed twelve days of their earnings, or 10%, in order to maintain that front.

"From the point of view of discipline, Weizmann found himself in an impossible position. Therefore the Actions Committee session had to be convened in London in order to knock this conspiracy on the head, and happily we came out united in that sense.

"Bentwich stood up and said that he is for peace with the Arabs. But this would not be peace, it would be capitulation, and we would be placed in the position where the Arabs would merely allow us a limited Jewish immigration into Palestine.

"You read our President's call to the 29 nations. Palestine must have its proper place in that program. If we agree to the proposal of the Arabs, that only 10,000 or 20,000 Jews be permitted to come into Palestine, then we remain in obscurity and fall into the lowest depth of Jewish life. We must create an opportunity for Jews to come to Palestine and rebuild themselves. If we already had a Jewish State in Palestine, how different would our position be in connection with this call from the President. Everybody would support the Jewish State. Let us not give up hope. We must have peace with the Arabs, but first we must have our Jewish State. Then we will begin negotiations with the Arabs. Then we will have a real peace.

"As soon as we Zionists find out that we have something when we are united, and that something is, that we are never to sell our rights to anybody, for at that moment I knew that we are one organization. Therefore, the resolution that called for discipline also won unanimous support.

"Dr. Weizmann, in his final speech, which was full of significance as usual, reminded us of two things: One is 1914. Remember that in 1914 we faced a similar situation. There is war in the air. But in 1914 what was the

(continuation of A. Goldberg's report)

thing we were fighting for? The Yishub in Eretz Israel was at that time around 100,000, out of which 60,000 were the so-called "chalukah" Jews, and then they began to leave as soon as they settled. Thus at the time when the Balfour Declaration was issued we had altogether 55,000 Jews in Palestine, out of which 25,000 were of the "chalukah" category.

"The we had America; we began to speculate; and we began to see a vision, and there came about a change in the attitude of the Jews here. That was when we won the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate. No matter what you say about the American Jews; we have our troubles, but we are four and a half million strong; and then we have 450,000 Jews in Palestine. This is our greatest accomplishment. People asked me why do I speak differently about Great Britain. My answer is 450,000 Jews in Palestine. That gives me my voice. Give me a million and I will talk even more differently. As the increase of the population, so grows my voice. It becomes thin when the population stops; it gathers strength when the population grows.

"My conviction is that we have great friends in England. When I saw Ussishkin on the one hand, and Weizmann on the other, with the former saying: 'I will do all in my power to help you, Dr. Weizmann' -- I went away and I said: 'Thank God.' Dr. Herzl gave us what you see today -- an organization. And as long as this organization lives, and as long as we will preserve it, I have no doubt that we will get the best provisions. I have no doubt that in the near future we will have an accomplishment that will be worthy of our movement and which will be a proud tribute to the founder of the movement, Dr. Theodor Herzl."

In view of the lateness of the hour, the reports of the various departments of the Z.O.A. could not be presented at this meeting. The Chairman suggested, therefore, that these reports be submitted in writing to the members of the Administrative Committee.

Meeting adjourned at 2:00 P.M.

Respectfully submitted,

MORRIS MARGULIES  
Secretary



ההסתדרות הציונית של ארצות הברית

# Zionist Organization of America

## Certificate of Affiliation

This is to certify that  
of

The North Shore Zionist District  
Chicago, Ill.

engaged in approved Zionist activities, and having agreed to comply with all rules and regulations governing affiliated units, is hereby recognized as an affiliated Zionist Group of the Zionist Organization of America.



In Witness Whereof we have hereto affixed our signatures and seal of the Zionist Organization of America.

On the 27<sup>th</sup> day of April 1938  
In the City of New York.

President

Secretary

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE OF THE ZOA

HELD WEDNESDAY EVENING, APRIL 27, 1938 - 8:30 P.M., 40 W. 68th St.

PRESENT : Messrs. Lipsky (in the chair) Wise, Fierst, Goldberg, Levinthal, Margulies, Miller, Ress, Rothenberg, Sherman, Mrs. Epstein; Lawrence Cohen (representing Ayukah) Messrs. Caplan, Bernstein, Maltin, Golub (by invitation)

Excuses for Absence - from: Dr. Israel Goldstein, Dr. Israel, Joseph Kraemer, Wm. I. Siegel, Elihu D. Stone.

MEMORANDUM FROM DR. GOLDSTEIN :

The Secretary reported the receipt of a communication, as per attached, from Dr. Israel Goldstein, giving his conclusions based on his experience as Acting President.

Decided that Dr. Goldstein's memorandum be incorporated in the minutes and referred to the Budget and Finance Committee.

WEDGWOOD MEETING AT TEMPLE EMANUEL :

Dr. Wise called attention to the fact that at the joint meeting arranged by Hadassah and the ZOA last Monday evening at Temple Emanu-El in honor of Col. Wedgwood, the Zionist flag was not displayed.

He therefore moved, and it was unanimously carried

THAT no Zionist meeting should be held in any hall where the right of unfurling the Zionist flag is denied.

SECRETARY'S REPORT :

Mr. Margulies observed that in March the membership was 1200 behind that of last year, but that during April there was an improvement. However the total membership as of May 1st will fall below that of last year, though there is an improvement over last year from the point of view of income. As of today the income from membership is \$61,736, as against \$54,770 last year - an increase of \$7,000.

Mr. Margulies pointed out that the falling off in the number of members is due primarily to the change in the dues. In addition, many of the leaders of the ZOA are prevented from giving more time to membership because of their activities in behalf of the UPA campaign. He was of the opinion, however, that by the Convention there will be an appreciable increase.

Mrs. Epstein suggested that the fiscal year of the ZOA should be from Convention to Convention.



REPORT OF SURVEY COMMITTEE :

Mr. Lipsky suggested that the Survey Committee report be submitted to the Convention Committee as a basis for recommendation to the Convention.

Mr. Ress stated that the Committee was subject to the instructions of the Executive.

It was then moved, seconded and carried

THAT the report of the Survey Committee should be ready for presentation to the next meeting of the Executive.

SAKIER - PALESTINE SECURITIES :

It was reported that a communication had been received from Mr. Abraham H. Sakier, informing the ZOA of the opening of an office by him for the sale of Palestine securities in this country.

Dr. Wise stated that it is a very serious matter that an individual should undertake the sale of Palestine securities, which the Organization contemplated doing in the fall when Dr. Ruppin will arrive here for this very purpose; moreover the name "Palestine Securities" belonged to the Zionist Organization.

Mr. Goldberg suggested that Mr. Sakier be summoned to the ZOA office and told that what he proposed was not the right thing to do and that we will not support him in his efforts.

It was finally moved, seconded and carried

THAT in view of the contemplated large-scale organized effort for the sale of Palestine securities in this country in the fall, the Executive cannot approve of the scheme of Mr. Sakier.

It was suggested that Messrs. Sherman and Ross confer with Mr. Sakier.

CLEVELAND ZIONIST SOCIETY MEMBERSHIP DUES :

The Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from Mr. Alfred H. Sachs, Treasurer of the Cleveland Zionist District, concerning the collection of membership dues by the Cleveland Zionist Society on a \$4 annual basis, whereas the District, under the constitution, was charging \$5.

Rabbi Miller declared that if the Society collects \$4 from its members it is committing a breach of the Convention resolution, the only exception being in the case of joint membership of husband and wife, at \$8, where only one copy of The New Palestine is sent, and which was approved by the Executive.

Dr. Wise suggested that in view of the proximity of the Convention, the matter be left for settlement to the Convention.

It was then moved, seconded and carried

THAT the request of the Cleveland Zionist Society for \$4 dues be referred to the Committee on Organization.

CONVENTION PROBLEMS AND APPOINTMENT OF COMMITTEE ON CONVENTION PROGRAM :

The Secretary called attention to the necessity of naming a committee to consider the Convention program, and the matter of inviting someone from abroad.

It was moved, seconded and carried

THAT a Committee on Convention Program be appointed by the President.

MR. LIPSKY stated that an invitation had been extended to Dr. Weizmann to come here in June but in view of the presence of the Technical Commission in Palestine at this time, it is not certain whether Dr. Weizmann will be able to leave that country.

It was suggested that Lady Reading might be invited. Another suggestion was to extend an invitation to Rabbi Hertz of England. Judge Rothenberg suggested Mr. Sidebotham, and Mr. Lipsky suggested also Gen. Smuts.

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS :

It was proposed that the Executive vote formal ratification of the action of the President in inviting the ZOA members to secure the largest possible registration in the forthcoming Congress elections.

It was moved, seconded and carried

THAT Zionist Districts be notified of the coming Congress elections and asked to cooperate and take a leading part in this activity; also that the action of the President be approved. In addition the President of Hadassah be asked to confer with the President of the ZOA in the hope that Hadassah may do its full duty in this matter.

Mr. Goldberg urged that the Executive be regularly informed of the Congress activities and duly consulted.

Meeting adjourned 10:30 P.M.

Respectfully submitted

MORRIS MARGULIES  
Secretary



April 16, 1938

EXECUTIVE OF THE ZOA

From Dr. Israel Goldstein

Report to Dr. Wise.

Having served, at your request, as the Acting President of the ZOA during your absence in London, may I make this brief report for your own information and for the record touching the ZOA during these few weeks.

Two meetings of the Executive were held during this time. The minutes of those meetings will convey the business transacted.

You will notice that an effort was made to familiarize the members of the Executive with the details of the business of the ZOA. Specific reports of the various departments of the ZOA were called for, presented and discussed. These presentations and discussions had the effect, I believe, of apprising the members of the Executive, who were present, concerning facts, figures, and relationships. As a result of this specific and concrete information, the Executive will, I trust, be in a better position to evaluate the recommendations of the Survey Committee.

With reference to the Survey Committee, whose deliberations you instructed me to push forward, Mr. Ress, the Chairman, will report. Permit me, however, to state that the Survey Committee, enlarged by the addition of a few more members of the Executive, whom you appointed, has made tangible progress. For the consideration of the Survey Committee, I presented a somewhat different approach to the whole problem, which received favorable consideration and which may help us to envisage the business of the ZOA in a more specific way both as regards the departments themselves and their relative importance to the other departments.

May I give my own conclusions regarding the budgetary question which has been the subject of considerable debate. I am satisfied -

1. That expenses of the ZOA, at the present time, are not running at a rate exceeding its current income.
2. That for the next year, beginning June 1, or beginning September 1st, whichever period is desired as a basis, the income for the ZOA (available for operating expenses after the amount of \$10,000 will have been deducted for the payment on the deficit) will be \$125,000, which will represent approximately \$15,000 less than the available income for the current year. It will therefore be necessary to find a way of saving \$15,000 in our expense budget. The alternative will have to be the finding of a way to guarantee \$15,000 additional income.

May I express my appreciation to our Secretary, Mr. Margulies, for his unfailing attentiveness to my requests for information, services, etc. I took the liberty of asking Mr. Margulies to let me have a day-to-day diary of his appointments, as well as correspondence, so that I derived an intimate picture of how the ZOA works.

I suggested to Mr. Margulies that he give us his plan for the functioning of the organization of the Membership Department for the ZOA, both in the national office and the regional offices, indicating the budget as well as the program. It may serve a useful purpose for us to know how this department which is the most important of our departments should function if we had the money necessary for it.

In conclusion, may I supplement this report by observing that while being in Chicago where I went for the ZOA, I had occasion to sound out some of the local leaders with reference to the discussions we have been having in the Executive recently in connection with the report of the Survey Committee. I believe in order to have a clear picture of the situation, it behooves us to get the reaction of the regional leaders throughout the country. After all it is they who have the closest contact with the people whom we are trying to serve..

My impression of Chicago is that there is considerable activity under the leadership of William Katz. He is endeavoring to centralize the work and to cultivate the separate localities in Chicago intensively. My visit there was utilized for a small luncheon of the city-wide leaders and in the evening for a large meeting in the northwest section of Chicago where the district has been revitalized and now has one hundred members. Fifty new members came in the evening I was there with an attendance of six hundred. If that is a criterion for what is being done in other sections of the city it is gratifying.

Mr. Katz was generous in his comments regarding the cooperation given by Mr. Margulies.



MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE Z.O.A. ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE

HELD SUNDAY, MAY 29th, 1:30 P.M., at the HOTEL ASTOR, N.Y.C.

PRESENT: Judge Morris Rothenberg (in the Chair) Messrs. Isaac Allen, Samuel Berman, Samuel Berson, A. D. Braham, Adolph Brinberg, Sol Cohen, Charles A. Cowen, Jacob Fishman, Abraham Goldberg, Rabbi Israel Goldstein, Morris Greenberg, Leo Guzik, Isidore A. Hassin, Arnold K. Isreeli, Samuel Judenfreund, Harry J. Kahn, Abraham Krumbein, Dr. Harris J. Levine, Moyer Levy, Louis Lipsky, Dr. S. Margoshes, Morris Margulies, Rabbi Irving Miller, Rabbi A. H. Neulander, Dr. Harry Projector, Charles Ross, Bernard G. Richards, Louis Rinsky, Moses Robinson, Jochanon I. Rudavsky, Bernard Shelvin, Abraham Spicchandlor, Joshua Sprayragon, Judge Nathan Swoodlor, Robert Szold, Morris Weinberg, Leo Wilson, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Leo Wolfson; Dr. Frances Burnce, Dorchester, Mass.; Dr. David Foldman, Philadelphia, Pa; Jacob Ginsburg, Philadelphia, Pa; Rabbi Abram Granowitz, Johnstown, Pa.; Rabbi Wm. Greenfield, Waterbury, Conn.; Harold G. Jaffer, Mr. Vernon, N.Y.; Joseph Kraemer, Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Judge William E. Lewis, Morris Mallovo, New London, Conn.; Harry Rosenbaum, Plainfield, N.J.; Hon. Elihu D. Ston, Boston, Mass.; by invitation: Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt (of Palestine) David Heimann (of Germany) J. Istoric (of London).

Excuses for non-Attendance - were received from Israel S. Chipkin, Harry P. Fierst, Rabbi J. L. Goldberg, Samuel Kanarvogel, Rabbi I. H. Levinthal, Louis J. Moss, Carl Sherman; Dr. Ilie Berger, Providence, R.I.; Rabbi M. M. Berman, Chicago, Ill; Col. Benjamin F. Evarts, Holyoke, Mass.; Rabbi Benjamin Friedman, Syracuse, N.Y.; Rabbi Solomon Goldman, Chicago, Ill.; Isidore Hershfield, Washington, D.C.; Jacob B. Hoffman, Philadelphia, Pa.; B. Horvich, Chicago, Ill.; Rabbi Edward Israel, Baltimore, Md.; Prof. Gustavo Klausner, St. Louis, Mo; Samuel Kranzberg, St. Louis, Mo; Dr. M. B. Lichtenstein, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Mortimer May, Nashville, Tenn.; Max Nigrosh, Mattapan, Mass.; Joseph Roder, Mattapan, Mass.; Aaron Riche, Los Angeles, Calif.; Dr. M. Robbins, Nashua, N.H.; Louis Rosenberg, Houston, Texas; Sam Shankman, Memphis, Tenn.; Simon Shetzer, Detroit, Mich.; Joe Weingarten, Houston, Texas; Rabbi H. Z. Zwelling, New Britain, Conn.; Rabbi Colman Zwetman, Miami, Fla.

TRIBUTE TO THE LATE ELIAS PREISS :

Before proceeding with the business of the meeting, the Chairman made the following statement:

"On May 28, 1938 there departed from this life Elias Preiss, a member of the Administrative Committee of the ZOA, a member of the Board of Directors of the UPA and the JNF, and of the Finance Committee of the ZOA. He labored with utmost devotion and earnestness as a member of these bodies, and achieved much in the concrete task of our Zionist movement. He worked quietly and effectively, giving generously of his time, his thoughts, his energy and of his substance. He was of the best that the ZOA produced. There should be inscribed in the minutes of this meeting a record of our profound grief at the death of Elias Preiss and of our tribute to his life and deeds. Let us rise in tribute to his memory."

The members present then rose in silent tribute to Mr. Preiss.

TRIBUTE TO DR. LAZARUS KARP :

The Chairman also recorded the deep sorrow of the Administrative Committee at the death of Dr. Lazarus Karp of Richmond, Va., an ardent Zionist who worked with great energy and devotion for every branch of our movement for a great many years and who did much to stimulate and develop Zionist sentiment in that part of the country.

Mr. Leo Wolfson moved that a resolution of condolence be sent to the family of Mr. Proiss and to the members of the 7th District.

Mr. Lipsky referred to the editorial in the May 27th issue of The New Palestino, which, he said, suggested the quality of the services rendered by Dr. Karp to the movement in the South. Dr. Karp came from the old city of Richmond, with its traditions of opposition to Zionist ideals. He came there as an alien, but he forced consideration of the Zionist ideology in the community with tact and with forcefulness, and at the end we have to his credit a strong Zionist community in that city.

The Chairman moved that an appropriate resolution adopted by the Administrative Committee be forwarded to the family of Dr. Karp and to the family of Mr. Proiss. This was seconded and carried unanimously.

WELCOME TO JUDGE BERNARD A. ROSENBLATT :

The Chairman welcomed Judge Rosenblatt, now in the United States on a brief visit.

WELCOME TO MR. DAVID HEIMANN :

The Chairman also welcomed Mr. David Heimann, Honorary President of the Zionist Organization of Germany and Senior President of the Jewish Community of Berlin.

AGENDA \* DEPARTMENTAL REPORTS :

The Chairman called attention to the fact that the heads of the departments of the ZOA have been unable for some time to present their reports. He felt that now, before the Convention, these reports should be presented.

The Chair then called upon Mr. Margulies to present his report as Secretary of the ZOA:

SECRETARY'S REPORT :

Mr. Margulies reported that since the last meeting of the Administrative Committee on March 27th, the Executive held three meetings. The first took place on March 29th upon the return of the President from London where he attended the meeting of the Actions Committee. Dr. Wise took the occasion to thank Dr. Goldstein for the very efficient manner in which he had discharged the duties of



Acting President. The resolution on the political situation, adopted by the Actions Committee was read to members of the Executive. Attention was called to the remarks of Mr. Ben Gurion in which connection statements were made both by Mr. Lipsky and Dr. Wise.

The meeting then proceeded to a discussion of Secretary Hull's proposal for an international conference in behalf of German and Austrian refugees, in connection with which a communication was read from Dr. Silver. Mr. Lipsky observed that the resolution adopted at the special meeting on Sunday, March 27th following the last meeting of the Administrative Committee, represented a very accurate reaction to what is proposed by Secretary Hull, and covers also what is referred to by Dr. Silver, namely, that it should be the intention of the Zionist Organization to see to it that in the conference to be called, Palestine should be introduced in a way to put England under the moral compulsion of opening the doors of Palestine to help solve the Jewish problem. After considerable discussion, it was decided that Dr. Wise and Mr. Lipsky proceed to Washington in order to confer with Secretary Hull and other members of the Cabinet, with a view to getting them to understand the importance of having England revise the Palestine immigration schedule, in connection with President Roosevelt's call for a conference on the refugee problem.

In this connection Dr. Wise referred also to a memorandum from Judge Rothenberg, urging that the Executive give thought to this entire problem both from the point of view of settlement work now going on in Palestine and the larger place which Palestine must occupy in any program of refugee settlement to be undertaken.

The Executive then discussed the Mifde Hazioni also referred to in Dr. Silver's letter. Mr. Lipsky explained that at the meeting of the Actions Committee in London a report was rendered of what had been done in Palestine by all elements of the population in the way of assessments voluntarily undertaken in order to help the unemployment situation. As a result, the Yishub has contributed over \$200,000 to the unemployment fund, over and above the regular contributions with which every one is assessed for the Keren Hayesod and Keren Kayemeth. It was made clear that it was not intended to make any collections from any one who is not an enrolled Zionist, and that the collection is not to be made through a national campaign but locally through each Zionist District. After listening to various proposals as to the method of raising this Mifde Hazioni, it was decided that a committee of three be named to prepare a plan for the carrying out of the program with regard to the Mifde Hazioni.

This meeting also decided to invest the sum of \$5,000 in the preparations for the Palestine Exhibit at the World's Fair, with the understanding that every effort be made by the Executive to make good this contribution at the next Convention.

At that meeting of the Executive also Mr. Lipsky called attention to a resolution adopted at the last Convention urging the ZOA to establish in the United States a Palestine land selling agency and that nothing has been done by the Executive thus far with regard to this resolution. Mr. Lipsky stated further that the affairs of the American Zion Commonwealth had been gradually liquidated and all the obligations in the United States had been discharged, and now that all disputes with regard to the Commonwealth had been settled, whatever is to be done in the United States with regard to land sales, should be done under the name of the American Zion Commonwealth as the agency of the ZOA, inasmuch as the ZOA had

previously been the sufferer in credit and repute because of the complicated affairs of the Commonwealth. In this connection, Mr. Lipsky called attention to the fact that Mr. David Freibergor has given his time gratis for nine years to straightening out the affairs of the Commonwealth, and he suggested that Mr. Freibergor be authorized on behalf of the Executive to get in touch with the P.L.D.C. for the purpose of preparing a plan for land selling under the direction of the ZOA. Attention was called also to the fact that Mr. Morris Weinberg was very helpful in saving the Commonwealth by advancing the funds required by Carmolia. Messrs. Freibergor, Lipsky and Weinberg were appointed a committee to make a further report on this matter.

The next meeting of the Executive was held on April 27th to which was submitted a communication from Dr. Goldstein giving his conclusion based on his experience as Acting President. It was decided to refer these proposals to the Budget and Finance Committee.

Attention was called to a communication from Mr. Abraham Sakior, informing the ZOA of the opening of an office by him for the sale of Palestine securities in this country. Dr. Wise observed that it is a very serious matter that an individual should undertake the sale of Palestine securities which the Organization contemplated doing in the fall when Dr. Ruppin will arrive here for this very purpose. The Executive decided that it could not approve of the scheme of Mr. Sakior.

The meeting then discussed the action of the Cleveland Zionist Society in collecting membership dues on a \$4 annual basis, whereas the District under the constitution was charging \$5. In the discussion which followed, Rabbi Miller declared that if the Society collects \$4 from its members it is committing a breach of the Convention resolution. Dr. Wise suggested that in view of the proximity of the Convention, the matter be left for settlement to the Convention.

The meeting decided to appoint a Committee on Convention Program which should give its attention also to the matter of inviting someone from abroad to attend the Convention. In this connection it was pointed out that an invitation had been extended to Dr. Weizmann, but in view of the presence of the Technical Commission in Palestine at this time, it is not certain whether Dr. Weizmann would be able to leave that country.

Another matter discussed at that meeting was the formal ratification of the action of the President in inviting the ZOA members to secure the largest possible registration in the forthcoming American Jewish Congress elections, and it was decided that Zionist Districts be notified of the coming Congress elections and asked to take a leading part in this activity; also that the action of the President be approved. Mr. Goldberg urged that the Executive be regularly informed of the Congress activities.

The last meeting of the Executive held on May 11th was devoted entirely to a discussion of the report of the Survey Committee which had been enlarged and included Mr. Ross (chairman) Chipkin, Dr. Goldstein, Lipsky, Rocker, Siegel, Szold and Thau. The first two meetings of the Survey Committee, Mr. Ross reported, were devoted very largely to an effort to ascertain the budgetary facts, and the Committee came to the following conclusions:

1. That the Palestine Bureau as now operated be eliminated, and that



Dr. Bernstein be requested to devote part time only to furnishing information concerning the matters formerly handled by the Palestine Bureau. The Committee recommended that despite the lack of success in the past, further effort be made to arrange for the setting up of a Bureau to be maintained at the expense of all American Zionist groups, the ZOA to pay its pro-rata share of the cost.

2. That the publication of Dos Yiddish Folk be discontinued.

3. That there be allotted to the Education Committee for its activities during the coming year a sum not exceeding \$3500. The Survey Committee was advised that the Committee on Education had under consideration a plan for educational activity coordinated more effectively than heretofore with the work of Young Judaea, Masada and Avukah, and that these organizations, in consideration of the additional service to be given them by the Educational Director, might permit a portion of their respective subsidies to be allocated to educational work.

4. That the arrangement with Mr. van Paassen be revised so that in lieu of a fixed annual compensation he be paid for each address he may deliver for the ZOA.

5. The Committee considered also the possibility of further savings in the administration of the office, particularly in view of the proposals for the curtailment of certain activities.

6. In order to effect closer coordination in the office, the Committee suggested the appointment of a Standing Committee consisting of the Chairman of the Finance Committee, the Treasurer and a member of the Executive.

After a protracted discussion the Executive decided as follows:

1. That the matter of the Palestine Department be brought to the attention of the Convention with a plan prepared by the Finance Committee, with a view to securing enlarged interest in the establishment of a truly functioning Palestine Bureau.

2. That a special committee be appointed to find ways and means of securing funds for "Dos Yiddish Folk".

3. That the recommendation of the Survey Committee with regard to the Education Department be tabled, but that before the Convention, the Executive should meet with the Youth and Education Committees and submit to the Convention their decision regarding the proposal for a special campaign for a youth and education fund to cover the work of these departments, in order to raise the sum needed for these activities, to balance the budget.

A special meeting of the Executive was to be held the following week for the purpose of discussing the budget of the ZOA, to be submitted to the Convention, and the question of raising the \$40,000 or more needed for the work of the Organization for the coming year.

#### DISCUSSION ON SECRETARY'S REPORT:

The Chairman called for comments on the above report, and thought perhaps that this might be an appropriate time to decide the matter of the Convention City -- whether or not Detroit is approved.

It was pointed out by Mr. Margulies that in view of the fact that

the Convention last year was held in New York City, and next year's Convention will also have to be held in New York because of the World's Fair of which the Palestine Exhibit will be the most important attraction for Zionists, if it were decided to have the Convention in the vicinity of New York this year, it would mean three consecutive years for a New York Convention. Moreover the conventions since 1933 have been held close to New York. For all these reasons the Executive decided that the Convention be held in the Middle West. Three cities were proposed -- Buffalo, Pittsburgh and Detroit, and it was felt that Detroit offered the best possibilities, and consequently Detroit was finally chosen by the Executive.

Mr. Spicohandler moved, and it was seconded and carried unanimously

THAT Detroit be approved as the Convention City  
for this year.

CONVENTION PROGRAM COMMITTEE :

Mr. Spicohandler urged that five additional members be appointed on the Convention Program Committee.

Mr. Margulies reported that the present membership of the Committee consists of Messrs. Sherman, Miller, Ross, Abraham Goldberg and Segel.

It was moved, seconded and carried

THAT five additional members, who are not  
members of the Executive, be appointed on the  
Convention Program Committee.

Mr. Sol Cohen proposed that a committee should be appointed to outline definitely the functions and purposes of the Administrative Committee.

In response, Judge Rothenberg pointed out that the Convention Committee is the Program Committee, and that therefore this matter should be referred to the Convention itself.

Mr. Stone declared that this Administrative Committee is the supreme body between conventions.

CONSTITUTION :

Mr. Guzik inquired whether there will be constitutional matters to be considered.

Mr. Margulies replied that the Committee on Constitution will submit new proposals for the Constitution to this Convention, in order that a revised Constitution may be adopted, and that, as a matter of fact, included in those proposals is an outline of the scope and purpose of the Administrative Committee.

After a lengthy discussion in which Messrs. Guzik, Margulies, Spicohandler, Wolfson, Rabbis Noulender, Wise, and Judge Lewis participated, it was finally moved, seconded and carried



THAT copies of the constitutional proposals be sent to the members of the Administrative Committee, the delegates to the Convention, and the District Chairmen, two weeks before the Convention; and that subsequently the matter be presented to the Convention by the Constitution Committee, at a special session of the Convention.

ACTION ON SURVEY COMMITTEE REPORT :

Mr. Hassin suggested that the Secretary re-read the action taken by the Executive on the matter of the Education Department. The Secretary did so.

Mr. Shelvin wanted further clarification on the matter of Dos Yiddishe Folk. He felt that the Executive's recommendation to the Convention meant the discontinuance of that publication.

The Chairman explained that the recommendation of the Executive means that no action was taken on Dos Yiddishe Folk, except that the Convention is to consider ways and means for continuing the publication of Dos Yiddishe Folk; that the status quo remains up until the Convention and that publication continues until that time.

Dr. Israel Goldstein who presided at the meeting of the Executive which made recommendations with reference to the Survey Committee's report, clarified the intent of the record presented by the Executive. One of the recommendations made by the Survey Committee was that Dos Yiddishe Folk be discontinued. That proposal was not accepted. This action parallels the action on the Education Department, which is phrased in more or less the same language. The reason why no similar resolution appears with reference to The New Palestine is that the Survey Committee made no similar recommendation with regard to The New Palestine as it made with regard to the other departments. Therefore there was no call for such action.

Mr. Elihu D. Stone moved

THAT The New Palestine be included in the recommendations of the Executive.

Mr. Stone said that he saw no justification for any discriminations. The apool for funds should be made for both publications.

Mr. Stone's motion was seconded.

Mr. Cowon supplemented Dr. Goldstein's remarks. He said that the Finance Committee had indicated at the meeting of the Executive that there would be a deficit of \$20,000 during the coming year, assuming that these activities were eliminated. A healthy organization demands that all of these activities be continued. The Executive felt that inasmuch as there would be a deficit, the whole problem of meeting the budget should be referred to the Convention and to the incoming administration to be elected by the Convention. Under these circumstances, there is no recommendation for the discontinuance of any of the important work of the organization, or any proposal that there should be a recommendation that any of the important work of the organization should be discontinued. We will have the problem of meeting the budget next year either by securing funds from the UPA or otherwise.

Mr. Charles Ross, Chairman of the Survey Committee appointed by Dr. Wise, expressed the belief that very few members of the ZOA are fully acquainted with the financial situation of the Organization. He felt that the recommendations of the Survey Committee clearly indicate that the Finance Committee's report shows that this year the ZOA escaped a serious deficit because of the fact that we received from the UPA not this year, but on account of the 1936 campaign, monies coming in this year to the amount of \$45,000, which represented non-recurring income. The Finance Committee also reported, he said, that for next year the ZOA faces the situation that unless it makes some changes, the ZOA will start the year with a deficit of approximately \$50,000. Our whole net dues amount, from the most optimistic point of view, to \$76,000 and although the UPA will grant us \$54,000, we will have a deficit of almost \$50,000 at the end of the year. The Survey Committee, therefore, made its recommendations seeking to curtail activities which it disliked to see curtailed, but which it believed have to be reduced if the entire ZOA activity is not to be crippled during the coming year. When the members of our Executive and Administrative Committee tell us that we must continue this or that activity, it behooves them simultaneously to bring before this body, or preferably to the Convention, ways and means of raising the funds which will be required, otherwise the ZOA will not function properly, Mr. Ross concluded.

In reply to Mr. Stone's inquiry as to how much is spent on The New Palestine, the Chairman stated that we are not now discussing the subject of finances. Since the Survey Committee's recommendations were not adopted, he pointed out, we should make no recommendations here on the finances of Dos Yiddishe Folk or The New Palestine, and the whole matter should be referred to the Convention.

#### REPORT ON PALESTINE DEPARTMENT :

Dr. Bernstein reported that the tasks of the Palestine Department were two-fold: (1) to help American Jews who want to go to Palestine as capitalists or tourists, by securing proper visas, etc., for them; and (2) to assist American Jews in bringing over their relatives from Poland, Germany, Austria, etc., to Palestine. He pointed out that in 1935, 3,000 American Jews went to Palestine as capitalists, but the disorders of 1936 adversely affected such immigration so that in 1937 only 82 capitalists sailed for Palestine. He estimated that this year the Palestine Dept. would serve about 1500 American tourists going to Palestine, and that since such tourists must deposit \$300 with the British Consul, unless they have a letter from the ZOA guarantying that they are bona fide tourists, a considerable amount of work is involved for the Department.

Dr. Bernstein pointed out also that during 1937 he had to handle the cases of 176 returning Palestine residents about which the Palestine Government is very strict, and which entails a great deal of work by the Department, making it impossible to continue this single-handed any longer.

He reported further that in 1937 the Department assisted in the transferring of 110 families, or 222 individuals from Germany and Poland to Palestine, for whom American Jews deposited large sums of money. A much larger number could be transferred, but the applications are used up. In this connection Dr. Bernstein pointed to the difficulties inherent in the Austrian problem. At the present time the Department has 150 applications on file on behalf of relatives of American Jews, and as a matter of fact, on a single day, 3,000 persons registered



their desire to emigrate to Palestine against 1,000 immigrants for other countries. It is interesting to note, he added, that of the 150 relatives of Americans, the young men of these families desire to go to Palestine, whereas the parents will be brought to America.

In addition, the Department will have to look after the 2500 applications of American Jews whose departure to Palestine must be expedited this year, many of whom, it is hoped, will be included in the October capitalist allotment.

Dr. Bornstein called attention to the fact also that the British Consul in New York now has the authority to issue Palestine visas instead of having such visas come from Palestine, as was the case for a time.

Dr. Goldstein observed that according to Dr. Bornstein's report there are a great many capitalists waiting for permission to go to Palestine, whereas in the report of the Jewish Agency it is indicated that several capitalist certificates had remained unused.

Dr. Bornstein explained that some American capitalists could not utilize their certificates since they could not get visas for their families, while some were waiting for improved conditions but there are no unused capitalist certificates on hand in America.

Dr. Bornstein urged that the Organization stimulate tourist activity so that the number should equal former proportions. He added also that by November, 1938, 500 Austrian visas will be granted, which will take care of 300 American applications, and that by March, 1939, about 500 Viennese (including all categories) may be able to be transferred to Palestine through their American relatives.

STATEMENT BY MR. DAVID HEIMANN :

The Chairman called upon Mr. David Heimann who spoke in German on the Jewish situation abroad, and expressed his appreciation of the cooperation of American Zionists.

REMARKS OF MR. ISTORIC :

Dr. Wise was asked by the Chairman to introduce Mr. Istorik of London. He referred to Mr. Istorik's achievements in the Jewish Colonial Trust and in the Anglo-Palestine Bank, and his services in connection with the financial activities of the World Zionist Organization.

Mr. Istorik spoke briefly as follows:

"No miracles have been done. We took every possible advantage of the period of prosperity in Palestine; and if I can claim something, it is that I have not missed any opportunities.

"It is only natural that a man who is in the world of Palestine finance should be asked what is the position in the world of finance today and what we can expect in the near future.

The balance in our Bank which we have just published shows that the situation is not as bad as it looks from far away. Our fundamental institutions are doing quite well. If you will have an opportunity to read the report of the General Mortgage Bank of Palestine, from which you will see the enormous turnover in loans that these banks grant to clients, then you will have a correct impression of how things are going on. Political uncertainty, however, has caused a great deal of trouble, to the extent that private initiative has been stifled.

We in London set ourselves to a very difficult task five years ago, a task in which I had claimed pride in having succeeded in the highest possible measure, and that is, to prove to the non-Jewish world that Palestine is ripe for investment. You know how London is being looked up to as the financial center of the world. We had to reconstruct the method of conducting business in our leading institutions. That means the reconstruction of the Jewish Colonial Trust, the Anglo-Palestine Bank, the Keren Hayesod, and we brought them up to such a state that the non-Jew has found them to be good, sound security for the money invested in Palestine. You can compare the Keren Hayesod loans in 1934 and the recent one, and you cannot possibly regard these loans as anything but an expression of hope and confidence which the non-Jew has in Palestine. The leading financiers do not look upon Palestine as badly as do the Jews themselves.

"Two weeks ago I had a very great satisfaction to carry a message to Palestine. Before leaving London I was busily engaged in finding money for ending unemployment in Palestine. There are different ways and means to be considered. There are municipal public works to be carried out in Tel Aviv and Haifa. We had succeeded in arranging a loan of £ 350,000 for twenty years for the Municipality of Haifa, for security, for water, etc. We told the Palestine Government that the Anglo-Palestine Bank would not fix the percentage of Jewish labor. In Haifa we have an assurance that the money will provide for quite a considerable time for half Jewish and half-Arab labor.

"I think that this is the best evidence how a loan like this is being placed among the biggest possible companies. The Jewish banker has been an antagonist to every proposition that comes from Palestine. This is true of private people as well. We succeeded, however, in getting the confidence of non-Jewish elements, and I think this is of great importance. This last loan is a source of satisfaction as to how the future looks. There is nothing wrong with Palestine itself. It is a good, payable, commercial proposition. I think what I have just told you is good evidence that we can look with hope and confidence at the future of Palestine. Don't lose hope.

"So much for business and finance. I want to tell you just another word that is really outside of my work. You have heard about Hanita. We passed off the main road to Haifa and the very remote northern frontier to Syria, with Hartzfeld and all our young men who carry on the guard duty, and I took part in a demonstration meeting. These 92 young boys who were picked from all the old colonies are the people in Hanita. When you look around from Hanita, you see what a dangerous spot is being occupied, all of primary importance from a strategic point of view. If anyone goes there it is simply to have a look and to get a proper impression of the spirit that prevails in the country. The spirit of Hanita is the spirit of people who say: We are here and we are going to stay here, no matter what will happen. Out of the 92 persons, 42 are engaged in work in the fields, while as many as 50 are engaged in guard duty, day and night. These pioneers do the simple work which falls upon them, with great honor.



"Everybody knows what is the real meaning of Hanita. Hartzfeld asked me to talk about Hanita wherever I go. I must tell you of the great spirit of hope and confidence which prevails there.

REPORT ON EDUCATION DEPARTMENT :

In connection with the report on the Education Department, the Chairman observed that Dr. Golub was not present, but that he has been submitting reports regularly to the Executive.

REPORT ON UNITED PALESTINE APPEAL :

Judge Rothenberg asked Mr. Lipsky to report on the United Palestine Appeal.

Mr. Lipsky stated that he would report informally, since he did not have the actual figures before him. He pointed out that the impression was that conditions in the United States warranted this year a decrease in the income of the UPA, nevertheless the UPA, together with the JDC, both in Welfare Funds and independent campaigns, have gotten much more favorable returns than last year. New York, for instance, will produce about \$150,000 more this year, and the same is true in all large communities, and all along the line despite economic conditions.

Dr. Goldstein supplemented the above report by stating that as of May 15th the income of the UPA for 1938 in cash and pledges is somewhat in excess of \$1,000,000, an increase over the same period last year. It must be borne in mind, however, that this year Chicago and Baltimore, two of the largest producers in the UPA, may not conduct campaigns. Therefore, it is hoped that the increase in other communities throughout the country will make up for these two omissions. If this be the case, we can regard the UPA intrinsically more successful this year, which is a remarkable record in view of business conditions.

Dr. Goldstein called attention to the fact also that in a number of communities the overseas campaigns -- the UPA or the JDC -- are being used by the local committees to promote the raising of funds for their local activities, whereas, in the allocations, the overseas budget receives a shameful fraction of the total. He cited the example of one community, where out of a total budget of \$35,000, the sum of \$2,400 was allocated for Palestine, \$3,000 for the JDC, and \$700 for various European Yeshivot, indicating a lack of understanding and responsibility. Dr. Goldstein urged insistence on proportionate allocations, and that all members of the Administrative Committee should make themselves responsible for proportionate allocation in their respective communities.

Dr. Goldstein pointed out also that in some communities complaints are heard on the part of the heads of the Welfare Funds that Zionists are not sufficiently active as donors and solicitors in local Welfare Fund campaigns. While he felt that this indictment was not justified, he urged that the Zionists make their participation felt, especially in order that they may insist upon the UPA receiving its proper share of the total, and also reflect credit on the Zionist attitude toward Jewish life in this country.

Judge Rothenberg agreed with Dr. Goldstein about the inadequacy of the amount for overseas work in some of the smaller communities, but that this was not the case in most of the larger cities, where the proportion is at least 50% and in some cases 75%.

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS :

With regard to the American Jewish Congress, Mr. Lipsky made the following statement:

"If the purpose of this report is to introduce a discussion which will lead to some action, it would be in order. As a matter of fact, everything done by the American Jewish Congress has been a matter of public knowledge. The American Jewish Congress is now engaged in an action which all of us who are in the Congress regard as fundamental not only to the movement of the Golum called American Jewish Congress, but important and significant for the entire Zionist movement. We are facing this year of 1938 the culmination of a struggle for the organization of Jewish life in America which started over 35 years ago. In every struggle that took place, the Zionists were found on one side, and on the other side, all the non-Zionists, anti-Zionists and anti-nationalists. This struggle here this year has in it something which should provoke a climax. In 1914 we expected that at the end of the war there would be an opportunity for the Jewish people to register ideological considerations in the demands to be made at the peace conference. At the present time what is facing the Jews of this country and the world is a breakdown of the Golum front of the Jews, which affects the position vitally. So far as Zionists are concerned, Poland has dropped out of the scene. Roumania, Germany, Austria are dropping out of the scene so far as support of the Palestine front is concerned. Attacks are now being made in many European lands against the Jewish people, in various forms in different parts of the world, and which are bound eventually to reach the front which we are defending with so much heroism and sacrifice in Palestine. And to imagine that in such a situation the Jewish people of America and other lands can be unorganized in their defense is an astoundingly unacceptable position for Zionists who should be the first to repudiate and reject this.

"We have been talking about some of the attacks which have been made — one of which was made in The New York Times by Dr. Goldenson. He represents in those remarks the classic conception of opposition to the Zionist movement which reaches down into the Congress movement and represents everything we have been fighting for since the beginning of the Congress movement. Must the Jews of America be dictated to by this small remnant which stands for that point of view, in the face of the vital and immediate issues affecting Jewish life?

"The American Jewish Congress is a very inadequate body, but it does represent the embodiment of those ideas which have to do with the Golum position of the Jews, instead of having the dominant view with regard to the state of the Jewish people spoken not by the Jews themselves but by organized private concerns who undertake in their private capacity the defense of Jewish rights. We have in the United States organizations who regard defense of public interests as belonging to anybody who wants to pick it up.

"The American Jewish Congress has been forced into this position by the development of Jewish life. Anybody who was in London at the time of the



Actions Committee meeting when Hitler moved into Austria, will agree that we are facing one of the most audacious attacks upon a people, and all over the world Jewsthemselves are disorganized and disunited with regard to the whole matter. And the American Jewish Congress undertook in proper American way to go through with democratic elections and submit this fundamental question as to whether Jewish rights shall be defended by private or public organizations -- organizations which have public responsibilities, or those who recognize no public responsibilities.

"This movement by the Congress has evoked a most amazing response on the part of the public. There never has been a matter of Jewish interest conducted with so much enthusiasm and fervor and personal vital concern as is now being displayed in connection with the Congress -- not since the days of the Kishinov pogroms. The thousands upon thousands of Jews who are registering themselves, is an indication of how deeply Jews are stirred by the feeling that in this great world where there is no justice -- no parliament, no tribunal where the rights of the Jewish people can be heard -- that the Jewish people themselves must organize for their defense.

"What we are dealing with now is not so much about our intellectual position but the vital concern as to what is going to happen to Jewish life, and they are afraid it will introduce here in America a lot of Jewish organizations in the defense of Jewish rights, because they feel that that undermines their position, disturbs them, embarrasses them, and they feel as if they have come into a new world, but sooner or later they will have to defend themselves against these conditions, though they prefer rather to misrepresent these conditions, than to face them.

"We are dealing now with a proposition which is materialistic, which is real. The whole Jewish world is going through a transformation in which Palestine is seriously affected. You cannot establish a free Jewish State with the whole world in arms against us, surrounded by a world in a flame of anti-Semitism. We must build up the Golan and prevent it from crumbling. That sentiment to which we are appealing to the Jews in the United States is the same as we are appealing to in connection with the Zionist movement. We are appealing to the Jews to defend themselves, to free themselves from the oppression of those who want to exterminate them, and to leave it to no others to do it.

"I am sorry to say that a lot of Zionists are confused in the situation. They are afraid of the consequences and feel as if we are borrowing trouble and disturbing the tenor of Jewish life. We postponed the issue when we made the compromise of peace with the American Jewish Committee and went out of business when the war was over. We made compromises in connection with the Jewish Agency. We did that gladly and willingly, but in the issues involved at the present time there is no possibility for further compromise; the issue has to be fought out, and I am convinced that we, the Zionist bloc in Jewish life should be firm and determined to move on with these elections. The same gentlemen now opposed will be convinced ultimately that it is to their interests to come in and have unity among Jews, but not until we have demonstrated the power and strength of union, will they be prepared to come in and establish a Jewish people worthy of the name, in the service of which thousands will be proud to sacrifice everything they possess. This spirit of sacrifice can only be evoked if we build up the feeling that Palestine is the centre, and around it is a bastion of defense which cannot be overthrown.

"We are hopeful here that today at this meeting the Zionists will begin to realize that this apathy among some Zionist leaders ought to disappear, and vote when the day comes.

"It is better to have these printed statements from the opposition so that the public can read the difference, and not have only one-sided attacks and no reply. If this goes on for another two or three weeks, the air will be cleared and new forces will be created, and out of this that will be created by the American Jewish Congress, the Zionist movement is bound to have greater benefit and tremendous significance to the future of our work."

Mr. Goldberg pointed out that many of the men who are active in the Zionist movement consider it their proper duty to be active in the work of the American Jewish Congress. Without the aid of the Zionists, the American Jewish Congress would never have come into being. Not only the leaders but the rank and file of the Zionist Organization made it possible. The Zionist Organization felt that it was essential for us to indicate that Zionists are not merely satisfied to build a Homeland for the Jews in Palestine but also teach Jews how to fight and to defend themselves. Now it is evident that we have neglected a great deal. President Wilson agreed to the Peace Treaty because he was afraid the League of Nations may be ready to sacrifice certain points, which now have come to plague us. Palestine became very important to us, and we had to raise 65 or 65% of the budget, so we gave up many points to win over the rich. The question is: Have we the right now to stand by, and on the basis of a promise, give up the fight for Jewry? We believe in a boycott; the non-Zionists and anti-Zionists do not believe in it. We believe in demonstration; they do not believe in them. Perhaps they are very sincere. Rabbi Goldenson may be a very honest man and an ideal man. Since he is an ideal man, and, as Dr. Wise indicated, an anti-nationalist, Dr. Goldenson does not believe that the Jews have a right to do anything except maintain their philosophy of religion. Rabbi Goldenson is not even in the Agency. He denies that we have a right to build our Homeland. He denies that there is any bond among Jews in the world except that of religion.

Mr. Goldberg expressed the belief that Zionists have been negligent, and because of that neglect, many of our members do not understand the issue now before us. It is not sufficient that our leaders are working; we actually need the rank and file. Hadassah refuses to participate in the American Jewish Congress activity, which implies their disbelief in the need for unity among the Jews. In the referendum we invited the various groups to unite as one voice, but they do not want to accept the principle that the majority rules, and they accuse us of being dictatorial and totalitarian. Zionism is a question of the Jewish people. Not only the Zionists, but the entire Jewry of America should have a voice in the problems of the refugees coming from Austria and Germany. The American Jewish Committee and other groups refuse to come in and discuss the question. If, as Mr. Lipsky says, we are the very backbone of the movement, we must have the man-power, and the Zionist movement must do its full share in this emergency. On the agenda of the Executive and the Administrative Committee meetings of the ZOA should be placed the American Jewish Congress, so that it becomes a real movement of which the Zionists will be a constituent part.

Mr. Spicohandler felt that something is basically wrong with the American Jewish Congress movement. He did not agree with Mr. Lipsky's views.



Instead of being called to the Zionist Organization, we are called to some other organization, which will eventually, he believed, become the Frankenstein of the Zionist movement. Right now the attention of the Jewish people is being drawn away from the Palestine scene. According to Mr. Lipsky, the forces of the Zionist movement will have to be gathered through the American Jewish Congress. We ought to be glad that the American Jewish Committee and others are not joining with the American Jewish Congress. He reiterated his belief that the work must be done through the Zionist Organization, and commended the National Board of Hadassah for having passed a resolution against participating officially in the American Jewish Congress. Hadassah is courageous, he said; Hadassah understands that the aim of the Zionist movement is a Jewish State in Palestine and that the Zionist Congress should be the only Jewish Congress. Only Zionists should deal with the problems of the Jewish people he declared.

Mr. Allen stated that he favors the Congress, having been one of its organizers and having held the position of Hebrew Secretary of the Congress twenty years ago. What he will say, therefore is intended to help strengthen the Congress and to make it a really potent factor in the affairs of Jewry in this country. Hence, he expressed the opinion that the printed statement of the Congress, "that we favor a united agency along democratic lines, in accordance with American ideals" is ambiguous and should be made more specific. American Jewry should be urged to vote for the American Jewish Congress, he felt, and if the Congress succeeds in getting 500,000 votes, that in itself will establish the potency of the Congress in all Jewish affairs. He proposed, therefore, that this meeting should call upon the officers of the Congress either to modify the language of the proposal, or to eliminate it, and only to call upon American Jewry to vote for delegates in the coming election, thus indicating to the rest of the world and to American Jewry that we want a democratic form of representation.

Mr. Elihu Stone observed that some of us can remember when Mr. Lipsky delivered the same speech with the same fervor and conviction against the Congress a few years ago.

(Here Mr. Lipsky rose to a point of order, to correct that observation; namely, that Mr. Stone referred to remarks made by him at the time when the question of the World Jewish Congress was under discussion.)

Dr. Wise objected to the personal observations made by Mr. Stone, instead of discussing the question before the Committee; namely, shall this body, affiliated with the American Jewish Congress, take action on the elections and referendum, and specify the action to be taken.

Mr. Stone continued by stating that the observations made by Mr. Spicchandler are real. We don't know in advance what elements will constitute the Congress, nor their basic ideologies. Therefore, Zionists ought to have certain safeguards. Palestine should not be placed on the agenda of the Congress as a controversial matter, but must become part of the fundamental law of the Congress. Mr. Stone agreed, however, that we should cooperate fully, and register and vote, and let Zionists dominate the next Congress.

Mr. Lipsky desired to correct the record. He said that the remarks made by Mr. Stone in connection with his change of position were based on a misreading of the record. He had appeared before the Administrative Committee

of the Zionist Organization, in an argument against the calling of the World Jewish Congress at a certain time. He said he had always been an opponent of democratic elections in the American Jewish Congress, but, being a democrat in the Congress, he acquiesced in the majority decision which was made by the Zionists and by the Administrative Committee of the ZOA, at Zionist Conventions and at Congress meetings at which Zionists predominated. He has never opposed the American Jewish Congress in any form, hence the remarks of Mr. Stone are entirely incorrect and unwarranted.

Mr. Richards said that he did not sympathize with the point of view of Rabbi Goldenson nor with the opposite point of view of Mr. Spicchandler. Though in his opinion popular elections are too cumbersome and difficult, now that this has been decided upon, the ZOA, as an affiliate of the Congress, must take its part in the election. He expressed the hope that this election will help to strengthen the Congress and help to create a more vigorous agency to strengthen the Congress and help to create a more vigorous agency to combat anti-Semitism and fight for Jewish rights. However he believed that the idea that the Congress will bring unity into American Jewish life and be the uniting agency in American Jewry, is an illusion. There have been times when the heads of the Zionist Organization supported the Congress, and sometimes they did not, he added. He appreciated the more vigorous and more consistent attitude of the Zionists toward the Congress, which would strengthen it as a factor in American Jewish life.

Dr. Wise said he did not think it necessary to argue very much about this matter. Mr. Lipsky has put the case unanswerably well. Both he and Mr. Lipsky had the privilege a few days ago of having a conference with a number of distinguished gentlemen representing other American Jewish organizations. They were in conference for two and a half hours and it was all conducted in a friendly manner. The major objection to the American Jewish Congress elections and the official referendum was this: That if we succeed in having a great election and an overwhelming vote for the referendum, we will create an impression of Jewish solidarity which will injure us in the sight of non-Jews. There was no balancing of consideration; there was no weighing of the hurt that is done by non-solidarity and divisiveness in Jewish life. But we were asked to consider that we would create an impression that would be hurtful if we made it clear that Jews are united. Dr. Wise added that he found utterance of that fear in the statement of Dr. Goldenson. This meeting should offer a resolution of protest against the intolerable and impractical use of the term totalitarian and the use of the term Hitler-like in connection with any action taken by any Jewish body.

Replying to statements made by Messrs. Stone and Spicchandler, Dr. Wise said that he believed they have a case against the Congress. Mr. Spicchandler he thought seemed to feel that the ZOA or the World Zionist Organization should not accept the Galuth as a separate problem, that it is merely tributary to Zionism, and he foresees the danger of a strong Galuth dealing with Galuth problems. As a good Zionist, Mr. Spicchandler knows that we have had that problem before us for twenty years, and that the ultimate and considered decision of the Zionists was that the Zionist Organization could not deal with Galuth problems. As an example, Dr. Wise cited Dr. Weizmann's statement to the effect that he cannot go to Geneva and speak for the Zionist Organization or for the Jewish Agency, and on the following day meet with the Polish Ambassador or representative at Geneva whom he has won over to Zionism; and then attend a session of the League of Nations at Geneva.



Mr. Stone is afraid, Dr. Wise said, that Zionism may not have its dominant place in the American Jewish Congress. The American Jewish Congress was initiated in behalf of Zionism, Dr. Wise pointed out. There is only one purpose, namely, Palestine, and a democratic organization of Jewish life. Mr. Justice Brandeis with his one-track mind, and his one supreme devotion to Palestine, was really not concerned about anything else than this: the democratic organization of Jewish life on behalf of Palestine and on behalf of Zionism. But Mr. Brandeis did not foresee certain things that were going to happen and that have happened for the last twenty years. Now the elections are here; shall we refrain from the elections? Mr. Richards might say that it is ill-advised to have elections now, Dr. Wise added; but even Mr. Richards, with his prognosis for the future, is prepared to admit that we must go to the elections as far as unity is concerned.

Replying to Mr. Allen's statement regarding the referendum, Dr. Wise pointed out that every election fixes a referendum. For example, the referendum of an American political election is: Do you accept the Democratic or the Republican platform? We do not have two platforms; we do not have two referenda; we have one referendum. How can we leave out the democratic and representative basis, Dr. Wise asked? Is it Zionism to reject democracy? Herzl's supreme aim was the democratic organization and self-liberation of the Jewish people. If Herzl had lived he would have been two years younger than Justice Brandeis. But anything that savored of democratic self-organization Herzl believed in. That is why he called a Congress. Every Congress deals with a referendum. Naturally, this referendum is a simple, honest question. The Chairman, as a lawyer and a judge, knows how difficult it is to print four lines. How many of the articles of the Constitution of the United States is anyone able simply to define and say they are clear beyond the shadow of a doubt, Dr. Wise asked. Mr. Lipsky and our associates, as well as himself, are not such geniuses that they could draw up a four-line referendum which is beyond all doubt and beyond all criticism, Dr. Wise declared, but they had done their best.

Dr. Wise appealed to Mr. Spicohandler and Mr. Stone, as well as to all present, that, as Zionists and as Jews, they should not vote against the ZOA's participation in the elections and in the referendum. Dr. Wise added that if he thought that any organization of the Galuth in the world today would in any way hurt Zionism or Eretz Yisroel, he would give up the organization of the Galuth. For him, he reiterated, Palestine comes before anything else. And the same is true of Mr. Lipsky. Both he and Mr. Lipsky feel that the organization of Jewish life in the Galuth on a democratic basis contributes to the strengthening and ultimate unification of Jewish life everywhere, in the interest of Eretz Yisroel. Dr. Wise added that he had not gone into the Zionist movement in order to be President; as an old, old Zionist he knew that the more Jewish life is strengthened on the basis of a democratic and representative life, the more will we be able to do for Palestine. The anti-Zionists have suddenly been resurrected. The non-Zionists of the Agency are beginning to make utterances. Against us are the assimilationists; against us is Temple Emanu-El. But let us, he urged, nationalist, Zionist Jews stand together and vote as one for the elections and for the referendum.

Mr. Kahn said it is clear that we must cooperate in order to make this effort a success, and the full cooperation of the Jewish press must be enlisted. In this connection he urged that "The Day" be asked to do its full duty.

The Chairman ruled this proposal out of order.

Mr. Cowen then moved, and it was seconded and carried

THAT, as an affiliate of the American Jewish Congress, the Zionist Organization of America reaffirms its support of the Congress and its approval of the elections and referendum, and urges all Zionist Districts and members to expedite this work and participate in the election.

(this was passed by a vote of 31 against 2)

PROPOSAL OF JUDGE ROSENBLATT FOR A "UNITED STATES OF PALESTINE":

"I am pleased to listen to Zionist speeches because in Palestine there are no Zionist speeches. Palestine offers you that platform upon which we can all unite.

"There are no secrets. Nobody really knows what is going to happen. There are two theories: one is the theory of the President of the World Zionist Organization, that the Technical Commission will report for Partition in about two months, and that in about four months we will be ready for a World Zionist Congress, and Partition will become a fait accompli. There is another opinion in Palestine, that the Technical Commission will give its blessings to Partition, but democratically, they will say that 'technically' it is impossible.

"From the point of view of the Palestine population, generally, we are slowly coming to the conclusion that the whole issue of Partition, as formulated, unwittingly has become a false issue; that the man who is for Partition, has a picture of a Jewish State that will include all of Galilee, Haifa, the coastal plain and the Sharon Valley, and in part at least, New Jerusalem, and the Negev to be reserved for later occupation by the Jews. And seeing that picture in his mind, he says he is ready to sacrifice, Nablus, Tulkarem and Jenin which 'we haven't got anyway' in order to get a Jewish State.

"The man against Partition, on the other hand, has an entirely different mental picture. He is convinced that Northern Galilee will not be ours; that Haifa we will never get because England wants to maintain a naval base there; that Jerusalem is out of the question; that the corridor will split the little Jewish State so that it becomes an impossibility; that the Negev will never be ours; that this reduced little state, perhaps half the size of Connecticut, twice the size of Rhode Island, is an impossibility politically, economically, etc.

"The difficulty is one of definition. If we accept the first picture, the chances are that many people who are condemning Partition will be ready to make the compromise. It is largely because of this view that it became evident in Palestine, month after month, while the discussions were going on



throughout the world, that we organized a committee in Haifa to study the whole question. The Committee consists of Herman Struck, Barth, Soloweitchok, Kaplansky and myself. After it was organized, we found that only one of us is for Partition. The other four were against Partition. We had on our Committee three former members of the Zionist Executive. We represented three parties -- two were Mizrachists, one General Zionist, and Kaplansky represented the Histadrut and practically broke with his own party on the question of Partition. We began to study this problem anew, and we came to the conclusion - which all of us unanimously accepted - that perhaps we 'can eat out pie and have it'. It was the feeling of everyone -- beautifully expressed by Soloweitchok, that the reason he cannot accept Partition is because he cannot admit for a moment that he should need a passport in order to go to Nablus or Jenin.

"And so we formulated something that is more than a mere proposition. We formulated a principle largely borrowed from American precedent whereby we can have a Jewish State and we don't have to have Partition. One thing was clear to all of us -- even to the most pronounced anti-Partitionist -- that once the flag of the Jewish State had been unfurled -- it became clear to us that merely yelling 'Partition' would not sway the great Jewish masses who felt once the Jewish flag was unfurled, we would have to find a way, if possible, to keep the Jewish State idea intact, and at the same time not to divide Palestine. And we worked out a plan something like this: the recognition of two states -- a Jewish State and an Arab State -- united together in a federal union, cemented through the British mandated territory over Nazareth, Bethlehen and old Jerusalem, and through this federal government to keep an undivided Palestine; the Federal government being one of delegated powers, restricted particularly to foreign affairs, defense, currencies, customs, but leaving every other right and privilege and sovereign power, such as we recognize in the State of New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, for instance, within the province of the recognized territories. On such a basis you would not need barbed wire fences between the two states. The states would be connected and divided like New Jersey from Pennsylvania with state line markings. You have the George Washington Bridge combining two states, or Kansas City spread over Missouri and Kansas, and the river, instead of separating them, uniting them.

"We did not want to do anything which might be construed as a hindrance in political negotiations, so we submitted our plans to the Jewish Agency, and finally the matter was presented to Dr. Weizmann. The following is a communication from Soloweitchok about the conversation that Kaplansky had with Dr. Weizmann about the whole plan:

'Weizmann is sympathetically inclined toward your initiative and thinks our Committee is doing something useful in working out a concrete plan on the basis of the proposal. Weizmann stated that in influential circles in London proposals similar to this have been considered. When Kaplansky asked Dr. Weizmann for his opinion with regard to this, on his return to Palestine, he said that he very much appreciated the initiative of Rosenblatt in these activities. He was not prepared to intervene in the question of his travelling to America or returning to Palestine.'

"In view of the confused reports coming to Palestine from America, and the fact that the four members of the Committee in Palestine are studying and ready to push this plan, it might be important for me to come to America and try to explain between Partition and anti-Partition, that there is a bridge of peace, first for us, and secondly for Palestine.

"I have not enough time for a complete analysis. The difficulty about Cantonization is that it involves practically nothing more than local self-government to be supervised by the same type of British officials who have tried to run the Mandate for twenty years, who are thoroughly unacquainted with local conditions. There is also the danger that Cantonization always puts the emphasis on a central government, a federal government, or a general government. Then we are face to face with what is a life and death struggle in Palestine. The question of immigration. If we can get a free and unrestricted Jewish immigration in Palestine for the next 20 years -- and we are given room for it -- there is no question that every other problem can be met. The only danger up to now has been the very simple one -- we can get peace with the Arabs if we agree to cut off immigration. That is something, of course, that we can never accept. That is why those who talk about temporary minorities, temporary restrictions in immigration, must be repudiated and will be rejected by the Jews of Palestine, because they know that it is a life and death measure to them. And free and unrestricted immigration is important not only because of the Jews in Eastern and Central Europe, but because the very life blood of Palestine depends upon it. 450,000 Jews are unable to increase, are unable to develop economically and build up the country, even if they give us a big territory that we will not be able to penetrate because there is no immigration.

"On the other hand, peace with the Arabs is essential provided we can get a just and lasting peace which will give us the maximum of immigration. And so we have discussed this matter informally again with Arab leaders, without commitments, and there is every reason to believe that there is an opportunity to put this thing through -- of a Jewish State much larger than we can hope for, if we put it through in the teeth of opposition. If we can convince the Arabs that they can go to Haifa, to Jaffa and the coast through the Jewish State, we reduce the whole basis of argument -- not setting up a Holland or Belgium or Switzerland or France, but a New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, united in federal form. We can then have the argument that we get the whole of Galilee included, Haifa, the Sharon, and possibly setting up the Negov as federal territory to which both Jews and Arabs might be able to immigrate, and eventually of course that must be a Jewish State.

"The other, Cantonization, may take away some of that freedom to regulate our own legislation through the Jewish State. That is why we have accepted the word "federal" and rejected the word "confederation" for obvious reasons. It has been used by Arabs to unite the Arabs of Syria and Iraq with Palestine, and to create a Jewish minority and take away from Nablus, Tulkarem and Jenin. If we take in this Arab State of Nablus, Tulkarem and Jenin, and Trans-Jordan in equal partnership, you build up an undivided Palestine. However I have reason to expect that our pull to the Arabs to Haifa and Jerusalem will be greater for them than to Damascus and Baghdad."

(Here the Chairman asked about free immigration -- whether into the whole of Palestine or Jewish Palestine).



Judge Rosenblatt replied as follows:

"In Palestine we are building our own federal system. We can surrender a great many things but not Jewish immigration. We must determine the economic and political absorptive capacity of Jewish Palestine. This brings up the question whether Jews are likely to move freely from the Jewish to the Arab State. We cannot expect that in the beginning they will be able to do that, for the Arabs will be afraid that we will swamp them in ten years. To offset that, we are working on a scheme of federal government which should have the right to decide what would be the rights of the citizens of one state if they move for residence, or temporary residence or business, or sojourn in other states. This would give us the right to penetrate into the Negov and the right to free immigration within the Jewish area -- which would be good for twenty years, and in the course of those twenty years we hope that the respective rights of Jews in the Arab state and Arabs in the Jewish State will be safeguarded -- and they will need us at least as much as we will need them, because Haifa and Galilee will be in the Jewish State. That will mean reciprocal arrangements, and it will be possible that we will be able at least economically to penetrate the Arab State. Furthermore under one system of customs, we would get the benefit of a large free trade territory upon which industries could work."

Rabbi Miller inquired from Judge Rosenblatt whether Great Britain will have a part in this?

Judge Rosenblatt replied:

"All this is subject to change and offers merely a basis upon which we can build on the principle of peace plus immigration. If we cannot get immigration, we will reject peace. The Federal Council will consist of five persons, two of whom would be Jews, two Arabs, and presided over by the High Commissioner over the mandated territory.

"Great Britain would have to handle foreign affairs and defense, customs, interstate commerce, etc."

Dr. Wise stated: "If there is a fear, and I have it constantly, that if there be Partition, we will not get Upper Galilee, nothing north of Haifa, nothing south of Jaffa, and we may even lose New Jerusalem, what advantage does this plan offer to the Arabs, which will move them to be ready to say that, even in the temporary Jewish State you can have Upper Galilee and we will be satisfied?"

Judge Rosenblatt replied: "Today even a small state without Galilee, the Arabs will not accept but would have to be imposed. But the moderate party of the Arabs are disgusted beyond measure. It is only terror that keeps them where they are. Once an actual settlement is made, I am absolutely convinced that the Arabs will accept it, perhaps with this reservation: if we have a separate Jewish state with a barbed wire fence, we will have continued attacks. If Great Britain decrees that there be two states and united through some federal form, I am absolutely convinced that it will be accepted. Once Great Britain imposes that, we can get Arab public opinion to support it."

"Everyone has fears, but Great Britain is also getting tired, and she will ultimately put through either Partition which is not acceptable to us, or she will go back to the Mandate, which is worse yet, because with restricted immigration we will be hopelessly lost. Therefore possibly the third alternative of federalism, tied up so that Great Britain at least will have veto power restricted to foreign affairs, customs, etc. -- that on such a basis, I am convinced that we will win sufficient Arab support to make it a lasting federal union and to get immigration which is the life blood of the country."

Meeting adjourned 6:30 P.M.

Respectfully submitted

MORRIS MARGULIES

Secretary



החברות הציוניות של ארצות הברית

# ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA



111 FIFTH AVENUE  
NEW YORK

STEPHEN S. WISE  
*President*

May 31, 1938

ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN  
JOSEPH KRAEMER  
WILLIAM M. LEWIS  
ABBA HILLEL SILVER  
ELIHU D. STONE  
NATHAN STRAUSS  
*Vice-Presidents*

MORRIS ROTHENBERG  
*Chairman, Admin. Committee*

LUDWIG LEWISOHN  
*Honorary Secretary*

MORRIS MARGULIES  
*Secretary*

## EXECUTIVE

LOUIS LIPSKY  
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ABRAHAM GOLDSTEIN  
RABBI EDWARD L. ISRAEL  
RABBI ISRAEL H. LEVINthal  
SAMUEL MARKEWICH  
RABBI IRVING MILLER  
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A. J. RONGY  
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ISAAC IMBER  
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ABRAHAM LIEBOVITZ  
ELIAS PREISS  
LOUIS RIMSKY  
SIGMUND THAU

ISRAEL MALTIN  
*Auditor*

TO THE CHAIRMEN AND SECRETARIES  
OF ZIONIST DISTRICTS:

Dear Friends:

## I. NEW DISTRICT CHARTER IN PLAQUE FORM:

A new and improved charter, in plaque form, finished in the so-called Porceloid Process, is now available to all Districts, in accordance with arrangements made with the producers of this new type of plaque. Districts are now able to obtain at the moderate cost of only \$2.00 complete, including postage, a new charter mounted on a beautiful streamlined plaque with a glazed surface, smooth as porcelain tile. It is unbreakable and can be washed readily with a damp cloth. The new plaque will save Districts the expense of framing, as the plaque has an attractive border in mahogany finish, with the charter edged by a border of gold leaf. The back of each plaque is finished in a dark walnut wood stain, and is equipped with a special hanger.

We have succeeded in obtaining such plaques at half-price, and we warmly recommend Districts desiring to obtain the new and improved charters to make immediate reservation for them by remitting checks for \$2.00 together with the exact name of the District.

We are enclosing herewith a photostatic copy of this plaque. Although it depicts the plaque in its surface form, the photograph does not reflect the fine appearance of the original.

## II. IMPORTANT REPRINT:

We are enclosing herewith a Reprint of an absorbing statement entitled "On Marshy Ground" by Rabbi Edw. L. Israel, containing a vigorous exposition of the Zionist ideology and program. We believe that this pamphlet will serve to refute many misrepresentations and distortions of Zionism.

May 31, 1938

-2-

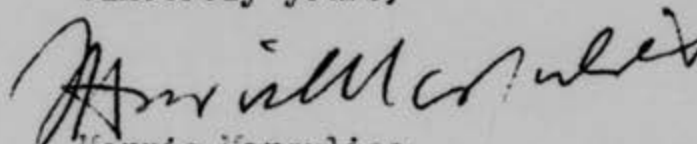
spread by certain circles.

We are ready to furnish you for distribution any quantity ordered, free of charge.

Please indicate on the enclosed card the number of copies you wish us to send you.

With Zion's Greetings,

Sincerely yours,

  
Morris Margulies,  
Secretary.

-----  
PLEASE FILL OUT AND DETACH  
-----

I am enclosing herewith \$2.00 for which kindly send me a new charter in plaque form.

Full name and number of District

\_\_\_\_\_

City and State

\_\_\_\_\_

Signed

\_\_\_\_\_  
President or Secretary



החברות הציונית של ארצות הברית

# ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA



111 FIFTH AVENUE  
NEW YORK

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*President*

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MORRIS ROTHENBERG  
*Chairman, Admin. Committee*

LUDWIG LEWISOHN  
*Honorary Secretary*

MORRIS MARGULIES  
*Secretary*

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ELIAS PREISS  
LOUIS RIMSKY  
SIGMUND THAU

ISRAEL MALTIN  
*Auditor*

May 31, 1938.

TO THE CHAIRMEN AND SECRETARIES  
OF ZIONIST DISTRICTS:

Dear Fellow-Zionists:

## ELECTIONS TO AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS:

Once more we desire to draw the attention of the Districts to the forthcoming Elections of the American Jewish Congress, scheduled to be held on June 25-26-27. All Districts are urged to take an active part in the efforts to obtain the largest possible number of registrations in order to help secure in the coming Elections at least one million votes in defense of Jewish rights at home and abroad, including Palestine.

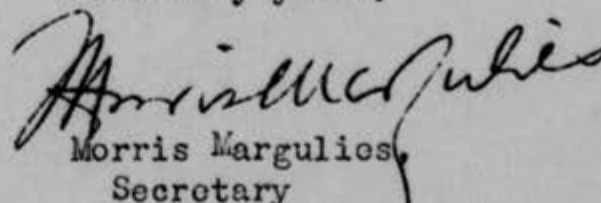
Prior to the Elections, nomination conventions are to be held in all of the Congressional districts into which the country has been divided by the Congress Board of Elections. Zionist Districts are urged to take the initiative in the convening of these nomination conventions at which District Board of Elections will be organized and required number of candidates for delegates will be nominated.

As a constituent body of the American Jewish Congress, it behooves us to exert every effort to insure the success of this important activity in which every Jew concerned with the fate of his brethren in Europe must participate.

We therefore call upon all Districts to take the initiative in enlisting the cooperation of all Organizations in the community, both in bringing about a large registration and in securing a 100% turn out in the elections.

With Zion's Greetings,

Sincerely yours,

  
Morris Margulies,  
Secretary

ההסתדרות הציונית של ארצות הברית

# ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA



111 FIFTH AVENUE  
NEW YORK

STEPHEN S. WISE  
*President*

June 7, 1938

ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN  
JOSEPH KRAEMER  
WILLIAM M. LEWIS  
ABBA HILLEL SILVER  
ELIHU D. STONE  
NATHAN STRAUS  
*Vice-Presidents*

Dr. A. H. Silver, National Chairman  
UNITED PALESTINE APPEAL  
BUILDING

MORRIS ROTHENBERG  
*Chairman, Admin. Committee*

Dear Dr. Silver:

LUDWIG LEWISOHN  
*Honorary Secretary*

I take pleasure in inviting your organization to be represented at the 41st Annual Convention of the Zionist Organization of America to be held at the Hotel Statler, Detroit, Mich., from July 2 to July 5, 1938, inclusive.

MORRIS MARGULIES  
*Secretary*

## EXECUTIVE

LOUIS LIPSKY  
CHARLES A. COWEN  
M. MALDWIN FERTIG  
ABRAHAM GOLDBERG  
ABRAHAM GOLDSTEIN  
RABBI EDWARD L. ISRAEL  
RABBI ISRAEL H. LEVINthal  
SAMUEL MARKEWICH  
RABBI IRVING MILLER  
CHARLES RESS  
A. J. RONGY  
CARL SHERMAN  
WILLIAM I. SIEGEL  
ROBERT SZOLD

This Convention will be of unusual significance in view of the present emergency confronting the Jewish Homeland and the pressing problems relating to the situation, which the delegates will be called upon to discuss and render a decision. The demand for the removal of all immigration restrictions into Palestine in order to enable the immediate settlement of large masses of our persecuted brethren from Germany, Austria and other European countries, will be the principal item on the agenda dealing with the political situation.

*Associate Members*  
ISAAC IMBER  
ADRIAN SCHWARTZ

It is intended that through the medium of our forthcoming Convention shall be heard the voice of a united American Zionism in support of our just demands not only in respect to immigration but the preservation of our political rights as a whole.

## FINANCE COMMITTEE

LOUIS P. ROCKER  
*Chairman*

The forthcoming Convention, which will mark the completion of forty one years of Zionist endeavor in America, will also be called upon to consider plans for the broadening of all phases of Zionist activities in this country, with a view to increasing the effectiveness of our efforts for the upbuilding of the Jewish National Homeland.

MORRIS WEINBERG  
HARRY P. FIERST  
*Treasurers*

ABRAHAM KRUMBEIN  
ABRAHAM LIEBOVITZ  
ELIAS PREISS  
LOUIS RIMSKY  
SIGMUND THAU

We are therefore eager that your organization participate in the deliberations of our Convention, in order that we may have the benefit of your counsel in all matters discussed. Accordingly, I invite you to designate three representatives with voting rights, and I shall greatly appreciate having the names of your delegates before June 20th.

ISRAEL MALTIN  
*Auditor*

With Zion's Greetings,

Faithfully yours,

Stephen S. Wise  
President

SSW:BN



ההסתדרות הציונית של ארצות הברית

# ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA



111 FIFTH AVENUE  
NEW YORK

STEPHEN S. WISE  
*President*

ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN  
JOSEPH KRAEMER  
WILLIAM M. LEWIS  
ABBA HILLEL SILVER  
ELIHU D. STONE  
NATHAN STRAUS  
*Vice-Presidents*

MORRIS ROTHENBERG  
*Chairman, Admin. Committee*

LUDWIG LEWISOHN  
*Honorary Secretary*

MORRIS MARGULIES  
*Secretary*

## EXECUTIVE

LOUIS LIPSKY  
CHARLES A. COWEN  
M. MALDWIN FERTIG  
ABRAHAM GOLDBERG  
ABRAHAM GOLDSTEIN  
RABBI EDWARD L. ISRAEL  
RABBI ISRAEL H. LEVINthal  
SAMUEL MARKEWICH  
RABBI IRVING MILLER  
CHARLES RESS  
A. J. RONGY  
CARL SHERMAN  
WILLIAM I. SIEGEL  
ROBERT SZOLD

*Associate Members*  
ISAAC IMBER  
ADRIAN SCHWARTZ

## FINANCE COMMITTEE

LOUIS P. ROCKER  
*Chairman*

MORRIS WEINBERG  
HARRY P. FIERST  
*Treasurers*

ABRAHAM KRUMBEIN  
ABRAHAM LIEBOVITZ  
ELIAS PREISS  
LOUIS RIMSKY  
SIGMUND THAU

ISRAEL MALTIN  
*Auditor*

June 8, 1938.

TO THE CHAIRMEN AND SECRETARIES  
OF ZIONIST DISTRICTS:

Dear Fellow-Zionists:

In view of the pressing problems to be discussed at our forthcoming Convention at Detroit, growing out of the present emergency facing our people and the Jewish Homeland, it is our earnest hope that your District will be represented by a full complement of Delegates elected from your own midst.

This Convention which will meet in a four-day session beginning Saturday night, July 2nd, at the Hotel Statler, will not only be called upon to deal with questions bearing upon the development of the Zionist movement in this country, but will serve as a demonstration of national unity in support of our just demands in Palestine.

However, in the event you are unable to send a Delegate from your own group, I am attaching herewith a list of prominent Zionists who have expressed a desire to serve as proxies. Because of the short time remaining until the Convention, I would urge you to make your designations immediately by filling out the Delegates' Election Blank and returning it to this office without delay.

With Zion's Greetings,

Sincerely yours,

*Morris Margulies*  
Morris Margulies,  
Secretary

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED	
DOMESTIC	CABLE
TELEGRAM	FULL RATE
DAY LETTER	DEFERRED
NIGHT MESSAGE	NIGHT LETTER
NIGHT LETTER	SHIP RADIOGRAM

Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise message will be transmitted as a full-rate communication.

# WESTERN UNION

R. B. WHITE  
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON  
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER  
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

1211-A

CHECK
ACCT'G INFMN.
TIME FILED

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

June 9 1938

RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER  
CLEVELAND, OHIO

ON EVE OF OUR FORTHCOMING CONVENTION AM SENDING YOU THIS ELEVENTH-HOUR  
APPEAL TO REDOUBLE YOUR EFFORTS TO BRING YOUR MEMBERSHIP UP TO THE  
FULLEST STRENGTH. FROM THIS CONVENTION A CALL WILL GO FORTH TO  
GREAT BRITAIN AND LEAGUE OF NATIONS URGING IMMEDIATE SUSPENSION  
OF IMMIGRATION RESTRICTIONS IN ORDER TO ENABLE SETTLEMENT IN PALESTINE  
OF LARGE MASSES OF OUR PERSECUTED BROTHERS FROM GERMANY AUSTRIA AND  
OTHER EUROPEAN COUNTRIES. WE EXPECT EVERY SINGLE DISTRICT TO JOIN  
AT CONVENTION IN ACTION DESIGNED TO SECURE FULFILLMENT OF THIS  
DEMAND. I THEREFORE URGE UPON YOU TO SEND FULL COMPLEMENT OF  
DELEGATES ON BASIS OF INCREASED MEMBERSHIP IN ORDER TO HELP US  
MAKE CONVENTION REPRESENTATIVE OF LARGEST NUMBER OF ORGANIZED ZIONISTS.  
WIRE OR WRITE ME IMMEDIATELY WHAT STEPS YOU ARE TAKING TO INCREASE  
YOUR MEMBERSHIP WITHIN NEXT FORTNIGHT.

STEPHEN S. WISE, PRESIDENT  
ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA



ADDRESS BY LOUIS P. ROCKER, CHAIRMAN, DELEGATION  
URGING DR. GOLDSTEIN FOR ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA PRESIDENCY  
Aldine Club, New York, Thursday, June 9, 1938

-----

We are mindful of the mission entrusted to us. We are here as a committee representing a large number of Zionists who have given us the mandate to speak on their behalf.

The announcement made by Dr. Stephen S. Wise, President of the Zionist Organization of America, that he will not be a candidate for reelection as its President, is a call on American Zionists to summon a new leader to succeed Dr. Wise, under whose presidency the Zionist Organization of America has made rapid strides. He has given of his matchless leadership to the cause of Eretz Israel upbuilding. He has wielded influence as a political force in Zionist affairs both at home and abroad.

We are desirous of choosing a successor in order to insure the acceleration of the progress made under Dr. Wise's leadership in the course of the last two years.

The Zionist Organization faces a two-fold problem. On the one hand as the representative of American Zionism it must exert abroad its utmost influence in the political and economic problems of Palestine. On the other hand, it faces at home the problem of organizing Zionist forces in their maximum strength, not only for the collection of funds but for the equally important task of organizing and administering its organization and forces in this country. The head of the Zionist Organization must be one who will be in a position to devote his time, his energy and his ability to both of these problems.

To achieve these objectives, we call upon you, Dr. Israel Goldstein, to stand as a candidate for the presidency of the Zionist Organization of America. We see in you the embodiment of those qualities that are so vitally necessary in the future strengthening of the Zionist Organization of America and in mobilizing that support which is indispensable for the cause of Palestine upbuilding.

Your fine work on behalf of the Zionist movement makes you the outstanding candidate for the presidency of our organization. Your election to this office will be the culmination of a long career in Zionist achievement that dates back two decades of Zionist service that began when you took a part in the organization of District No. 7. Your comparative youth will be added encouragement to bringing into our movement the youth of our country. We recall gratefully your Presidency of Young Judaea.

We feel sure that you will regard your election to the presidency not merely as a culmination and a reward for your fine work but as the acceptance of a new obligation in the furtherance of Zionist activity.

You have demonstrated your capacity for leadership as the President of the Jewish National Fund. For five consecutive terms you have raised that organization to a plane of activity hitherto unknown in the history of the Keren Kayemeth in this country. As Co-Chairman of the United Palestine Appeal, as Vice-President of the Zionist Organization of America, as the President of the Jewish Conciliation Court of America, you have demonstrated your extraordinary gifts as an able executive and leader. You enjoy the confidence of all groups in American Israel.

In asking you to declare yourself a candidate for the presidency of the Zionist Organization of America, we are mindful of the sacrifices that it will entail. We pledge you our cooperation.

This is a challenge at a time when so much hope is centered on American Zionists. We ask you to accept and are confident that you will receive the overwhelming support of the delegates who will attend the Forty-second Annual Convention of the Zionist Organization of America that will be held in Detroit, Michigan, on July 1, 1938.



STATEMENT BY DR. ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN  
REPLYING TO DELEGATION JUNE 9, 1938

----

To be deemed worthy by a group of prominent Zionists of leading the forces of the Zionist Organization of America for the coming administration, is a great compliment, and imposes great responsibility.

That our foremost leader, Dr. Wise, has declined to continue as President of the Zionist Organization of America upon the conclusion of his present term, is a matter of regret to me as it is to all Zionists. Two years ago, it was my happy privilege to have played some part in his unanimous election. Today more than ever, Dr. Wise would be the unanimous choice of American Zionists. In the light of his determined declination of a third term, however, the office of President will be vacant.

Fortunately, we can all feel assured that whatever may be Dr. Wise's official position in the movement, he will continue, by grace of his unparalleled gifts and unsurpassed devotion, to be our spokesman and our leader.

If the delegates at the forthcoming Zionist convention will call me to fill the vacancy in the office of President, I shall accept the call to service, fully cognizant of the difficulties and responsibilities which that office will impose. Both in Palestine and here in the United States, there are not only great difficulties which lie ahead, but also great opportunities for the Zionist Movement.

It is becoming increasingly evident that upon American Israel devolves the responsibility not only of providing the major part of the material resources for the upbuilding of the Jewish National Home, but also that of playing a very important part in the political affairs of the World Zionist Movement. By virtue of our potential strength as the largest free Jewish community in the world, and because of the urgent needs of the situation, we must become the strongest arm of the World Zionist Movement.

To the extent that the Zionist Organization of America can be made stronger and more efficient, the fulfillment of our responsibilities can be made the more realizeable. Therefore, great emphasis should be placed in the immediate future upon effective organization, efficient administration, larger membership, and the development of a broader base for the Zionist movement in this country. The fulfillment of these aims will require concentrated and continuous attention.

If elected, I shall devote myself to the daily problems of the Zionist Organization of America with the same concentration which I have given to the Jewish National Fund during the past five years. It will be with a heavy heart that I shall feel obliged to relinquish the Presidency of the Jewish National Fund, which has been a labor of love to me, but the larger demands of Zionist service will be heeded.

I have confidence in the predominantly Zionist sentiment of American Jewry, and believe that with effective organization it can be converted into tangible assets for our cause.



Louis P. Rocker  
Fifteen Broad Street  
New York

June 10, 1938

Rabbi A. H. Silver  
The Temple  
Cleveland, Ohio

My dear Rabbi Silver:

We are now on the eve of the 42nd Annual Convention of the Zionist Organization of America, which will take place in Detroit July 2nd-5th. The announcement made by Dr. Wise that he will not accept another term as President of the Zionist Organization of America, makes the question of his succession of vital concern to every Zionist in this country.

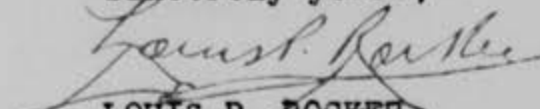
I am writing to you as a fellow Zionist and a leader of the Zionist Organization in your community, because I know you are just as concerned as we all are that the successor to Dr. Wise should be the ablest person we can command.

I am enclosing for your information a statement that I made on behalf of a delegation which called upon Dr. Goldstein, to ask him to accept our call to the leadership of the Zionist Organization of America.

I am sure you will welcome the news that appeared in today's press, that Dr. Goldstein will consent to accept a call from the Zionist Convention. I am enclosing herewith Dr. Goldstein's statement to the delegation.

Dr. Goldstein's record of Zionist service and as a brilliant administrator for the past two decades, assures us that he will make an able President of the Zionist Organization of America. I know you will wish to convey this information to your Zionist colleagues, and I would welcome a word of encouragement, so that we can assure Dr. Goldstein that he has the overwhelming support of all Zionists vitally interested in electing an efficient administration.

Sincerely yours,

  
LOUIS P. ROCKER

MERCANTILE DISCOUNT CORPORATION  
110 SOUTH DEARBORN STREET  
CHICAGO

A. H. ROSENBERG  
VICE PRESIDENT

June 17, 1938

My dear Friend:

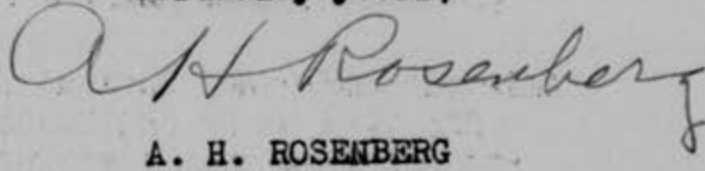
This is to confirm the wire sent you this week-end,  
which read as follows:

CONFIDENT RABBI GOLDMAN CAN BE PERSUADED  
ACCEPT PRESIDENCY ZIONIST ORGANIZATION  
OF AMERICA IF ELECTED. URGE COOPERATION.  
SUGGEST YOU INSTRUCT YOUR LOCAL DELEGATION  
TO DETROIT TO VOTE FOR RABBI GOLDMAN FOR  
PRESIDENT. APPRECIATE WORD FROM YOU TO-  
GETHER WITH SUGGESTIONS AS TO WHAT YOU  
WILL AND CAN DO IN YOUR IMMEDIATE VICINITY.

I need not tell you what a power and force Rabbi  
Goldman will prove as head of this most important  
Organization. His leadership will be a boon and  
value to our people. We need him.

Please follow through by wiring and writing your friends,  
urging them to draft Goldman for President of the Z.O.A.  
I am counting on your full support and cooperation, and  
await word from you within a day or so.

Cordially yours,



AHR:ALK

A. H. ROSENBERG



ההסתדרות הציונית של ארצות הברית



# Zionist Organization of America

ST. PAUL DISTRICT

CANTOR M. GOLDBERG, Secy.

HERSCHEL HORWITZ, PRESIDENT  
781 HAGUE AVE.

TEMPLE OF AARON, ASHLAND AVE. AND GROTTO ST.

ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA

L. C. PERLMAN, VICE PRES.

RABBI H. M. COHEN, TREASURER

June 17, 1938

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver  
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Rabbi Silver:

I know that your time is very valuable, therefore I will confine myself to a few lines.

The announcement made by Rabbi S. Wise that he will not accept another term as president of the Zionist Organization of America, makes the question of his successor a very serious problem to every Zionist.

I have attended many Zionist Conventions and, believe, that I know almost every leader in the Zionist movement. In my opinion you are the only one that can take over the task and problems of this movement with the assurance that not only every Zionist will give you his full-hearted support, but with a great deal of expectation that tens of thousands of our fellow Jews who have not yet enlisted in this Organization will come in and help the furthering of this course.

I was elected delegate and expect to attend our next Convention in Cleveland, and I am confident that if you will except the candidacy you will get the support of all the ~~candidates~~ delegates. Meanwhile we will come in contact with every district in the country and I am sure that the responses will be very encouraging.

Awaiting your prompt reply, I remain

Sincerely Yours,

*Herschel Horwitz*

HH:JR

MERCANTILE DISCOUNT CORPORATION  
110 SOUTH DEARBORN STREET  
CHICAGO

A.H. ROSENBERG  
VICE PRESIDENT

June 17, 1938

My dear Friend:

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ACCEPT PRESIDENCY ZIONIST ORGANIZATION  
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SUGGEST YOU INSTRUCT YOUR LOCAL DELEGATION  
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PRESIDENT. APPRECIATE WORD FROM YOU TO-  
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I need not tell you what a power and force Rabbi  
Goldman will prove as head of this most important  
Organization. His leadership will be a boon and  
value to our people. We need him.

Please follow through by wiring and writing your friends,  
urging them to draft Goldman for President of the Z.O.A.  
I am counting on your full support and cooperation, and  
await word from you within a day or so.

Cordially yours,

*A. H. Rosenberg*

A. H. ROSENBERG

AHR:ALK



BROOKLYN REGION

הסתדרות הציונית של ארצות הברית

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA



OFFICERS:

LOUIS J. MOSS

President

SAMUEL BERSON

A. D. BRAHAM

JACOB H. COHEN

ISIDOR A. HASSIN

J. I. RUDAVSKY

SAMUEL SCHLEIMER

WILLIAM I. SIEGEL

NATHAN SWEEDLER

Vice-Presidents

HARRY MARCUS

Treasurer

SAMUEL ROTHSTEIN

Secretary

NATHAN ELKIN

Executive Director

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

ALBERT D. SCHANZER

Chairman

ABRAHAM KRUMBEIN

Vice-Chairman

ONE ELEVEN FIFTH AVENUE

NEW YORK CITY

June 24, 1938

Dear Fellow Zionist:

The coming year will for many reasons be a momentous one in the history of the Zionist movement in America. The direction of the administration of the Zionist Organization of America becomes of paramount importance, both to our movement in this country and to the status and welfare of Jews all over the world.

The Brooklyn Zionist Region is earnestly of the opinion that Rabbi Israel Herbert Levinthal is preeminently fitted by gifts of character, personality, learning and experience to head the Zionist Organization of America as its president. Rabbi Levinthal's life-long devotion to the ideals of Zionism, his arduous work in the field and with his pen over many years, his intimate knowledge of the problems of the organization and his wide acquaintance among Zionists are assets which should be translated into an effective leadership as president.

We therefore hope that at the forthcoming convention in Detroit your delegates will align themselves with us in creating a unanimous settlement in the convention for the election of Rabbi Levinthal as President of the Zionist Organization of America.

We look forward to the pleasure of meeting you in Detroit.

With Zion's Greetings, we are

Sincerely yours,

President, Brooklyn Zionist Region

*Louis J. Moss*  
*William I. Siegel*  
*Samuel Rothstein*  
*Albert D. Schanzer*  
*Jochanan I. Rudavsky*  
Committee

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

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HARRY HALPERN

SOL HORSTEIN

SAMSON INSELBUCH

HERMAN KAPLAN

FEIBUS KOBAK

LEON KIPNIS

SAMUEL KUHL

HARRY LEIBOWITZ

ISRAEL H. LEVINTHAL

HARRY LEVIN

MARGARET LEVY

LOUIS LINDEN

JACOB MAZE

MORRIS MILLER

MORRIS MILLER

LEON MOHR

IRVING OXENHORN

MORRIS PAUKER

BEN ZION PECKER

RAPHAEL PINCHAS

H. D. ROSENBERG

JOSHUA S. RUBIN

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FRANK SCHAEFFER

SAMUEL SCHOENHOLTZ

LOUIS SHEPELOFF

ABE SLEPIAN

ABRAHAM SPICEHANDLER

JOS. STEINBERG

BENJ. TAISHOFF

MRS. HARRY TRACEY

FRANK WASSERMAN

MORRIS WEINBERG

JOSEPH WEISS

MORRIS A. ZELDIN

S. W. ZIEGLER

INFORMATION FOR DELEGATES AND ALTERNATES

FORTY-FIRST ANNUAL CONVENTION

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

Convention Headquarters

STATLER HOTEL

July 2-3-4-5, 1938

I. REGISTRATION OF DELEGATES AND ALTERNATES:

Registration of Delegates and Alternates to the Convention will commence Saturday evening, July 2nd, at the Convention Headquarters, Statler Hotel and continue on Sunday, July 3rd.

Upon presenting the enclosed card at the Registration Desk you will receive your official credential.

The registration fee for Delegates is \$2.00; for Alternates \$1.00. Upon receipt of payment of registration fee, the Delegates and Alternates will receive an official badge, Convention literature, including report, etc.

The opening session of the Convention will take place on Sunday, July 3rd.

II. HOTEL ACCOMMODATIONS:

Special arrangements have been made with the Statler Hotel to accommodate all Delegates, Alternates and visitors attending the Convention. Room reservations should be made directly with the Hotel on the enclosed card. Make your reservations early and when registering at the Hotel, please state that you are attending the Zionist Convention.

III. RAILROAD FARES:

The special Convention certificates which have been in practice heretofore have been abolished because of the new reduced fares.



Office of the Rabbi  
270 West 89th Street

Temple  
257 West 88th Street

Phone: SChuyler 4- { 1400  
4433



CONGREGATION B'NAI JESHURUN  
NEW YORK CITY

Founded 1825

July 11, 1938

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver  
The Temple  
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Silver:

Thanks for your cordial note. I have no regrets. On the contrary, the more I turn this matter over in my mind, the more convinced I am that the action which I took was not only the proper one from the moral standpoint, but also the wisest from the organization's standpoint.

I tried to reach you at the Commodore on Sunday, but learned that you had checked out.

What luck have you had with the Warburg matter?

Let me again thank you for your staunch comradeship at Detroit. Your support was a source of great strength and encouragement. Will you also please convey my appreciation to the leaders of your society.

Cordially yours,

DR. ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN

החברות הציוניות של ארצות הברית

# ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA



111 FIFTH AVENUE  
NEW YORK

STEPHEN S. WISE  
President

ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN  
JOSEPH KRAEMER  
WILLIAM M. LEWIS  
ABBA HILLEL SILVER  
ELIHU D. STONE  
NATHAN STRAUS  
Vice-Presidents

MORRIS ROTHENBERG  
Chairman, Admin. Committee

LUDWIG LEWISOHN  
Honorary Secretary

MORRIS MARGULIES  
Secretary

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RABBI EDWARD L. ISRAEL  
RABBI ISRAEL H. LEVINthal  
SAMUEL MARKEWICH  
RABBI IRVING MILLER  
CHARLES RESS  
A. J. RONGY  
CARL SHERMAN  
WILLIAM I. SIEGEL  
ROBERT SZOLD

Associate Members  
ISAAC IMBER  
ADRIAN SCHWARTZ

## FINANCE COMMITTEE

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Chairman

MORRIS WEINBERG  
HARRY P. FIERST  
Treasurers

ABRAHAM KRUMBEIN  
ABRAHAM LIEBOVITZ  
ELIAS PREISS  
LOUIS RIMSKY  
SIGMUND THAU

ISRAEL MALTIN  
Auditor

Dear Fellow-Zionist:

It gives me great pleasure to send you herewith your Credential to the 41st Annual Convention of the Zionist Organization of America to be held at the Hotel Statler, Detroit, Mich., from Saturday night, July 2nd to Tuesday, July 5th, inclusive.

Preceding the official opening of the Convention, the Delegates present will meet at an informal dinner on Friday evening, at which addresses will be delivered on the topic "A Zionist Program for American Jews".

A M'laveh Malkah will take place on Saturday evening, which will feature a program of entertainment. Refreshments will be served by Hadassah of Detroit.

Enclosed please find general instructions to Delegates as well as a Hotel reservation card.

Special arrangements have been made by us with the management of the Hotel Statler to accommodate all those attending the Convention at reduced rates, and in view of the short time left I would urge you to send in your reservation to the Hotel without delay, in order to insure your securing the choicest accommodations.

In view of the unusual significance of the forthcoming Convention which will deal with problems affecting the future of the Jewish Homeland, I trust that you will attend all the sessions.

Looking forward to the pleasure of seeing you, I am, with Zion's Greetings,

Sincerely yours,

Morris Margulies,  
Secretary



Education Department, Z.O.A.  
111 Fifth Avenue, New York City

Name of Speaker

Subject

(Rabbi) Samuel J. Abrams  
70 Marshall Street  
Brookline, Mass.

Has Russia Solved the Jewish Problem?

✓ M. Adler  
128 Commonwealth Ave.  
Buffalo, N.Y.

Dr. David B. Alport  
Tyler, Texas

Moses Hoss

David Aronson  
1229 Queen Avenue, N.  
Minneapolis, Minn.

Jewish Education in the Diaspora  
Jewish Economic Problems in Palestine  
Has Russia Solved the Jewish Problem?  
Jewish Self-Government  
The Jews of Russia  
The Jews of Poland

✓ Solomon N. Bazell  
753 Second Street  
Louisville, Ky.

What Can Palestine Do for American Jewry?

✓ Levi Becker  
3290 Rochester  
Detroit, Mich.

J. Berger  
3420 Grey Avenue  
Montreal, Canada

What I Saw in Palestine

✓ Albert Bilgray  
501 S. Limestone St.  
Springfield, Ohio

German Jews in Palestine

Lawrence Block  
Athens, Ga.

What Can Palestine do for American Jewry?

Maurice J. Bloom  
176 Montgomery St.  
Newburgh, N.Y.

Has Russia Solved the Jewish Problem?

✓ Samuel Blumenfield  
College of Jewish Studies  
30 N. Dearborn Street  
Chicago, Ill.

Political, Cultural and Economic  
Zionism

Jacob Bosniak  
450 Ocean Avenue  
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Alternative to Partition

<u>Speaker</u>	<u>Subject</u>
Daniel L. Davis Lancaster, Pa.	Private Initiative and National Capital
Ira Eisenstein 15 W. 86th Street New York City	Zionism or Nationalism in the Diaspora?
Abr. H. Feinberg Rockford, Ill.	The Jewish Problem and the Quest for its Solution
Norman Foldheym President Apts. Cincinnati, Ohio	Jews in Latin America
Abraham J. Feldman 145 Ballard Street Hartford, Conn.	The Jewish Problem and the Quest for its Solution
M. Feuer United Hebrew Cong. Joplin, Mo.	History of Zionism
Dr. Joseph L. Fink 599 Delaware Ave. Buffalo, N.Y.	Jews and Arabs
Meyer Finkelstein 2054 E. 8th Street Bklyn, N.Y.	Has Russia Solved the Jewish Problem?
Ephraim Fischhoff 355 W. Ridge Ave. State College, Pa.	Philosophic and Religious Aspects of of Zionism
Samuel Fredman 6046 Washington Ave. Philadelphia, Pa.	
Jacob Friedman 68 Calhoun Street Springfield, Mass.	
N.J. Friedman Jewish Community Center Gloversville, N.Y.	The Present Situation in Germany
Samuel Glasner Uniontown, Pa.	What can Palestine do for American Jewry?
Maurice Goldblatt Roanoke, Va.	Jews and Arabs
Israel Goldman Temple Emanuel Providence, R.I.	Hebrew Novelists in Palestine Today



SpeakerSubject

M. Goodman  
Ransom Street  
Lexington, Ky.

What Can Palestine Do For American Jewry?

✓ Albert H. Goldstein  
Rock Island, Ill.

Has Russia Solved the Jewish Problem?

David A. Goldstein  
325 S. 37th St.  
Omaha, Neb.

Philosophic and Religious Aspects of  
Zionism  
Dramatic Moments in Zionist History

Herbert S. Goldstein  
225 W. 86th Street  
New York City

Philosophic and Religious Aspects of  
Zionism

Benj. H. Gorrellick  
15 Fayette Street  
Cambridge, Mass.

Zionism Since the Balfour Declaration

✓ Abram M. Granowitz  
Both Zion Temple  
Johnstown, Pa.

Alternative to Partition

✓ David Graubart  
2938 Palmer Square  
Chicago, Ill.

Philosophic and Religious Aspects of  
Zionism

✓ Allan S. Green  
3028 W. Chestnut Ave.  
Altoona, Pa.

Histadrut

✓ Emanuel Green  
20 N. Lincoln Ave.  
Aurora, Ill.

Zionist Achievements in Palestine

✓ Joseph H. Gumbiner  
Selma, Alabama

Has Russia Solved the Jewish Problem?

Abraham Haselkorn  
60 Carrol Street  
Poughkeepsie, N.Y.

What Can Palestine Do For American Jewry?

✓ Eugene Hibshman  
Temple Beth Israel  
Union Avenue  
Altoona, Pa.

The Land and its Possibilities

Samuel Horowitz  
309 S. Monroe Ave.  
Green Bay, Wis.

The Land and its Possibilities  
The Jewish Problem and the Quest  
for its Solution

SpeakerSubject

Robert F. Jacobs  
1218 Hudson St.  
Hoboken, N.J.

Philosophy and Program of the Labor  
Factions

Abbr. I. Jacobson  
131 Guy Park Ave.  
Amsterdam, NY

England and Palestine

Harry Katchen  
310 S. Fulton St.  
Allentown, Pa.

Class Struggle in Palestine

Dr. Jacob Katz  
945 E. 163rd St.  
Bronx, NY

What Did the Royal Commission Recommend?

Louis Katzoff  
3613 Locust St.  
Philadelphia, Pa.

Parties of Palestine

Benj. Kolson  
1204 11th Street  
Wichita Falls, Texas

Political, Cultural and Economic  
Zionism

Isaac Klein  
40 Cliftwood St.  
Springfield, Mass.

Pinsker  
Secular Nationalist Movement

Maurice S. Kleinberg  
Ventnor, N.J.

Zionism or Nationalism in Diaspora?

Philip A. Langh  
1100 17th Ave.  
Seattle, Wash.

Histadrut and its Institutions

Arnold K. Lasker  
2448 University Ave.  
Bronx, N.Y., or  
Woodbine, N.J.

Alternative to Partition

Maurice A. Lazowick  
20 Fairfield Ave.  
S. Norwalk, Conn.

Jabotinsky

Arthur Lobowitz  
Olean, N.Y.

Zionist Achievements in Palestine

Charles B. Lesser  
Jackson, Mich.

A.D. Gordon

Maurice Lyons  
Blytheville, Ark.



speaker

5. Subject

✓ Reuben J. Magil  
153 Richmond Ave.  
Buffalo, N.Y.

History of Zionism

✓ Jm. S. Malev  
150-91 87th Rd.  
Jamaica, N.Y.

Jews and Arabs

Jerome J. Malino  
30 West Street  
Danbury, Conn.

Jewish Law and Law Courts in Palestine

✓ C. Manello  
52 W. Donnick Ave.  
Youngstown, O.

Jews and Arabs  
Palestine in World History

✓ S.H. Markowitz  
The Temple  
Fairfield Ave. and W. Wayne St.  
Fort Wayne, Ind.

The Land and its Possibilities

S.H. Metz  
36 Channing St. N.W.  
Washington, D.C.

Culture in Palestine  
Possibilities After Partition

Albert Michels  
Natchez, Miss.

Music and Art  
Personal Obligations

A. Elihu Michelson  
1307 Main Street  
Peekskill, N.Y.

Class Struggle in Palestine

Meyer Miller  
23 E. Elm St.  
Greenwich, Conn.

Jewish Self-Government

Abr. E. Millgram  
1631 N. 32nd St.  
Philadelphia, Pa.

Histadrut

Ahron Opher  
Hebrew Sheltering & Guardian Society  
Floasantville, N.Y.

Jewish Achievements in Palestine

Herbert Parzon  
Westwood, N.J.

Current Parties in Zionism

✓ Harry B. Pastor  
228 N. Frink  
Peoria, Ill.

Critique of Zionism

Speaker

6. Subject

Martin Ferley  
763 Querbos Ave.  
Outremont, Montreal, Canada

Zionist Achievements in Palestine

I.E. Philo  
✓ Temple Rodef Shalom  
Youngstown, Pa. 0.

The Jewish Problem and the Quest  
for its Solution

David Polish  
Cedar Rapids, Io.

Class Struggle in Palestine

Julius J. Fricc  
1560 Grand Concourse  
Bronx, N.Y.

Jewish Education in the Diaspora

H.R. Rabinowitz  
2207 McDonnell St.  
Sioux City, Iowa

The Awakening of Jewish National  
Consciousness

Paul Reich  
1506 Colonial Ave.  
Norfolk, Va.

Zionism or Nationalism in the Diaspora?

Harry R. Richmond  
Whichita, Kansas

Alternative to Partition

✓ Eph. Rosenzweig  
Crystal Lake  
Carbondale, Pa.

Creative Cultural Possibilities in  
Palestine

Samuel Rosinger  
Deaumont, Texas

Unity of Israel is Indispensable for  
the Acquisition of Palestine

Jacob J. Rudin  
Temple Beth El  
Great Neck, L.I.

The Land and its Possibilities

Edward T. Sandrow  
c/o United Community Center  
Cedarhurst, L.I.

Jewish Nationalism - a Different Kind

Harold I. Saperstein  
Temple Emanuel  
Lynbrook, L.I.

Religion in Palestine

Joseph Sarachok  
1414 Shakespeare Ave.  
Bronx, N.Y.

Theories of Zionism

Lawrence W. Schwartz  
15 Blackthorn Lane  
White Plains, N.Y.

Philosophic and Religious Aspects of  
Zionism



Speaker

Samson A. Shain  
4342 45th St.  
Long Island City, NY

Nathaniel S. Share  
New Orleans, La.

Joseph S. Shubow  
96 Chestnut Hill Ave.  
Brighton, Mass.

Albert M. Shulman  
Temple Beth El  
South Bend, Ind.

A. Silverstone  
Woonsocket, R.I.

Moritz Speier  
150 Mineola Blvd.  
Mineola, L.I.

Leon Spitz  
7410 97th Ave.  
Ozone Park, N.Y.

Milton Steinberg  
50 E. 87th Street  
N.Y.C.

Bernard D. Stolper  
755 E. 46th Street  
Bklyn, N.Y.

B.I. Treiger  
210 N. G.  
Tacoma, Wash.

Jerome Unger  
5 Hooker Avenue  
Poughkeepsie, N.Y.

Colman A. Zvitman  
Temple Israel  
137 N.E. 19th St.  
Miami, Fla.

7.

Subject

Jewish National Fund  
Histadrut

Alternative to Partition

Philosophy and Program of the  
Labor Factions

Alternative to Partition

(Particularly adapted to German-Jewish  
audiences)

A History of American Zionism

Has Russia Solved the Jewish Problem?

Have Jews Displaced Arabs?  
Frontiers of Palestine, old and new

Economic Absorptive Capacity

Philosophic and Religious Aspects of  
Zionism

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Robert M. Travis, Ch. Atlanta Dist.

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TEXAS

Charles B. Spiner, Ch. Texas Zion. Assn.

-----  
HADASSAH -- Mrs. Joseph Ehrlich, Detroit.

ORDER SONS OF ZION - Dr. Harris J. Levine,  
N.Y.C.

MASADA -- Israel Berman, N. Y. C.



Mr. Lipsky stated further that at the meeting of the Actions Committee in London a report was rendered of what has been done in Palestine by all elements of the population in the way of assessments voluntarily undertaken in order to help the unemployment situation. As a result the Yishub has contributed over \$200,000 to the unemployment fund, over and above the regular contributions with which everyone is assessed for the Keren Hayesod and Keren Kayemeth. Some of the Palestinian delegates stressed the fact that it isn't so much the amount of money that will be raised by the Zionists in the diaspora for the Mifde Hazioni, but in order to demonstrate that the Zionists of the world stand with the Zionists of Palestine in this spirit of sacrifice. It was made clear that it was not intended to make any collections from any one who is not an enrolled Zionist, and that the collection is not to be made through a national campaign but locally through each Zionist District.

Dr. Wise asked whether it would not be well to call a conference of all Zionist organizations in America.

Mr. Lipsky believed that this might weaken the responsibility, since each organization would depend upon the other to raise the funds. As a matter of fact, Mr. Lipsky added, each organization had practically promised to undertake to raise this money.

Dr. Wise suggested that arrangements should be made to include the proceeds of the Mifde Hazioni in the UPA, to allay the fears of those who believe that this effort will interfere with the UPA.

Mr. Siegel pointed out that this effort may interfere with our membership campaign, since the three months between now and the Zionist Convention represent the peak of membership activity, and Zionists who have not yet paid their dues will feel that they are being asked to pay double.

Dr. Goldstein suggested that if the matter could wait, the Convention could be utilized for this special effort in behalf of the Mifde Hazioni, which in turn would lift the whole Stimmung of the Convention.

Mr. Margulies supported Dr. Goldstein's suggestion.

Mr. Lipsky urged that the amount of money should not be stressed but that every individual Zionist should be impressed with the appeal and urged to do his best to match what is being done in Palestine. No high pressure methods should be used but Zionists are to be reminded of their duty through The New Palestine every week.

It was finally moved, seconded and carried

THAT a committee of three be named which shall submit to the next meeting of the Executive a plan for the carrying out of the program with regard to the Mifde Hazioni.

COMMUNICATION FROM FEDERATION OF PALESTINE JEWS IN AMERICA:

The Secretary presented a communication from the Federation of Palestine Jews in America, requesting the appointment of ZOA representatives to a conference on April 7th, for the purpose of inaugurating a campaign in the interest of Totzereth Haaretz.

Mr. Margulies was of the opinion that we should decline this invitation since such effort should be initiated by the ZOA.

Dr. Wise reported that there was a great deal of discussion in London about the possibility of a very large importation of Palestine products to America in systematic and organized fashion.

Mr. Imber suggested that there should be a special bureau in the ZOA to handle such matters.

Dr. Bernstein pointed out that what has been done with regard to importing Palestine products by the few firms handling them now, has been much more harmful to Palestine than useful.

Dr. Goldstein proposed that this matter should be carefully considered by a subcommittee of the Executive.

It was moved, seconded and carried

THAT a committee of three be named which shall survey this entire matter and bring back a report to the Executive.

Mr. Rocker suggested that the subcommittee communicate with the American-Palestine Chamber of Commerce.

MASADA ANNIVERSARY:

The Secretary submitted an invitation from Masada, to members of the Executive, to attend their Fifth Anniversary celebration on April 7th.

It was decided that the Secretary be instructed to send an official invitation to the New York members of the Executive and Administrative Committee.

PLACE OF NEXT CONVENTION:

A discussion took place regarding the city to be selected for the next Zionist Convention; the date already having been decided; namely July 2nd to 5th inclusive.

It was decided to choose between Detroit, Pittsburgh and Buffalo as the next Convention City.



PALESTINE EXHIBIT AT NEW YORK WORLD'S FAIR:

Mr. Weisgal stated that the Palestine exhibit at the World's Fair was initiated by the President of the Zionist Organization several months ago, and it was through his efforts that it was crystallized into some form of corporate being and has already begun to function.

Mr. Weisgal reported further that Dr. Wise was Honorary President, George Backer, President, Dr. Goldstein, Chairman of the Board, and Mr. Lipsky, member of the Board of the Corporation which has decided that the corporate form of organization shall be representative of the various organizations active in and for Palestine, including the Jewish National Fund, Hadassah, Poale Zion, etc., and that each organization shall contribute a sum of money toward the organization of the Palestine Exhibit. Accordingly the Keren Hayesod has decided to contribute \$5,000, the Jewish National Fund \$5,000. Contributions have also been made by Hadassah and others. At the last meeting of the Board of Directors of the Corporation, it was decided that the Zionist Organization of America be officially represented in the Corporation to the same extent that the other Zionist and Palestine groups are represented, and the rule was adopted of "no representation without taxation". This brings up the question of the ZOA assuming financial responsibility equal to that of the Keren Hayesod and the Jewish National Fund. It is necessary to secure this sum from the ZOA in view of the fact that the Palestine Exhibit was organized with the idea that \$35,000 would be available for purposes of organization and \$250,000 is required for the exhibit. Considerable progress has been made. A good site centrally located has been secured, consisting of 22,000 square feet, near the Hall of Religion.

Mr. Weisgal also stated that the Corporation had certain plans which will make the Palestine Exhibit, in a certain respect, self-liquidating, and there is also a possibility if the project is properly organized and the organizations meet their responsibility, that these organizations may be the beneficiaries of part of the fund they will have to underwrite. However, a considerable portion of the money pledged by the various Organizations has not yet been forthcoming, and it is unthinkable that the Zionist Organization of America should not be officially represented in the Corporation and have its share in the undertaking. Therefore, Mr. Weisgal urged, the ZOA should also assume a definite financial responsibility equal to the Keren Hayesod's and Keren Kayemeth's, and take its rightful place in the Palestine Exhibit.

Mr. Siegel inquired how the project would be financed outside of the \$35,000 mentioned.

Mr. Weisgal replied that it is proposed to ask the heads of the various communities throughout the country to appeal locally for financial assistance. There are other prospective sources of income which, Mr. Weisgal said are premature to report on at this time.

Mr. Margulies observed that if it is proposed to ask heads of Zionist Districts to secure funds, how would that be applied toward the ZOA responsibility.

Dr. Goldstein stated that it is not necessary to arouse the interest of the Executive of the ZOA in this project. Moreover those who are close to it are convinced that it will be an extraordinary affair. Furthermore it should be recognized that in the absence of a government to initiate this project, as is the case with all other nations represented, it is the ZOA that takes the place of a government, and therefore it is the ZOA upon whom devolves the chief responsibility. Dr. Goldstein added that when the matter of the ZOA's participation was first broached, the leaders were on their way to London and the matter was delayed. However, now that they have returned, the Executive should recommend a contribution of \$5,000, and the Finance Committee should find a way of making it available.

Mr. Rucker inquired who made the pledges totalling \$35,000 referred to by Mr. Weisgal.

Dr. Wise gave the following figures:

Keren Hayesod and Keren Kayemeth	\$ 15,000
Hadassah	5,000
Mizrachi and Poale Zion	5,000
Hebrew University	2,500
Palestine Economic Corp.	2,500
ZOA	5,000

Mr. Ress said that it was obvious that the ZOA will have to participate, but the Executive must give thought as to how this money is to be raised. Mr. Weinberg believed that this money could be secured from a small group at the forthcoming Convention, so that the ZOA treasury will not have to suffer. Arrangements might be made, however, to advance the money to the Corporation before the Convention.

It was finally moved, seconded and carried

THAT the ZOA invest the sum of \$5,000 in the preparations for the Palestine Exhibit at the World's Fair, with the understanding that every effort be made by the Executive to make good this contribution at the next Convention.

#### AMERICAN ZION COMMONWEALTH:

Mr. Lipsky called attention to a resolution adopted at the last Convention, urging the ZOA to establish in the United States a Palestine land selling agency and nothing has been done by the Executive thus far with regard to this resolution.

Mr. Lipsky stated further that the affairs of the American Zion Commonwealth had been gradually liquidated and all the obligations in the United States had been discharged. Moreover through the American Zion Commonwealth certain lands have been recovered for the Jewish people, which are of tremendous value, as the Haifa Bay area, for instance, and now that all disputes with regard to the Commonwealth have been settled, whatever is to be done in the United States with regard to land sales, should be done under the name of the American Zion Commonwealth as the agency of the ZOA, inasmuch as the ZOA had previously been the sufferer in credit and repute because of the complicated affairs of the Commonwealth. In this connection, Mr. Lipsky called attention to the fact that Mr. David Frieberger has given his time gratis for nine years to straightening out the affairs of the Commonwealth.



Mr. Lipsky suggested that Mr. Freiberg be authorized on behalf of the Executive to get in touch with the P.L.D.C. and discuss the whole matter with them, and present a report, with the understanding that in all this correspondence, the interests and rights of the ZOA should be asserted and protected.

Attention was called also to the fact that Mr. Morris Weinberg was very helpful in saving the American Zion Commonwealth by advancing the funds required by Carmelia.

It was finally moved, seconded and carried

THAT a committee of three consisting of Messrs. Freiberg, Lipsky and Weinberg be appointed to make a further report on this matter.

Mr. Rucker added that the affairs of the American Zion Commonwealth had been very badly handled and left a bad impression upon the Jews of America. Even though it has eventually paid its debts, he did not think it should be resurrected and the ZOA should go into the land selling business.

Mr. Cowen observed that there is no harm in adopting the above resolution since it represents no commitment.

#### CONTINUATION OF DISCUSSION ON ACTIONS COMMITTEE MEETING:

The discussion then reverted to the Actions Committee meeting and particularly the remarks of Mr. Ben Gurion. In this connection statements were made both by Mr. Lipsky and Dr. Wise.

Meeting adjourned 12 A.M.

Respectfully submitted

MORRIS MARGULIES  
Secretary

TO THE JEWISH PEOPLE IN THE DIASPORA

At this grave and decisive hour in the history of the revival of our Homeland, we turn to the communities of Jewry throughout the world with the call: "Hagalila - On to Galilee!"

Since the reconstruction of the Homeland commenced there has never been, nor will there ever be any other course before us than to create and build, to redeem step by step, and lath by lath, in days of stress as in days of prosperity, to establish new undertakings, to progress from one position to the next. Only through constant effort to increase our possessions, to increase our land and multiply the numbers of its builders, only through the creation of hard facts that cannot be ignored, shall we strengthen our practical power in the land, so that neither from within nor from without will obstacles or forces of destruction check us. Only thus shall we advance steadily towards attainment of the great objective that history set for our generation, the revival of our people in the land of its fathers.

In the spirit of this historic undertaking the land organ of the Zionist Organisation, the Keren Kayemeth Leisrael, last year proclaimed the "On to Galilee!" Campaign for the redemption of land in the northern territory of the country. Hitherto the north has benefited only meagrely from the boon of Jewish creative effort. Its turn now had arrived. The sum of £500,000 was required to execute this great undertaking which would open a new gateway for the settlement of thousands of families. In the past year, the Keren Kayemeth has already made significant steps towards this goal.

This year we stand before the second stage of the "On to Galilee" effort. But it is of vital significance that the pace of the work be intensified. Prevailing circumstances render it imperative that in the present year a sum of £100,000 over and above its normal resources be placed at the disposal of the Keren Kayemeth for this effort. To attain this end all forces of the Zionist movement, wherever they be, must co-operate.

We appeal to the Zionist public throughout the world, to workers and to donors, to all who are loyal to Zion and its Upbuilding, to further the "On to Galilee" Campaign of the Keren Kayemeth at this serious juncture with all the power at their command. History will show that this hour, a fateful one in the task of the Upbuilding, was also pregnant with possibilities. Let us not fail. Join and bring others to join with you in this effort for the redemption of Galilee.

(sgd) Dr. Chaim Weizmann, President of the World Zionist Organisation  
David Ben-Gurion, President of the Zionist Executive

Dr. Selig Brodetzky,	)	
Rabbi J.L.Fishman,	(	
I. Gruenbaum,	)	Members of the Executive
Eliezer Kaplan,	(	
Dr. F. Rothenstreich,	)	
M. Shertok.	(	



41ST ANNUAL CONVENTION  
ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA  
DETROIT, MICH.

P R O X I E   L I S T

A. Ball, Albany, N.Y.	Samuel Margoshes, New York City
Rabbi Morton M. Berman, Chicago, Ill.	Morris Margulies, New York City
Samuel Berman, New York City	Rabbi Irving Miller, Long Island
A. D. Braham, New York City	
Rabbi Arthur Brodey, Hattiesburg, Miss.	Jacob Rabinovitz, Boston, Mass.
Dr. Aaron Burman, Syracuse, N. Y.	Charles Ress, New York City
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Charles A. Cowen, New York City	Dr. A. J. Rongy, New York City
	Moses Robinson, New York City
Albert K. Epstein, Chicago, Ill.	Jochanon I. Rudavsky, Brooklyn, N.Y.
Benj. F. Evarts, Holyoke, Mass.	
	Bernard Shelvin, New York City
Harry P. Fierst, New York City	Carl Sherman, New York City
	Simon Shetzer, Detroit, Mich.
Abraham Goldberg, New York City	Wm. I. Siegel, Brooklyn, N.Y.
Rabbi Henry R. Goldberger, Altoona, Pa.	Abraham Spicehandler, Brooklyn, N.Y.
Rabbi Solomon Goldman, Chicago, Ill.	Elihu D. Stone, Boston, Mass.
Dr. Israel Goldstein, New York City	Judge Nathan Sweedler, Brooklyn, N.Y.
	Robert Szold, New York City
B. Horwich, Chicago, Ill.	
	Sigmund Thau, Brooklyn, N.Y.
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	Morris Weinberg, Brooklyn, N.Y.
Samuel Kanarvogel, New York City	Meyer W. Weisgal, New York City
Abraham Krumbein, New York City	Dr. Stephen S. Wise, New York City
	Leo Wolfson, New York City
Judge Wm. M. Lewis, Phila., Pa.	
Louis Lipsky, New York City	Harry Z. Zwelling, New Britain, Conn.