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Zionist Organization of America, 1937-1938.

ההסתדרות הציונית של ארצות הברית

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA



111 FIFTH AVENUE
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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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ISRAEL MALVIN
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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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!

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Auditor

September 3, 1937.

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

You are earnestly requested to attend the first meeting of the Executive of the Z. C. 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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Auditor

September 8, 1937.

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

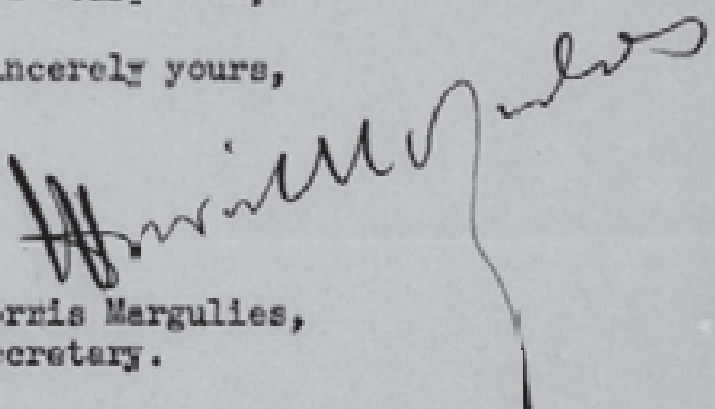
Dear Dr. Falkman:

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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CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER
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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

WESTERN UNION MESSENGERS ARE AVAILABLE FOR THE DELIVERY OF NOTES AND PACKAGES

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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.

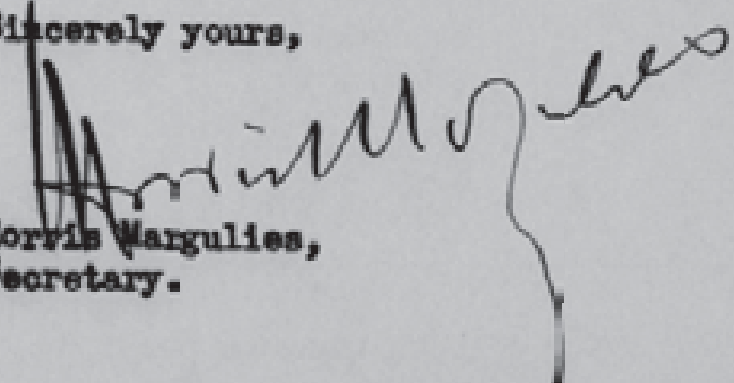
Should you be prevented from attending the Administrative Committee meeting, I will read what you have to say concerning the matter of dues. However, I cannot definitely promise that the question will be taken up, since the entire meeting may be devoted to Congress reports.

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 Berman, 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. Israeli, 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 Schloimer, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Adrian Schwartz, New York; Rabbi H. E. Schwartz, Hempstead, L. I.; Judge Joseph Siegler, Newark, N. J.; Dr. Solomon Smolin, Bronx, N. Y.; Abraham Spiechandler, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Joshua Spragon, New York; Julius Stone, Boston, Mass.; Judge Nathan Swoodler, Brooklyn; Robert Szold, New York; Sigmund Thau, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Samuel Umansky, Meriden, Conn.; Meyer M. 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 Erodey, 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. Recker, 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 passing 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/^{are} 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 everyone. 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 Mizrahi 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 middle 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 those 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 these 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-zoggers' 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 those 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. Daganin 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-saggers' 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-saggers' 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 "Chalutzai 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 obedience 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 got 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 8:00 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, Kraemer, Markewich, Margulies, Reas, 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
Now 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 \$86,000 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 RHYD 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. Casmot, 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 EOA.

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

התאחדות הציונית של ארצות הברית

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA



111 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK

STEPHEN S. WISE
President

ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN
JOSEPH KRAEMER
WILLIAM M. LEWIN
ABRA HELLER 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. MALOWIN FORTIN
ABRAHAM GOLDBERG
ABRAHAM GOLDSTEIN
RABBI EDWARD L. ISRAEL
RABBI ISRAEL H. LEVINTHAL
SAMUEL MARKOWICH
RABBI IRVING MILLER
CHARLES REES
A. J. RONEY
CARL SHERMAN
WILLIAM I. SIEGEL
ROBERT STOLD

Associate Members
ISAAC IMBER
ADRIAN SCHWARTZ

FINANCE COMMITTEE

LOUIS P. ROCKER
Chairman

MORRIS WEINBERG
HARRY P. FIERST
Treasurers

ABRAHAM KREMERIN
ABRAHAM LIEBOVITZ
ELIAS PERISS
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,
Secretary.

ההסתדרות הציונית של ארצות הברית

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Treasurers

ABRAHAM KATZBERG
ABRAHAM LEBOWITZ
ELIAS FREISS
LOUIS KIMSKY
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.

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

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, Rasm, 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. Bess 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. Bess 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 Mizrahi and the Poale Zion representatives, whether in the J.N.F. or U.P.A. always act on instructions 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 Hayesod 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. Ress 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 Hayesod 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 Hayesod

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. Ross 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.

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
ABRAHAM SILVER
ELIJAH D. STONE
NATHAN STRAUSS
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
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RABBI EDWARD L. ISRAEL
RABBI ISRAEL H. LEVINTHAL
SAMUEL MARKIEWICH
RABBI IRVING MILLER
CHARLES RESS
A. J. RONGY
CARL SHEERMAN
WILLIAM I. SIGGEL
ROBERT SZOLD

Associate Members
ISAAC IMBER
ADRIAN SCHWARTZ

FINANCE COMMITTEE

LOUIS F. ROCKER
Chairman

MORRIS WEINBERG
HARRY P. FIERST
Treasurers

ABRAHAM KRUNBERG
ABRAHAM LEBOWITZ
ELIAS PERISS
LOUIS RIMSKY
SIGMUND THAU

ISRAEL MALTIN
Auditor

November 11, 1937

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

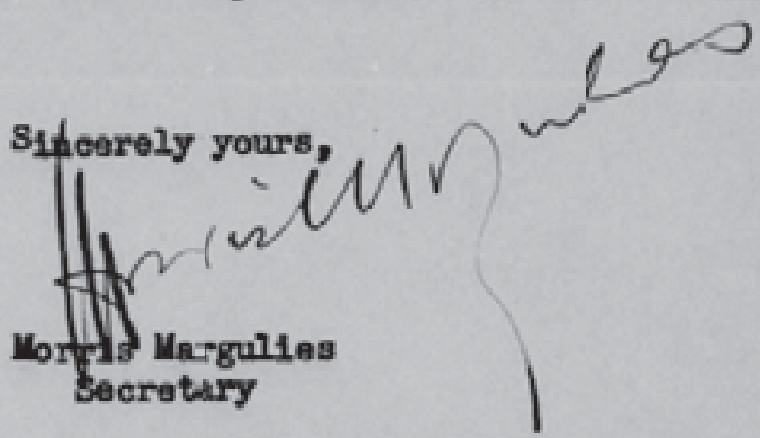
Dear Dr. Falkman:

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

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA



111 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK

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Treasurers

ABRAHAM KRUMHOLTZ
ABRAHAM LIEBOVITZ
ELIAS FREISS
LOUIS RIMSKY
SIGMUND TRAU

ISRAEL MALTIN
Auditor

November 12, 1937

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

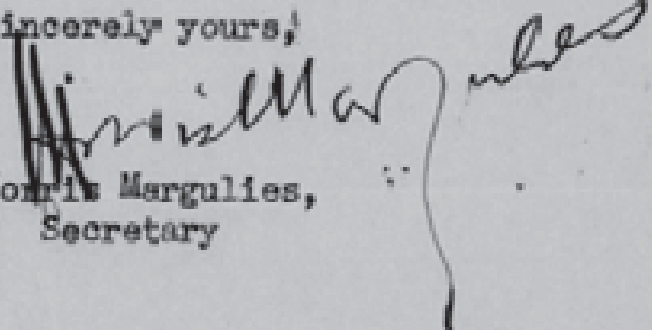
Dear Dr. Silver:

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

Mr. Rucker 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 Struss 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 STRAUSS
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 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 Fivers 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 FORTIC
ABRAHAM GOLDBERG
ABRAHAM GOLDSTEIN
EDWARD L. ISRAEL
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SAMUEL MARKOWICH
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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 Everts, 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 Rinsky, 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. Radavsky, 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 Tmansky, Meriden, Conn.; Mayer 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 Rader, 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. Spicohandler 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. Pierst 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 rebuffed 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 it 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. Brodetsky, 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. Goldberg¹ 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 Falcor 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 unshakable 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 'Aviah' 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 generosities 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 8 P. M.

Respectfully submitted,

MOERIS MARGULIES,
Secretary

התאחדות הציונית של ארצות הברית

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA



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M. MALDWIN FERTIG
ABRAHAM GOLDBERG
ABRAHAM GOLDSTEIN
EDWARD L. ISRAEL
ISRAEL H. LEVINTHAL
SAMUEL MARKIEWICH
IRVING MILLER
CHARLES RESS
A. J. RENOY
CARL SHERMAN
WILLIAM I. SIGGEL
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Associate Members

ISAAC IMBER
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SIGMUND THAU

ISRAEL MALVIN
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.

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/CH

MINUTES OF MEETING OF ZOA EXECUTIVE HELD
TUESDAY, MARCH 15, 1936 - 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) Bornstein, 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. LOIB JAFFE :

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

"It is my pleasant duty to bring to you knowledge that Mr. Loib 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 Enquired 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 "Maaz"; two Kibbutzim of the Hanoar-Hazioni - "A" and "B"; Kibbutz "Akiba" of Hedera 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. Bayli 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 Zionize 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