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Zionist Organization of America, 1937-1938.

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

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

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

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

SECRETARY'S REPORT:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The attention of the Executive was also called 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. The Secretary reported that arrangements had been made whereby Mr. Easterman will be available to Districts at a cost of \$50 per lecture, plus expense.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Membership:

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

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

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

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

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

General Observations:

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

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

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

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

Regions:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

REPORT ON ACTIONS COMMITTEE MEETING IN LONDON:

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

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

REPORT OF MR. LOUIS LIPSKY :

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

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

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

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

(continuation of Mr. Lipsky's report)

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

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

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

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

(continuation of Mr. Lipsky's report)

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

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

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

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

(continuation of Mr. Lipsky's report)

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

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

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

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

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

(continuation of Mr. Lipsky's report)

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

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

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

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

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

REPORT OF MR. JACOB FISHMAN:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

REPORT OF MR. ABRAHAM GOLDBERG:

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

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

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

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

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

(continuation of A. Goldberg's report)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(continuation of A. Goldberg's report)

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

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

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

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

Meeting adjourned at 2:00 P.M.

Respectfully submitted,

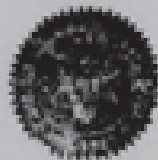
MORRIS MARGULIES
Secretary

Zionist Organization of America

Certificate of Affiliation

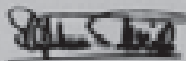
This is to certify that *The North Shore Zionist District*
of *Chicago, Ill.*

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



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

At the 27th day of April 1931
At the City of New York


Mordecai M. Zuckerman

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE OF THE ZOA

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

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

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

MEMORANDUM FROM DR. GOLDSTEIN:

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

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

WEDGWOOD MEETING AT TEMPLE EMANUEL:

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

He therefore moved, and it was unanimously carried

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

SECRETARY'S REPORT:

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

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

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

REPORT OF SURVEY COMMITTEE :

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

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

It was then moved, seconded and carried

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

SAKIER - PALESTINE SECURITIES :

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

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

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

It was finally moved, seconded and carried

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

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

CLEVELAND ZIONIST SOCIETY MEMBERSHIP DUES :

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

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

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

It was then moved, seconded and carried

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

CONVENTION PROBLEMS AND APPOINTMENT OF COMMITTEE ON CONVENTION PROGRAM :

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

It was moved, seconded and carried

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

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

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

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS :

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

It was moved, seconded and carried

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

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

Meeting adjourned 10:30 P.M.

Respectfully submitted

MORRIS MARGULIES
Secretary

April 16, 1938

EXECUTIVE OF THE ZOA

From Dr. Israel Goldstein

Report to Dr. Wise.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

TRIBUTE TO THE LATE ELIAS PREISS :

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

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

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

TRIBUTE TO DR. LAZARUS KARP :

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

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

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

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

WELCOME TO JUDGE BERNARD A. ROSENBLATT :

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

WELCOME TO MR. DAVID HEIMANN :

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

AGENDA * DEPARTMENTAL REPORTS :

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

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

SECRETARY'S REPORT :

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

After a protracted discussion the Executive decided as follows:

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

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

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

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

DISCUSSION ON SECRETARY'S REPORT:

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

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

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

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

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

CONVENTION PROGRAM COMMITTEE :

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

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

It was moved, seconded and carried

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

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

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

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

CONSTITUTION :

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

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

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

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

ACTION ON SURVEY COMMITTEE REPORT :

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

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

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

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

Mr. Elihu D. Stone moved

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

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

Mr. Stone's motion was seconded.

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

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

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

REPORT ON PALESTINE DEPARTMENT :

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

STATEMENT BY MR. DAVID HEIMANN :

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

REMARKS OF MR. ISTORIC :

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

Mr. Istorik spoke briefly as follows:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

REPORT ON EDUCATION DEPARTMENT :

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

REPORT ON UNITED PALESTINE APPEAL :

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

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

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

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

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

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

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS :

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

"If the purpose of this report is to introduce a discussion which will lead to some action, it would be in order. As a matter of fact, everything done by the American Jewish Congress has been a matter of public knowledge. The American Jewish Congress is now engaged in an action which all of us who are in the Congress regard as fundamental not only to the movement of the Gulus called American Jewish Congress, but important and significant for the entire Zionist movement. We are facing this year of 1933 the culmination of a struggle for the organization of Jewish life in America which started over 35 years ago. In every struggle that took place, the Zionists were found on one side, and on the other side, all the non-Zionists, anti-Zionists and anti-nationalists. This struggle here this year has in it something which should provoke a climax. In 1914 we expected that at the end of the war there would be an opportunity for the Jewish people to register ideological considerations in the demands to be made at the peace conference. At the present time what is facing the Jews of this country and the world is a breakdown of the Gulus front of the Jews, which affects the position vitally. So far as Zionists are concerned, Poland has dropped out of the scene. Roumania, Germany, Austria are dropping out of the scene so far as support of the Palestine front is concerned. Attacks are now being made in many European lands against the Jewish people, in various forms in different parts of the world, and which are bound eventually to reach the front which we are defending with so much heroism and sacrifice in Palestine. And to imagine that in such a situation the Jewish people of America and other lands can be unorganized in their defense is an astoundingly unacceptable position for Zionists who should be the first to repudiate and reject this.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Chairman ruled this proposal out of order.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Judge Rosenblatt replied as follows:

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

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

Judge Rosenblatt replied:

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

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

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

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

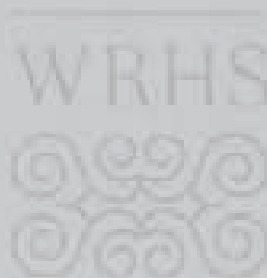
"Everyone has fears, but Great Britain is also getting tired, and she will ultimately put through either Partition which is not acceptable to us, or she will go back to the Mandate, which is worse yet, because with restricted immigration we will be hopelessly lost. Therefore possibly the third alternative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

Meeting adjourned 6:30 P.M.

Respectfully submitted

MORRIS MARGULIES

Secretary



ההסתדרות הציונית של ארצות הברית

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA



111 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK

STEPHEN S. WEISS
President

May 31, 1938

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

TO THE CHAIRMEN AND SECRETARIES
OF ZIONIST DISTRICTS:

MORRIS ROTHENBERG
Chairman, Admin. Committee

Dear Friends:

LUDWIG LEWISOHN
Honorary Secretary

I. NEW DISTRICT CHARTER IN PLAQUE FORM:

MORRIS MAROULIER
Secretary

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

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LOUIS F. ROCKER
Chairman

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

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HARRY P. FINEST
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ABRAHAM KREMER
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ELLAS PERISS
LOUIS RIMSKY
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II. IMPORTANT REPRINT:

ISRAEL MALTIN
Auditor

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

May 31, 1938

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התאחדות הציונית של ארצות הברית

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

111 FIFTH AVENUE
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President

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MORRIS WEINBERG
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Treasurers

ABRAHAM KRAMER
ABRAHAM LEBOWITZ
ELIAS PERISS
LOUIS RIMSKY
SIGMUND THAU

ISRAEL MALTIN
Auditor

May 31, 1938.

TO THE CHAIRMEN AND SECRETARIES
OF ZIONIST DISTRICTS:

Dear Fellow-Zionists:

ELECTIONS TO AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS:

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

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

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

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

With Zion's Greetings,

Sincerely yours,

Morris Margulies
Morris Margulies
Secretary

ההסתדרות הציונית של ארצות הברית

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA



111 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK

STEPHEN S. WISE
President

June 7, 1938

ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN
JOSEPH KRAMER
WILLIAM M. LEWIS
ABRAHAM SILVER
ELIHU D. STONE
NATHAN STRAUS
Vice-Presidents

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

MOSES ROTHSCHILD
Chairman, Admin. Committee

Dear Dr. Silver:

LUDWIG LEWISohn
Honorary Secretary

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

MORRIS MARQULES
Secretary

EXECUTIVE

LOUIS LISKY
CHARLES A. COWEN
M. MALDEN FERTIG
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. SINGEL
ROBERT STOLD

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

Associate Members
ISAAC IMBER
ADRIAN SCHWARTZ

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

FINANCE COMMITTEE

LOUIS F. ROCKES
Chairman

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

MORRIS WEINBERG
HARRY P. FISHER
Treasurers

ABRAHAM KRAMER
ABRAHAM LEVINTHAL
ELIAS FREED
LOUIS RIMSKY
SIGMUND THAU

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

ISRAEL MALVIN
Auditor

With Zion's Greetings,

Faithfully yours,

Stephen S. Wise
President

SSW:BN

ההסתדרות הציונית של ארצות הברית

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA



111 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK

STEPHEN S. WISE
President

ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN
JOSEPH KRAEMER
WILLIAM M. LEWIS
ABRAHAM HILFEL SILVER
ELIHU D. STONE
NATHAN STRAUSS
Vice-Presidents

MORRIS ROTHENBERG
Chairman, Admin. Committee

LEWIS LEWISOMAN
Honorary Secretary

MORRIS MARGULIES
Secretary

EXECUTIVE

LOUIS LEFSKY
CHARLES A. COWEN
M. MALOWIN FERTIG
ABRAHAM GOLDBERG
ABRAHAM GOLDSTEIN
RABBI EDWARD L. ISRAEL
RABBI ISRAEL H. LEVINTHAL
SAMUEL MARKOWICH
RABBI IRVING MILLER
CHARLES RESS
A. J. ROSEN
CARL SHERMAN
WILLIAM I. SIEGEL
ROBERT SZOLDS

Associate Members

ISAAC IMBER
ADRIAN SCHWARTZ

FINANCE COMMITTEE

LOUIS P. ROCKER
Chairman

MORRIS WEINBERG
HARRY P. FIERST
Treasurers

ABRAHAM KRAMER
ABRAHAM LIEBOVITZ
ELIAS PERES
LOUIS RIMSKY
HEMUND THAU

ISRAEL MARTIN
Auditor

June 8, 1938.

TO THE CHAIRMEN AND SECRETARIES
OF ZIONIST DISTRICTS:

Dear Fellow-Zionists:

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

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

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

With Zion's Greetings,

Sincerely yours,

Morris Margulies
Morris Margulies,
Secretary

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED	
DOMESTIC	CABLE
TELEGRAM	FULL RATE
DAY LETTER	DEFERRED
NIGHT MESSAGE	NIGHT LETTER
NIGHT LETTER	SHIP RADIOGRAM

Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise message will be transmitted as a full-rate communication.

WESTERN UNION

R. B. WHITE
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

1211-A

CHECK
VOCT'G INFMN.
TIME FILED

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

June 9 1938

RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER
CLEVELAND, OHIO

ON EVE OF OUR FORTHCOMING CONVENTION AM SENDING YOU THIS ELEVENTH-FOUR
APPEAL TO REDOUBLE YOUR EFFORTS TO BRING YOUR MEMBERSHIP UP TO THE
FULLEST STRENGTH. FROM THIS CONVENTION A CALL WILL GO FORTH TO
GREAT BRITAIN AND LEAGUE OF NATIONS URGING IMMEDIATE SUSPENSION
OF IMMIGRATION RESTRICTIONS IN ORDER TO ENABLE SETTLEMENT IN PALESTINE
OF LARGE MASSES OF OUR PERSECUTED BROTHEREN FROM GERMANY AUSTRIA AND
OTHER EUROPEAN COUNTRIES. WE EXPECT EVERY SINGLE DISTRICT TO JOIN
AT CONVENTION IN ACTION DESIGNED TO SECURE PULFILMENT OF THIS
DEMAND. I THEREFORE URGE UPON YOU TO SEND FULL COMPLEMENT OF
DELEGATES ON BASIS OF INCREASED MEMBERSHIP IN ORDER TO HELP US
MAKE CONVENTION REPRESENTATIVE OF LARGEST NUMBER OF ORGANIZED ZIONISTS.
WIRE OR WRITE ME IMMEDIATELY WHAT STEPS YOU ARE TAKING TO INCREASE
YOUR MEMBERSHIP WITHIN NEXT FORTNIGHT.

STEPHEN S. WISE, PRESIDENT

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

ADDRESS BY LOUIS P. ROCKER, CHAIRMAN, DELEGATION
URGING DR. GOLDSTEIN FOR ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA PRESIDENCY
Aldine Club, New York, Thursday, June 9, 1938

We are mindful of the mission entrusted to us. We are here as a committee representing a large number of Zionists who have given us the mandate to speak on their behalf.

The announcement made by Dr. Stephen S. Wise, President of the Zionist Organization of America, that he will not be a candidate for reelection as its President, is a call on American Zionists to summon a new leader to succeed Dr. Wise, under whose presidency the Zionist Organization of America has made rapid strides. He has given of his matchless leadership to the cause of Eretz Israel upbuilding. He has wielded influence as a political force in Zionist affairs both at home and abroad.

We are desirous of choosing a successor in order to insure the acceleration of the progress made under Dr. Wise's leadership in the course of the last two years.

The Zionist Organization faces a two-fold problem. On the one hand as the representative of American Zionism it must exert abroad its utmost influence in the political and economic problems of Palestine. On the other hand, it faces at home the problem of organizing Zionist forces in their maximum strength, not only for the collection of funds but for the equally important task of organizing and administering its organization and forces in this country. The head of the Zionist Organization must be one who will be in a position to devote his time, his energy and his ability to both of these problems.

To achieve these objectives, we call upon you, Dr. Israel Goldstein, to stand as a candidate for the presidency of the Zionist Organization of America. We see in you the embodiment of those qualities that are so vitally necessary in the future strengthening of the Zionist Organization of America and in mobilizing that support which is indispensable for the cause of Palestine upbuilding.

Your fine work on behalf of the Zionist movement makes you the outstanding candidate for the presidency of our organization. Your election to this office will be the culmination of a long career in Zionist achievement that dates back two decades of Zionist service that began when you took a part in the organization of District No. 7. Your comparative youth will be added encouragement to bringing into our movement the youth of our country. We recall gratefully your Presidency of Young Judaea.

We feel sure that you will regard your election to the presidency not merely as a culmination and a reward for your fine work but as the acceptance of a new obligation in the furtherance of Zionist activity.

You have demonstrated your capacity for leadership as the President of the Jewish National Fund. For five consecutive terms you have raised that organization to a plane of activity hitherto unknown in the history of the Keren Kayemet in this country. As Co-Chairman of the United Palestine Appeal, as Vice-President of the Zionist Organization of America, as the President of the Jewish Conciliation Court of America, you have demonstrated your extraordinary gifts as an able executive and leader. You enjoy the confidence of all groups in American Israel.

In asking you to declare yourself a candidate for the presidency of the Zionist Organization of America, we are mindful of the sacrifices that it will entail. We pledge you our cooperation.

This is a challenge at a time when so much hope is centered on American Zionists. We ask you to accept and are confident that you will receive the overwhelming support of the delegates who will attend the Forty-second Annual Convention of the Zionist Organization of America that will be held in Detroit, Michigan, on July 1, 1938.

STATEMENT BY DR. ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN
REPLYING TO DELEGATION JUNE 9, 1938

To be deemed worthy by a group of prominent Zionists of leading the forces of the Zionist Organization of America for the coming administration, is a great compliment, and imposes great responsibility.

That our foremost leader, Dr. Wise, has declined to continue as President of the Zionist Organization of America upon the conclusion of his present term, is a matter of regret to me as it is to all Zionists. Two years ago, it was my happy privilege to have played some part in his unanimous election. Today more than ever, Dr. Wise would be the unanimous choice of American Zionists. In the light of his determined declination of a third term, however, the office of President will be vacant.

Fortunately, we can all feel assured that whatever may be Dr. Wise's official position in the movement, he will continue, by grace of his unparalleled gifts and unsurpassed devotion, to be our spokesman and our leader.

If the delegates at the forthcoming Zionist convention will call me to fill the vacancy in the office of President, I shall accept the call to service, fully cognizant of the difficulties and responsibilities which that office will impose. Both in Palestine and here in the United States, there are not only great difficulties which lie ahead, but also great opportunities for the Zionist Movement.

It is becoming increasingly evident that upon American Israel devolves the responsibility not only of providing the major part of the material resources for the upbuilding of the Jewish National Home, but also that of playing a very important part in the political affairs of the World Zionist Movement. By virtue of our potential strength as the largest free Jewish community in the world, and because of the urgent needs of the situation, we must become the strongest arm of the World Zionist Movement.

To the extent that the Zionist Organization of America can be made stronger and more efficient, the fulfillment of our responsibilities can be made the more realizable. Therefore, great emphasis should be placed in the immediate future upon effective organization, efficient administration, larger membership, and the development of a broader base for the Zionist movement in this country. The furtherance of these aims will require concentrated and continuous attention.

If elected, I shall devote myself to the daily problems of the Zionist Organization of America with the same concentration which I have given to the Jewish National Fund during the past five years. It will be with a heavy heart that I shall feel obliged to relinquish the Presidency of the Jewish National Fund, which has been a labor of love to me, but the larger demands of Zionist service will be heeded.

I have confidence in the predominantly Zionist sentiment of American Jewry, and believe that with effective organization it can be converted into tangible assets for our cause.

Louis P. Rucker
Fifteen Broad Street
New York

June 10, 1938

Rabbi A. H. Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

My dear Rabbi Silver:

We are now on the eve of the 42nd Annual Convention of the Zionist Organization of America, which will take place in Detroit July 2nd-5th. The announcement made by Dr. Wise that he will not accept another term as President of the Zionist Organization of America, makes the question of his succession of vital concern to every Zionist in this country.

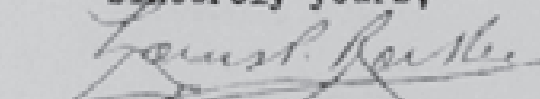
I am writing to you as a fellow Zionist and a leader of the Zionist Organization in your community, because I know you are just as concerned as we all are that the successor to Dr. Wise should be the ablest person we can command.

I am enclosing for your information a statement that I made on behalf of a delegation which called upon Dr. Goldstein, to ask him to accept our call to the leadership of the Zionist Organization of America.

I am sure you will welcome the news that appeared in today's press, that Dr. Goldstein will consent to accept a call from the Zionist Convention. I am enclosing herewith Dr. Goldstein's statement to the delegation.

Dr. Goldstein's record of Zionist service and as a brilliant administrator for the past two decades, assures us that he will make an able President of the Zionist Organization of America. I know you will wish to convey this information to your Zionist colleagues, and I would welcome a word of encouragement, so that we can assure Dr. Goldstein that he has the overwhelming support of all Zionists vitally interested in electing an efficient administration.

Sincerely yours,


LOUIS P. RUCKER

MERCANTILE DISCOUNT CORPORATION
110 SOUTH DEARBORN STREET
CHICAGO

A. H. ROSENBERG
VICE PRESIDENT

June 17, 1938

My dear Friend:

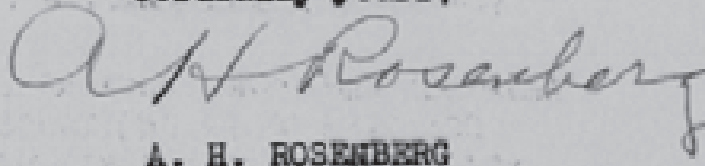
This is to confirm the wire sent you this week-end,
which read as follows:

CONFIDENT RABBI GOLDMAN CAN BE PERSUADED
ACCEPT PRESIDENCY ZIONIST ORGANIZATION
OF AMERICA IF ELECTED. URGE COOPERATION.
SUGGEST YOU INSTRUCT YOUR LOCAL DELEGATION
TO DETROIT TO VOTE FOR RABBI GOLDMAN FOR
PRESIDENT. APPRECIATE WORD FROM YOU TO-
GETHER WITH SUGGESTIONS AS TO WHAT YOU
WILL AND CAN DO IN YOUR IMMEDIATE VICINITY.

I need not tell you what a power and force Rabbi
Goldman will prove as head of this most important
Organization. His leadership will be a boon and
value to our people. We need him.

Please follow through by wiring and writing your friends,
urging them to draft Goldman for President of the Z.O.A.
I am counting on your full support and cooperation, and
await word from you within a day or so.

Cordially yours,



AHR:ALK

A. H. ROSENBERG

ההסתדרות הציונית של ארצות הברית



Zionist Organization of America

ST. PAUL DISTRICT

CANTOR M. GOLDBERG, Secy.

HERSCHEL HORWITZ, PRESIDENT
781 HAGUE AVE.

TEMPLE OF AARON, ASHLAND AVE. AND GROTTO ST.

ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA

L. C. PERLMAN, VICE PRES.

RABBI H. M. COHEN, TREASURER

June 17, 1938

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Rabbi Silver:

I know that your time is very valuable, therefore I will confine myself to a few lines.

The announcement made by Rabbi S. Wise that he will not accept another term as president of the Zionist Organization of America, makes the question of his successor a very serious problem to every Zionist.

I have attended many Zionist Conventions and, believe, that I know almost every leader in the Zionist movement. In my opinion you are the only one that can take over the task and problems of this movement with the assurance that not only every Zionist will give you his full-hearted support, but with a great deal of expectation that tens of thousands of our fellow Jews who have not yet enlisted in this Organization will come in and help the furthering of this course.

I was elected delegate and expect to attend our next Convention in Cleveland, and I am confident that if you will except the candidacy you will get the support of all the ~~candidates~~ delegates. Meanwhile we will come in contact with every district in the country and I am sure that the responses will be very encouraging.

Awaiting your prompt reply, I remain

Sincerely Yours,

Herschel Horwitz

HH:JR

MERCANTILE DISCOUNT CORPORATION
110 SOUTH DEARBORN STREET
CHICAGO

A. H. ROSENBERG
VICE PRESIDENT

June 17, 1938

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PRESIDENT. APPRECIATE WORD FROM YOU TO-
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I am counting on your full support and cooperation, and
await word from you within a day or so.

Cordially yours,

A. H. Rosenberg
A. H. ROSENBERG

AHR:ALZ

BROOKLYN REGION

החברות הציוניות ארצות הברית

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA



ONE ELEVEN FIFTH AVENUE

NEW YORK CITY

June 24, 1938

OFFICERS:

LOUIS J. MOSS

President

SAMUEL BERTSON

A. D. BRAHAM

JACOB H. COHEN

ISIDOR A. HASSIN

J. I. RUDAVSKY

SAMUEL SCHLEIMER

WILLIAM I. SEGEL

NATHAN SWEEDLER

Vice-Presidents

HARRY MARCUS

Treasurer

SAMUEL ROTHSTEIN

Secretary

NATHAN ELKIN

Executive Director

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

ALBERT D. SCHANZER

Chairman

ABRAHAM KRUMBEIN

Vice-Chairman

Dear Fellow Zionist:

The coming year will for many reasons be a momentous one in the history of the Zionist movement in America. The direction of the administration of the Zionist Organization of America becomes of paramount importance, both to our movement in this country and to the status and welfare of Jews all over the world.

The Brooklyn Zionist Region is earnestly of the opinion that Rabbi Israel Herbert Levinthal is preeminently fitted by gifts of character, personality, learning and experience to head the Zionist Organization of America as its president. Rabbi Levinthal's life-long devotion to the ideals of Zionism, his arduous work in the field and with his pen over many years, his intimate knowledge of the problems of the organization and his wide acquaintance among Zionists are assets which should be translated into an effective leadership as president.

We therefore hope that at the forthcoming convention in Detroit your delegates will align themselves with us in creating a unanimous settlement in the convention for the election of Rabbi Levinthal as President of the Zionist Organization of America.

We look forward to the pleasure of meeting you in Detroit.

With Zion's Greetings, we are

Sincerely yours,

President, Brooklyn Zionist Region

Handwritten signatures:
Louis J. Moss
William I. Segel
Samuel Schleimer
Albert D. Schanzer
Isidor A. Rudavsky
Committee

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

ISIDORE AARON

ROBERT AUGUST

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MICHAEL GOLD

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JACK GREENBERG

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MORRIS GROSSMAN

A. M. HELLER

DAVID HELLER

HARRY HALPERN

SOL HORSTEIN

SAMSON INSELBUCH

HERMAN KAPLAN

FEIBUS KOBAC

LEON KIPNIS

SAMUEL KUHL

HARRY LEIBOWITZ

ISRAEL H. LEVINTHAL

HARRY LEVIN

MARGARET LEVY

LOUIS LINDEN

JACOB MAZE

MORRIS MILLER

MORRIS MILLER

LEON MOHR

IRVING OXENHORN

MORRIS FAUKER

BEN ZION PECKER

RAPHAEL PINCHAS

H. D. ROSENBERG

JOSHUA S. RUBIN

RUDOLPH SANDERS

FRANK SCHAEFFER

SAMUEL SCHOENHOLTZ

LOUIS SHEPELOFF

ABE SLEPIAN

ABRAHAM SPICEHANDLER

JOE. STEINBERG

BENJ. TAINHOFF

MRS. HARRY TRACEY

FRANK WASSERMAN

MORRIS WEINBERG

JOSEPH WEISS

MORRIS A. ZELDIN

S. W. ZIEGLER

INFORMATION FOR DELEGATES AND ALTERNATES

FORTY-FIRST ANNUAL CONVENTION

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

Convention Headquarters

STATLER HOTEL

July 2-3-4-5, 1938

I. REGISTRATION OF DELEGATES AND ALTERNATES:

Registration of Delegates and Alternates to the Convention will commence Saturday evening, July 2nd, at the Convention Headquarters, Statler Hotel and continue on Sunday, July 3rd.

Upon presenting the enclosed card at the Registration Desk you will receive your official credential.

The registration fee for Delegates is \$2.00; for Alternates \$1.00. Upon receipt of payment of registration fee, the Delegates and Alternates will receive an official badge, Convention literature, including report, etc.

The opening session of the Convention will take place on Sunday, July 3rd.

II. HOTEL ACCOMMODATIONS:

Special arrangements have been made with the Statler Hotel to accommodate all Delegates, Alternates and visitors attending the Convention. Room reservations should be made directly with the Hotel on the enclosed card. Make your reservations early and when registering at the Hotel, please state that you are attending the Zionist Convention.

III. RAILROAD FARES:

The special Convention certificates which have been in practice heretofore have been abolished because of the new reduced fares.

Office of the Rabbi
270 West 89th Street

Temple
217 West 88th Street

Phone: Schuyler 4-1400
4433



CONGREGATION B'NAI JESHURUN

NEW YORK CITY

Founded 1825

July 11, 1938

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Silver:

Thanks for your cordial note. I have no regrets. On the contrary, the more I turn this matter over in my mind, the more convinced I am that the action which I took was not only the proper one from the moral standpoint, but also the wisest from the organization's standpoint.

I tried to reach you at the Commodore on Sunday, but learned that you had checked out.

What luck have you had with the Warburg matter?

Let me again thank you for your staunch comradeship at Detroit. Your support was a source of great strength and encouragement. Will you also please convey my appreciation to the leaders of your society.

Cordially yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, which appears to read "Israel Goldstein", is written over the typed name. The signature is fluid and cursive, with a large, sweeping flourish at the end.

DR. ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN

התאחדות 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 HILLES SILVER
ELIHU D. STONE
NATHAN STRAUSS
Vice-Presidents

MORRIS ROTHENBERG
Chairman, Admin. Committee

LUDWIG LEWISOHN
Honorary Secretary

MORRIS MARGULIES
Secretary

EXECUTIVE

LOUIS LIPSKY
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M. MALOWIN FERTIG
ABRAHAM GOLDBERG
ABRAHAM GOLDSTEIN
RABBI EDWARD L. ISRAEL
RABBI ISRAEL H. LEVINTHAL
SAMUEL MARKIEWICH
RABBI IRVING MILLER
CHARLES RESS
A. J. RANBY
CARL SHEKMAN
WILLIAM L. SINGEL
ROBERT STOLD

Associate Members
ISAAC IMBER
ADRIAN SCHWARTZ

FINANCE COMMITTEE

LOUIS P. ROCKER
Chairman

MORRIS WEINBERG
HARRY P. FIERY
Treasurer

ABRAHAM KUCHEN
ABRAHAM LIEBOVITZ
ELIAS PERISS
LOUIS RIMSKY
SIGMUND TRAU

ISRAEL MALTIN
Auditor

Dear Fellow-Zionist:

It gives me great pleasure to send you herewith your Credential to the 41st Annual Convention of the Zionist Organization of America to be held at the Hotel Statler, Detroit, Mich., from Saturday night, July 2nd to Tuesday, July 5th, inclusive.

Preceding the official opening of the Convention, the Delegates present will meet at an informal dinner on Friday evening, at which addresses will be delivered on the topic "A Zionist Program for American Jews".

A M'laveh Malkah will take place on Saturday evening, which will feature a program of entertainment. Refreshments will be served by Hadassah of Detroit.

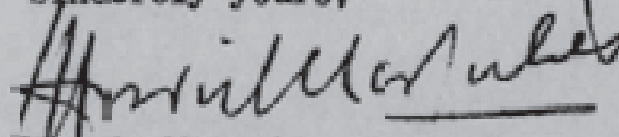
Enclosed please find general instructions to Delegates as well as a Hotel reservation card.

Special arrangements have been made by us with the management of the Hotel Statler to accommodate all those attending the Convention at reduced rates, and in view of the short time left I would urge you to send in your reservation to the Hotel without delay, in order to insure your securing the choicest accommodations.

In view of the unusual significance of the forthcoming Convention which will deal with problems affecting the future of the Jewish Homeland, I trust that you will attend all the sessions.

Looking forward to the pleasure of seeing you, I am, with Zion's Greetings,

Sincerely yours,


Morris Margulies,
Secretary

Education Department, Z.O.A.
111 Fifth Avenue, New York City

Name of Speaker

Subject

(Rabbi) Samuel J. Abrams
70 Marshall Street
Brookline, Mass.

Has Russia Solved the Jewish Problem?

✓ M. Adler
128 Commonwealth Ave.
Buffalo, N.Y.

Dr. David B. Alport
Tyler, Texas

Moses Hess

David Aronson
1229 Queen Avenue, N.
Minneapolis, Minn.

Jewish Education in the Diaspora
Jewish Economic Problems in Palestine
Has Russia Solved the Jewish Problem?
Jewish Self-Government
The Jews of Russia
The Jews of Poland

✓ Solomon N. Bazell
753 Second Street
Louisville, Ky.

What Can Palestine Do for American Jewry?

✓ Levi Becker
3290 Rochester
Detroit, Mich.

J. Berger
3420 Gray Avenue
Montreal, Canada

What I Saw in Palestine

✓ Albert Hilgray
501 S. Limestone St.
Springfield, Ohio

German Jews in Palestine

Lawrence Block
Athens, Ga.

What Can Palestine do for American Jewry?

Maurice J. Bloom
176 Montgomery St.
Newburgh, N.Y.

Has Russia Solved the Jewish Problem?

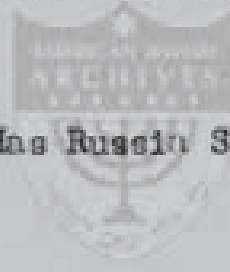
✓ Samuel Blumenfeld
College of Jewish Studies
30 N. Dearborn Street
Chicago, Ill.

Political, Cultural and Economic
Zionism

Jacob Beniak
450 Ocean Avenue
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Alternative to Partition

<u>Speaker</u>	<u>Subject</u>
Daniel L. Davis Lancaster, Pa.	Private Initiative and National Capital
Ira Elsonstein 15 W. 86th Street New York City	Zionism or Nationalism in the Diaspora?
Abr. H. Feinberg Rockford, Ill.	The Jewish Problem and the Quest for its Solution
Norman Foldheym President Apts. Cincinnati, Ohio	Jews in Latin America
Abraham J. Feldman 145 Ballard Street Hartford, Conn.	The Jewish Problem and the Quest for its Solution
M. Fouer United Hebrew Cong. Joplin, Mo.	History of Zionism
Dr. Joseph L. Fink 599 Delaware Ave. Buffalo, N.Y.	Jews and Arabs
Meyer Finkelstein 2054 E. 8th Street Bklyn, N.Y.	Has Russia Solved the Jewish Problem?
Ephraim Fischhoff 355 W. Ridge Ave. State College, Pa.	Philosophic and Religious Aspects of of Zionism
Samuel Fredman 6046 Washington Ave. Philadelphia, Pa.	
Jacob Friedman 68 Calhoun Street Springfield, Mass.	
N.J. Friedman Jewish Community Center Gloversville, N.Y.	The Present Situation in Germany
Samuel Glasner Uniontown, Pa.	What can Palestine do for American Jewry?
Maurice Goldblatt Roanoke, Va.	Jews and Arabs
Israel Goldman Temple Emanuel Providence, R.I.	Hebrew Novelists in Palestine Today



SpeakerSubject

M. Goodman
Ransom Street
Lexington, Ky.

What Can Palestine Do For American Jewry?

✓ Albert H. Goldstein
Rock Island, Ill.

Has Russia Solved the Jewish Problem?

David A. Goldstein
325 S. 37th St.
Omaha, Neb.

Philosophic and Religious Aspects of
Zionism
Dramatic Moments in Zionist History

Herbert S. Goldstein
225 W. 86th Street
New York City

Philosophic and Religious Aspects of
Zionism

Benj. H. Gorrellick
15 Fayette Street
Cambridge, Mass.

Zionism Since the Balfour Declaration

✓ Abram M. Granowitz
Beth Zion Temple
Johnstown, Pa.

Alternative to Partition

David Graubart
2938 Palmer Square
Chicago, Ill.

Philosophic and Religious Aspects of
Zionism

✓ Allan S. Green
3028 W. Chestnut Ave.
Altoona, Pa.

Histadrut

✓ Emanuel Green
20 N. Lincoln Ave.
Aurora, Ill.

Zionist Achievements in Palestine

✓ Joseph H. Gumbiner
Selma, Alabama

Has Russia Solved the Jewish Problem?

Abraham Haselkorn
60 Carrol Street
Poughkeepsie, N.Y.

What Can Palestine Do For American Jewry?

✓ Eugene Hibshman
Temple Beth Israel
Union Avenue
Altoona, Pa.

The Land and its Possibilities

Samuel Horewitz
309 S. Monroe Ave.
Green Bay, Wis.

The Land and its Possibilities
The Jewish Problem and the Quest
for its Solution

SpeakerSubject

Robert F. Jacobs
1218 Hudson St.
Hoboken, N.J.

Philosophy and Program of the Labor
Factions

Abr. I. Jacobson
131 Guy Park Ave.
Amsterdam, NY

England and Palestine

✓ Harry Katchen
310 S. Fulton St.
Allentown, Pa.

Class Struggle in Palestine

Dr. Jacob Katz
945 E. 163rd St.
Bronx, NY

What Did the Royal Commission Recommend?

Louis Katsoff
3613 Locust St.
Philadelphia, Pa.

Parties of Palestine

Benj. Kelson
1204 11th Street
Wichita Falls, Texas

Political, Cultural and Economic
Zionism

Isaac Klein
40 Cliftwood St.
Springfield, Mass.

Pinsker
Secular Nationalist Movement

Maurice S. Kleinberg
Ventnor, N.J.

Zionism or Nationalism in Diaspora?

Philip A. Lench
1100 17th Ave.
Seattle, Wash.

Histadrut and its Institutions

Arnold K. Lasker
2448 University Ave.
Bronx, N.Y., or
Woodbine, N.J.

Alternative to Partition

Maurice A. Lazowick
20 Fairfield Ave.
S. Norwalk, Conn.

Jabotinsky

Arthur Lobowitz
Olean, N.Y.

Zionist Achievements in Palestine

✓ Charles B. Lessor
Jackson, Mich.

A.D. Gordon

Maurice Lyons
Blytheville, Ark.

speaker

5. Subject

✓ Reuben J. Magil
153 Richmond Ave.
Buffalo, N.Y.

History of Zionism

✓ Jm. S. Malev
150-91 87th Ed.
Jamaica, N.Y.

Jews and Arabs

✓ Jerome J. Malino
30 West Street
Danbury, Conn.

Jewish Law and Law Courts in Palestine

✓ C. Manollo
52 J. Denrick Ave.
Youngstown, O.

Jews and Arabs
Palestine in World History

✓ S.H. Markovitz
The Temple
Fairfield Ave. and W. Wayne St.
Fort Wayne, Ind.

The Land and its Possibilities

S.H. Metz
36 Channing St. N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Culture in Palestine
Possibilities After Partition

Albert Michels
Natchez, Miss.

Music and Art
Personal Obligations

A. Elihu Michelson
1307 Main Street
Poughkeepsie, N.Y.

Class Struggle in Palestine

Meyer Miller
23 E. Elm St.
Greenwich, Conn.

Jewish Self-Government

Abr. E. Millgram
1631 N. 32nd St.
Philadelphia, Pa.

Histadrut

Ahron Ophor
Hebrew Sheltering & Guardian Society
Fleasantville, N.Y.

Jewish Achievements in Palestine

Herbert Parzen
Westwood, N.J.

Current Parties in Zionism

✓ Harry B. Pastor
328 N. Frink
Peoria, Ill.

Critique of Zionism

Speaker

6. Subject

Martin Forley
763 Quorbes Ave.
Outremont, Montreal, Canada

Zionist Achievements in Palestine

✓ I.E. Philo
Temple Bodef Shalom
Youngstown, Ia. 0.

The Jewish Problem and the Quest
for its Solution

David Polish
Cedar Rapids, Io.

Class Struggle in Palestine

Julius J. Price
1560 Grand Concourse
Bronx, N.Y.

Jewish Education in the Diaspora

H.R. Rabinowitz
2207 McDonnell St.
Sioux City, Iowa

The Awakening of Jewish National
Consciousness

Paul Reich
1506 Colonial Ave.
Norfolk, Va.

Zionism or Nationalism in the Diaspora?

Harry R. Richmond
Whichita, Kansas

Alternative to Partition

✓ Eph. Rosenzweig
Crystal Lake
Carbondale, Pa.

Creative Cultural Possibilities in
Palestine

Samuel Rosinger
Deaumont, Texas

Unity of Israel is Indispensable for
the Acquisition of Palestine

Jacob J. Rudin
Temple Beth El
Great Neck, L.I.

The Land and its Possibilities

Edward T. Sandrow
c/o United Community Center
Cedarhurst, L.I.

Jewish Nationalism - a Different Kind

Harold I. Saperstein
Temple Emanuel
Lynbrook, L.I.

Religion in Palestine

Joseph Sarachok
1414 Shakespeare Ave.
Bronx, N.Y.

Theories of Zionism

Lawrence W. Schwartz
15 Mackthorn Lane
White Plains, N.Y.

Philosophic and Religious Aspects of
Zionism

7.

Speaker

Subject

Samson A. Shain
4342 45th St.
Long Island City, NY

Jewish National Fund
Histadrut

Nathaniel S. Sharo
New Orleans, La.

Alternative to Partition

Joseph S. Shubow
96 Chestnut Hill Ave.
Brighton, Mass.

Albert M. Shulman
Temple Beth El
South Bend, Ind.

Philosophy and Program of the
Labor Factions

A. Silverstone
Woonsocket, R.I.

Alternative to Partition

Moritz Speier
150 Mineola Blvd.
Mineola, L.I.

(Particularly adapted to German-Jewish
audiences)

Leon Spitz
7410 97th Ave.
Ozone Park, N.Y.

A History of American Zionism

Milton Steinberg
50 E. 87th Street
N.Y.C.

Bernard D. Stolper
755 E. 46th Street
Bklyn, N.Y.

Has Russia Solved the Jewish Problem?

D.I. Treiger
210 N. G.
Tacoma, Wash.

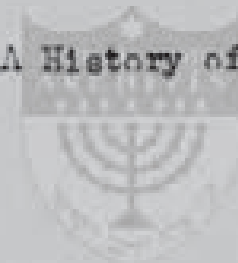
Have Jews Displaced Arabs?
Frontiers of Palestine, old and new

Jerome Unger
5 Hooker Avenue
Poughkeepsie, N.Y.

Economic Absorptive Capacity

Colman A. Witman
Temple Israel
137 N.E. 19th St.
Miami, Fla.

Philosophic and Religious Aspects of
Zionism



COMMITTEE ON COMMITTEES

CALIFORNIA

Gustave Goldstein, Ch. Los Angeles Dist.

CONNECTICUT REGION

Rabbi Wm. P. Greenfield, Ch., (Waterbury)
Abraham Goldstein, Hartford

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Robert M. Travis, Ch. Atlanta Dist.

IOWA STATE

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Alex Himmelman, Ch. Milwaukee District
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Wm. I. Siegel, Ch. East New York District

(LONG ISLAND REGION)

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Sol Cohen, Richmond Hill District
Rabbi Edward T. Sandrow, Far Rockaway

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OHIO

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George Klein, "
Eliot L. Kaplan, Ch. Toledo District
David Schneider, Ch. Youngstown Dist.

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Dr. David Feldman, Ch. Philadelphia Dist.

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Rabbi B. A. Lichter, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Rabbi Henry R. Goldberger, Altoona, Pa.
Rabbi Abram Granowitz, Johnstown, Pa.
A. B. Cohen, Scranton, Pa.

RHODE ISLAND

Philip V. Marcus, Ch. Providence Dist.

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Samuel Keiser, Ch. Baltimore District

SOUTHWEST REGION

David Derenstein, Ch. St. Louis District
Hyman Gordon, Ch. Kansas City District

TENNESSEE:

Sam Shankman, Chair. Memphis District

TEXAS

Charles D. Spiner, Ch. Texas Zion. Assn.

HADASSAH -- Mrs. Joseph Ehrlich, Detroit.

ORDER SONS OF ZION - Dr. Harris J. Levine,
N. Y. C.

MASADA -- Israel Berman, N. Y. C.

Mr. Lipsky stated further that at the meeting of the Actions Committee in London a report was rendered of what has been done in Palestine by all elements of the population in the way of assessments voluntarily undertaken in order to help the unemployment situation. As a result the Yishuv has contributed over \$200,000 to the unemployment fund, over and above the regular contributions with which everyone is assessed for the Keren Hayesod and Keren Kayemeth. Some of the Palestinian delegates stressed the fact that it isn't so much the amount of money that will be raised by the Zionists in the diaspora for the Mifde Hazioni, but in order to demonstrate that the Zionists of the world stand with the Zionists of Palestine in this spirit of sacrifice. It was made clear that it was not intended to make any collections from any one who is not an enrolled Zionist, and that the collection is not to be made through a national campaign but locally through each Zionist District.

Dr. Wise asked whether it would not be well to call a conference of all Zionist organizations in America.

Mr. Lipsky believed that this might weaken the responsibility, since each organization would depend upon the other to raise the funds. As a matter of fact, Mr. Lipsky added, each organization had practically promised to undertake to raise this money.

Dr. Wise suggested that arrangements should be made to include the proceeds of the Mifde Hazioni in the UPA, to allay the fears of those who believe that this effort will interfere with the UPA.

Mr. Siegel pointed out that this effort may interfere with our membership campaign, since the three months between now and the Zionist Convention represent the peak of membership activity, and Zionists who have not yet paid their dues will feel that they are being asked to pay double.

Dr. Goldstein suggested that if the matter could wait, the Convention could be utilized for this special effort in behalf of the Mifde Hazioni, which in turn would lift the whole Stimmung of the Convention.

Mr. Margulies supported Dr. Goldstein's suggestion.

Mr. Lipsky urged that the amount of money should not be stressed but that every individual Zionist should be impressed with the appeal and urged to do his best to match what is being done in Palestine. No high pressure methods should be used but Zionists are to be reminded of their duty through The New Palestine every week.

It was finally moved, seconded and carried

THAT a committee of three be named which shall submit to the next meeting of the Executive a plan for the carrying out of the program with regard to the Mifde Hazioni.

COMMUNICATION FROM FEDERATION OF PALESTINE JEWS IN AMERICA:

The Secretary presented a communication from the Federation of Palestine Jews in America, requesting the appointment of ZOA representatives to a conference on April 7th, for the purpose of inaugurating a campaign in the interest of Tetzereh Haaretz.

Mr. Margulies was of the opinion that we should decline this invitation since such effort should be initiated by the ZOA.

Dr. Wise reported that there was a great deal of discussion in London about the possibility of a very large importation of Palestine products to America in systematic and organized fashion.

Mr. Inber suggested that there should be a special bureau in the ZOA to handle such matters.

Dr. Bernstein pointed out that what has been done with regard to importing Palestine products by the few firms handling them now, has been much more harmful to Palestine than useful.

Dr. Goldstein proposed that this matter should be carefully considered by a subcommittee of the Executive.

It was moved, seconded and carried

THAT a committee of three be named which shall survey this entire matter and bring back a report to the Executive.

Mr. Rocker suggested that the subcommittee communicate with the American-Palestine Chamber of Commerce.

MASADA ANNIVERSARY:

The Secretary submitted an invitation from Masada, to members of the Executive, to attend their Fifth Anniversary celebration on April 7th.

It was decided that the Secretary be instructed to send an official invitation to the New York members of the Executive and Administrative Committee.

PLACE OF NEXT CONVENTION:

A discussion took place regarding the city to be selected for the next Zionist Convention; the date already having been decided; namely July 2nd to 5th inclusive.

It was decided to choose between Detroit, Pittsburgh and Buffalo as the next Convention City.

PALESTINE EXHIBIT AT NEW YORK WORLD'S FAIR:

Mr. Weisgal stated that the Palestine exhibit at the World's Fair was initiated by the President of the Zionist Organization several months ago, and it was through his efforts that it was crystallized into some form of corporate being and has already begun to function.

Mr. Weisgal reported further that Dr. Wise was Honorary President, George Backer, President, Dr. Goldstein, Chairman of the Board, and Mr. Lipsky, member of the Board of the Corporation which has decided that the corporate form of organization shall be representative of the various organizations active in and for Palestine, including the Jewish National Fund, Hadassah, Poale Zion, etc., and that each organization shall contribute a sum of money toward the organization of the Palestine Exhibit. Accordingly the Keren Hayesod has decided to contribute \$5,000, the Jewish National Fund \$5,000. Contributions have also been made by Hadassah and others. At the last meeting of the Board of Directors of the Corporation, it was decided that the Zionist Organization of America be officially represented in the Corporation to the same extent that the other Zionist and Palestine groups are represented, and the rule was adopted of "no representation without taxation". This brings up the question of the ZOA assuming financial responsibility equal to that of the Keren Hayesod and the Jewish National Fund. It is necessary to secure this sum from the ZOA in view of the fact that the Palestine Exhibit was organized with the idea that \$35,000 would be available for purposes of organization and \$250,000 is required for the exhibit. Considerable progress has been made. A good site centrally located has been secured, consisting of 22,000 square feet, near the Hall of Religion.

Mr. Weisgal also stated that the Corporation had certain plans which will make the Palestine Exhibit, in a certain respect, self-liquidating, and there is also a possibility if the project is properly organized and the organizations meet their responsibility, that those organizations may be the beneficiaries of part of the fund they will have to underwrite. However, a considerable portion of the money pledged by the various Organizations has not yet been forthcoming, and it is unthinkable that the Zionist Organization of America should not be officially represented in the Corporation and have its share in the undertaking. Therefore, Mr. Weisgal urged, the ZOA should also assume a definite financial responsibility equal to the Keren Hayesod's and Keren Kayemeth's, and take its rightful place in the Palestine Exhibit.

Mr. Siegel inquired how the project would be financed outside of the \$35,000 mentioned.

Mr. Weisgal replied that it is proposed to ask the heads of the various communities throughout the country to appeal locally for financial assistance. There are other prospective sources of income which, Mr. Weisgal said are premature to report on at this time.

Mr. Margulies observed that if it is proposed to ask heads of Zionist Districts to secure funds, how would that be applied toward the ZOA responsibility.

Dr. Goldstein stated that it is not necessary to arouse the interest of the Executive of the ZOA in this project. Moreover those who are close to it are convinced that it will be an extraordinary affair. Furthermore it should be recognized that in the absence of a government to initiate this project, as is the case with all other nations represented, it is the ZOA that takes the place of a government, and therefore it is the ZOA upon whom devolves the chief responsibility. Dr. Goldstein added that when the matter of the ZOA's participation was first broached, the leaders were on their way to London and the matter was delayed. However, now that they have returned, the Executive should recommend a contribution of \$5,000, and the Finance Committee should find a way of making it available.

Mr. Rucker inquired who made the pledges totalling \$35,000 referred to by Mr. Weisgal.

Dr. Wise gave the following figures:

Keren Hayesod and Keren Kayemeth	\$ 15,000
Hadassah	5,000
Mizrachi and Poale Zion	5,000
Hebrew University	2,500
Palestine Economic Corp.	2,500
ZOA	5,000

Mr. Ress said that it was obvious that the ZOA will have to participate, but the Executive must give thought as to how this money is to be raised. Mr. Weinberg believed that this money could be secured from a small group at the forthcoming Convention, so that the ZOA treasury will not have to suffer. Arrangements might be made, however, to advance the money to the Corporation before the Convention.

It was finally moved, seconded and carried

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

AMERICAN ZION COMMONWEALTH:

Mr. Lipsky called attention to a resolution adopted at the last Convention, urging the ZOA to establish in the United States a Palestine land selling agency and nothing has been done by the Executive thus far with regard to this resolution.

Mr. Lipsky stated further that the affairs of the American Zion Commonwealth had been gradually liquidated and all the obligations in the United States had been discharged. Moreover through the American Zion Commonwealth certain lands have been recovered for the Jewish people, which are of tremendous value, as the Haifa Bay area, for instance, and now that all disputes with regard to the Commonwealth have been settled, whatever is to be done in the United States with regard to land sales, should be done under the name of the American Zion Commonwealth as the agency of the ZOA, inasmuch as the ZOA had previously been the sufferer in credit and repute because of the complicated affairs of the Commonwealth. In this connection, Mr. Lipsky called attention to the fact that Mr. David Frieberger has given his time gratis for nine years to straightening out the affairs of the Commonwealth.

Mr. Lipsky suggested that Mr. Freiberg be authorized on behalf of the Executive to get in touch with the P.L.D.C. and discuss the whole matter with them, and present a report, with the understanding that in all this correspondence, the interests and rights of the ZOA should be asserted and protected.

Attention was called also to the fact that Mr. Morris Weinberg was very helpful in saving the American Zion Commonwealth by advancing the funds required by Carmelia.

It was finally moved, seconded and carried

THAT a committee of three consisting of Messrs. Freiberg, Lipsky and Weinberg be appointed to make a further report on this matter.

Mr. Rucker added that the affairs of the American Zion Commonwealth had been very badly handled and left a bad impression upon the Jews of America. Even though it has eventually paid its debts, he did not think it should be resurrected and the ZOA should go into the land selling business.

Mr. Cowen observed that there is no harm in adopting the above resolution since it represents no commitment.

CONTINUATION OF DISCUSSION ON ACTIONS COMMITTEE MEETING:

The discussion then reverted to the Actions Committee meeting and particularly the remarks of Mr. Ben Gurion. In this connection statements were made both by Mr. Lipsky and Dr. Wise.

Meeting adjourned 12 A.M.

Respectfully submitted

MORRIS MARGULIES
Secretary

TO THE JEWISH PEOPLE IN THE DIASPORA

At this grave and decisive hour in the history of the revival of our Homeland, we turn to the communities of Jewry throughout the world with the call: "Hagalila - On to Galilee!"

Since the reconstruction of the Homeland commenced there has never been, nor will there ever be any other course before us than to create and build, to redeem step by step, and lath by lath, in days of stress as in days of prosperity, to establish new undertakings, to progress from one position to the next. Only through constant effort to increase our possessions, to increase our land and multiply the numbers of its builders, only through the creation of hard facts that cannot be ignored, shall we strengthen our practical power in the land, so that neither from within nor from without will obstacles or forces of destruction check us. Only thus shall we advance steadily towards attainment of the great objective that history set for our generation, the revival of our people in the land of its fathers.

In the spirit of this historic undertaking the land organ of the Zionist Organisation, the Keren Kayemeth LeIsrael, last year proclaimed the "On to Galilee!" Campaign for the redemption of land in the northern territory of the country. Hitherto the north has benefited only meagrely from the boon of Jewish creative effort. Its turn now had arrived. The sum of £500,000 was required to execute this great undertaking which would open a new gateway for the settlement of thousands of families. In the past year, the Keren Kayemeth has already made significant steps towards this goal.

This year we stand before the second stage of the "On to Galilee" effort. But it is of vital significance that the pace of the work be intensified. Prevailing circumstances render it imperative that in the present year a sum of £100,000 over and above its normal resources be placed at the disposal of the Keren Kayemeth for this effort. To attain this end all forces of the Zionist movement, wherever they be, must co-operate.

We appeal to the Zionist public throughout the world, to workers and to donors, to all who are loyal to Zion and its Upbuilding, to further the "On to Galilee" Campaign of the Keren Kayemeth at this serious juncture with all the power at their command. History will show that this hour, a fateful one in the task of the Upbuilding, was also pregnant with possibilities. Let us not fail. Join and bring others to join with you in this effort for the redemption of Galilee.

(sgd) Dr. Chaim Weizmann, President of the World Zionist Organisation
David Ben-Gurion, President of the Zionist Executive

Dr. Selig Brodetzky,)	
Rabbi J.L. Fishman,	(
I. Gruenbaum,)	Members of the Executive
Eliezer Kaplan,	(
Dr. F. Rothenstreich,)	
M. Shertok.	(

41ST ANNUAL CONVENTION
ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA
DETROIT, MICH.

P R O X I E L I S T

A. Ball, Albany, N.Y.	Samuel Margoshes, New York City
Rabbi Morton M. Berman, Chicago, Ill.	Morris Margulies, New York City
Samuel Berman, New York City	Rabbi Irving Miller, Long Island
A. D. Braham, New York City	
Rabbi Arthur Brodey, Hattiesburg, Miss.	Jacob Rabinovitz, Boston, Mass.
Dr. Aaron Burman, Syracuse, N. Y.	Charles Ress, New York City
	Bernard G. Richards, New York City
Israel S. Chipkin, New York City	Louis P. Rucker, New York City
Charles A. Cowen, New York City	Dr. A. J. Romgy, New York City
	Moses Robinson, New York City
Albert K. Epstein, Chicago, Ill.	Jochanon I. Radavsky, Brooklyn, N.Y.
Benj. F. Evarts, Holyoke, Mass.	
	Bernard Sholwin, New York City
Harry P. Fierst, New York City	Carl Sherman, New York City
	Simon Shetzer, Detroit, Mich.
Abraham Goldberg, New York City	Wm. I. Siegel, Brooklyn, N.Y.
Rabbi Henry E. Goldberger, Altoona, Pa.	Abraham Spicehandler, Brooklyn, N.Y.
Rabbi Solomon Goldman, Chicago, Ill.	Elihu D. Stone, Boston, Mass.
Dr. Israel Goldstein, New York City	Judge Nathan Swoedler, Brooklyn, N.Y.
	Robert Szold, New York City
B. Horwich, Chicago, Ill.	
	Sigmund Thau, Brooklyn, N.Y.
Sidney E. Jaffe, Phila., Pa.	
	Morris Weinberg, Brooklyn, N.Y.
Samuel Kanarvogel, New York City	Meyer W. Weisgal, New York City
Abraham Krumbein, New York City	Dr. Stephen S. Wise, New York City
	Leo Wolfson, New York City
Judge Wm. M. Lewis, Phila., Pa.	
Louis Lipsky, New York City	Harry Z. Zwelling, New Britain, Conn.